

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD,
IN
FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and First Ages of the same, from the
Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the Destruction of
the Temple of SOLOMON.

THE THIRD,
From the Destruction of JERUSALEM to the Time of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the Establishing
of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDER's Successors in the East,
until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of
ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

Whereunto is added in this EDITION, the
LIFE and TRYAL of the AUTHOR.

L O N D O N,
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THE
PREFACE.



OW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a Work of this mixture ; mine own reason , though exceeding weak , hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then with my first dawn of Day, when the light of common Knowledge began to open it self to my younger Years : and before any wound received , either from Fortune or

Time : I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of Age and Death would have covered over both it and me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation , I have proceeded with the History of the World ; and lastly purposed (some few fallies excepted) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned Island of *Great Britain*. I confess that it had better sortd with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other Travels ; to have set together (as I could) the unjoynted and scattered frame of our *English* Affairs, than of the Universal : in whom had there been no other defect, (who am all defect) than the time of the Day, it were enough ; the Day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very Evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever akeing while uncured : with the desire to satisfy those few Friends, which I have tried by the Fire of Adversity ; the former enforcing, the latter perswading ; have caused me to make my thoughts Legible, and my self the Subject of every Opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted : neither have others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any Age. For, Prosperity and Adversity have ever more tied and untied vulgar Affections. And as we see it in experience, That Dogs do always bark at those they know not ; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in those clamours : so is it with the inconsiderate Multitude. Who, wanting that virtue which we call Honesty in all Men, and that especial Gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian Men ; condemn, without hearing ; and wound, without offence given : led thereunto by uncertain report only ; which his Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all Lyes.

*Demonolog. l. 3.
Blame*

Eccl. t. 11. v. 7. Blame no Man (saith Siracides) before thou have inquired the matter : understand first; and then reform righteously. Rumor, res sine teste, sine judice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witness, without judge, malicious and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave S. Augustine Argument to affirm, That he feared the praise of good Men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no Man hath given a better rule, than this of Seneca, *Conscientia satisfacimus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis.* Let us satisfy our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves with fame: be it never so ill, it is to be despised so we deserve well.

*Laudem à bonis
vires, & amari
à malis deservit.
Sen. de ira. l. 3.
c. 11.*

For my self, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sunshine Day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary, no other harm than an outrageous Tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the Dust; though further than the Defence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any Man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: He that is the Supreme Judge of all the World, hath taken the account; so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, *Mala opinio, bene parata, delectat.*

As for other Men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mishap in that kind; but content my self to say with Virgil, *Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Passport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the Mind, as there are external Figures of Men; there were then some possibility, to perfwade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive virtue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which GOD hath cast upon Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of Face, and every one a divers Picture of Mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural and unnatural; wise, foolish; manly, and childish Affections and Passions in Mortal Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserve the Art of reading Mens thoughts to himself: yet, as the Fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of Men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us where-of to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life: did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the Worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compels it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest.* No Man can long continue masked in a counterfeited behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own Natures. Neither can any Man (saith

Plutarch

Plutarch) so change himself, but that his Heart may be sometimes seen at his Tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude; *Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus.* The common People are evil Judges of honest things, and whose Wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better sort; every Understanding hath a peculiar Judgment; by which it both censureth other Men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats: seeing the slothful Censurers of all Ages, have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest Men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these Natures, which lie in wait to find Fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing Salomon complained long since: and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Professors to their easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

Eccl. cap. 11.

*Nihil facilius,
quam reprehendere alium.*

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved Custom of those who have left the memories of time past to after Ages; to give, as near as I can, the same Right to History which they have done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other Mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the Repetition. True it is, that among many other Benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane Knowledge, that it hath given us Life in our Understanding, since the World it self had Life and Beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over Time, which besides it, nothing but Eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our Knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of Years, and given so fair and piercing Eyes to our Mind; that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great World, *Magni Dei sapientis opus, the wise Work* (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it self. By it I say it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with Waters, and again re-peopled: How Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen; and for what Virtue and Piety GOD made prosperous; and for what Vice and Deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least Debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the Earth, delivered us their Memory and Fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a Policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other Mens fore-passed Miseries, with our own like Errours and ill deservings.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively Instructions, nor the words of the wisest Men, nor the terror of future Torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified Minds; as to make us remember, That the infinite Eye and Wisdom of GOD doth pierce through all our Pretences; as to make us remember, That the Justice of GOD doth require none other Accuser, than our own Consciences: which neither the false Beauty of our apparent Actions, nor all the Formalty, which (to pacifie the Opinions of Men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his Knowledge. And so much did that Heavhen Wisdom confels, no way as yet qualified by the Knowledge of a true GOD. If any (saith Euripides) having in his Life com-

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mitted wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD's Judgments in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies; would require a Volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private Men, are with their Bodies cast into the Earth; and their Fortunes, written only in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed, and have not seen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GOD's Judgments upon the greater and greatest, have been left to Posterity; first, by those happy Hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their virtue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men, mighty and remarkable in the World. Now to point far off, and to speak of the conversion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawn the Grails of the Earth with Beasts, for Pride and Ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of *Pharaoh*, when he slew the Infants of *Israel*, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the Policy of *Jezebel*, in covering the Murder of *Naboth* by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeless proof, that far-of examples would not be left to the same far-of respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, peril, bloodied, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues Masters of the World? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the rest, no Fruit, Flower, Grails, nor Leaf, springing upon the Face of the Earth, of those Seeds: No; their very Roots and Ruins do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt.* All that the Hand of Man can make, is either overturned by the Hand of Man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their Opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and Foreign Force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which *Livy* hath a touch: *eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua*: Others, That the Divine Providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath set down the Date and Period of every Estate, before their first Foundation and Erection. But hereof I will give my self a Day over to resolve.

For seeing the first Books of the following Story, have undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to travel after and overtake far-of Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in Divine and Humane Letters, the success of Infidelity, Injustice, and Cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same Pattern.

True it is that the Judgments of all Men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the Affection of any one Man stirred up alike with examples of like Nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; or otherwise best suited with his apprehension. But the Judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable;

unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his Blessing in one Age, to that which he hath Cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter Fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in Ages removed far from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no less appear by evident proof, than by asseveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the *Norman* Race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the *Norman* Conquest; than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of God's Justice, upon the Children of *Henry* the First. For that King, when both by force, craft, and cruelty, he had disposed, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder Brother *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, to make his own Sons Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Nieces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to *Edward* the Second; it is certain, that after the Murder of that King, the issue of Blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out; and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the *Masculine* Race (very few excepted) died, of the same Disease. And although the young Years of *Edward* the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle the Earl of *Kent* to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers Redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; (the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, had his Uncle's intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused *Mortimer* to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and unsearchable Judgment of GOD revenged, on the Grand-child of *Edward* the Third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruines of those Buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent Blood. For *Richard* the Second, who saw, both his *Treasurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the People, others in his absence executed by his Enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montague* and *Spencer*, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those Days, as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the Murder of *Glocester*; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent Hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) he was in the Prime of his Youth deposed; and murdered by his Cousin-german and Vassal, *Henry* of *Lancaster*, afterwards *Henry* the Fourth.

This King whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown traitorous : who brake Faith with the Lords at his Landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper Inheritance ; brake Faith with Richard himself ; and brake Faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should live. After that he had enjoyed this Realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions : he saw (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies death) his Grand-child Henry the sixth, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered ; the possession of the Crown (for which he had caused so much Blood to be poured out) transferred from his Race ; and by the Issues of his Enemies worn and enjoyed : Enemies, whom by his own Practice he supposed, that he had left no less powerless, than the Succession of the Kingdom questionable ; by Entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane Reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious Provisions of the Father, seconded by the Valour and signal Victories of his Son Henry the fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all Reconquest and Recovery. I say, that humane Reason might so have judged : were not this passage of *Cassaubon* also true, *Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things, that seemed to have been founded and rooted in adamant.*

Now for Henry the sixth, upon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grievous Faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard the Grand-child of Edward : although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince ; yet as he refused the Daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which Match he might have defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Anjou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) so as in contending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of Gloucester, the main and strong Pillar of the House of Lancaster ; He drew on himself and this Kingdom the greatest Joynt-loss and Dishonour, that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the Third of France, *Q'il estoit un fort gentil Prince ; mais son reigné est advenu en une fort mauvais temps, That he was a very gentle Prince ; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Season.*

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolk were the Practisers and Contrivers of the Dukes death : Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave Instructions to their Authority, which otherwise under the Queen had been absolute ; the Queen, in respect of her personal wound, *spretaque injuria forma*, because Gloucester disswaded her Marriage. But the Fruit was answerable to the Seed ; the success to the Counsel. For after the cutting down of Gloucester, York grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his Right, both by Arguments and Arms ; in which Quarrel, Suffolk and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their Adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down York : yet his Son the Earl of March, following the plain Path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward, the Son, both of their Lives and Kingdoms. And what was the end now of that politick Lady the Queen, other than this, That she lived to behold the

the wretched ends of all her partakers : that she lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her only Son the Prince, were hewen in sunder ; while the Crown was set on his Head that did it. She lived to see her self despoiled of her Estate, and of her Moveables : and lastly, her Father, by rendering up to the Crown of France, the Earldom of Provence and other places, for the payment of Fifty thousand Crowns for her Ransom, to become a stark Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which *Siracides* calleth *fine*, but *unrighteous* : for other Fruit hath it never yielded since the World was.

And now came it to Edward the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up ; one only Earl of Richmond excepted : whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Britain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it self stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his own presence : of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the Judgment of GOD in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his Brother of Clarence, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the Sixth, his Predecessor ; taught him also by the same art to kill his own Sons and Successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings, which have sold the Blood of others at a low Rate ; have but made the Market for their own Enemies, to buy of theirs at the same Price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him : who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more Parts to play, and more to perform in his own Person, than all the rest ; yet he so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queen and to all her Kindred : as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, should (for the first) be severed from him : secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned : and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads severed from their Bodies. And having now brought those his chief Instruments to exercise that common Precept, which the Devil hath written on every Post ; namely, To deprecise those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprecised ; He urged that Argument so far and so forcibly, as nothing but the Death of the young King himself, and of his Brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's Head, That, whensoever the King, or his Brother, should have able years to exercise their power ; they would take a most severe revenge of that cureless wrong, offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sons was without suspect : and yet the Devil, who never dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Catesby, who founded him, that he was not fordable ; he first resolved to kill him sitting in Council : wherein having failed with his Sword ; he set the Hangman upon him, with a Weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his Appetite, he caused his Head to be stricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of GOD, than

*Sceleris scelesti-
bus tuenda. Sen.
de Clem.*

this

this upon *Hastings*, I have never observed in any Story. For the self-same Day that the Earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by *Hastings* advice executed at *Pomfret*: I say *Hastings* himself in the same Day and (as I take it) in the same Hour, in the same lawless manner had his Head stricken off in the Tower of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer; and with an Eloquent Oration perswaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their King. And having received the Earldom of *Hereford* for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings only Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest Servant; he had his Head severed from his Body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what success had *Richard* himself after all these Mischiefs and Murders, Policies and Counter-policies to Christian Religion: and after such time, as with a most merciless Hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere himself could well look over and discern it? The great outcry of innocent Blood, obtaining at GOD's Hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his Friends and Enemies.

This cruel King, *Henry* the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate Instrument of GOD's Justice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, and who by the Engine of his Wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after he wore the Crown as ever King of *England* did: I say by his Wisdom, because as he ever left the reins of his Affections in the hands of his Profit, so he always weighed his Undertakings by his Abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of *Loy* the Eleventh, whom he followed in all that was Royal or Royal-like, but he was far more just, and began not their Processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loy* did.

He could never indure any mediation in rewarding his Servants, and therein exceeding wise; for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of Men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were Trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his Subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit Ministers for such actions. Howsoever, the taking off, of *Stanley's* Head, who set the Crown on his, and the Death of the young Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* D. of *Clarence*, shews, as the success also did, that he held somewhat of the Errors of his Ancestors, for his possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-children, as that of *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fourth had done.

Now for King *Henry* the Eight: if all the Pictures and Patterns of a merciless Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For how many Servants did he advance in haste (but for what virtue no Man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no Man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant Flowers, from whence to gather Hony, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the Blood (whereof some of them for Age could hardly crawl towards the Block) with a world of others of all Degrees

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(of whom our common Chronicles have kept the account) did he Execute? Yea, in his very death Bed, and when he was at the point to have given his account to GOD for the abundance of Blood already spilt: he imprisoned the Duke of *Norfolk* the Father; and executed the Earl of *Surrey* the Son; the one, whose deservings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings service; the other, never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other, no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows which he heaped upon the Fatherless and Widows at home: and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their several Conquests: what causeless and cruel Wars did he make upon his own Nephew King *James* the fifth? What Laws and Wills did he devise, to establish this Kingdom in his own issues? using his sharpest Weapons to cut off, and cut down those Branches, which sprang from the same Root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their several kinds, all Princes of eminent virtue. For these words of *Samuel* to *Ayeg* King of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy Sword hath made other Women childless: so shall thy Mother be childless among other Women.* And that Blood, which the same King *Henry* affirmed, that the cold Air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the North, GOD hath diffused by the Sunshine of his Grace: from whence His Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infused into one Eye: yet could it not discern in His life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent Blood on the Sword of his Justice, with which the most that forewent him, have stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of *England*; it may truly be avowed, That he hath received it even from the hand of GOD, and hath stayed the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That He never took revenge of any Man, that sought to put him beside it: That He refused the assistance of Her Enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princes did: That His Majesty entered not by a breach, nor by Blood; but by the ordinary Gate, which his own right set open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, He was received. And howsoever His Majesties preceding Title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at *Cambray* in the Year 1559) yet he never pleaded to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady, his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of Her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of *Britany* to the South, to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*, which though they were severed but by small Brooks and Banks, yet by reason of the long continued War, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This I say is not the least of God's Blessings which His Majesty hath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a Mole-hill, compared with the Mountain of this Concord. And if all the Historians since then, have acknowledged the uniting of the red Rose, and the white, for

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the greatest happiness, (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from GOD, certainly the Peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our *British* Blood, heretofore and during the difference so often and abundantly shed, the State of *England* is more assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her ancient Honour and Rights, and by it made more invincible than by all our former Alliances, Practices, Policies and Conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the Duke of *Parma* in the Year 1588, joynd the Army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the South-Coast; and had his Majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the North: it is easy to Divine what had become of the Liberty of *England*, certainly we would then without murmur have bought this Union at a far greater price than it hath since cost us.

It is true, that there was never any Common-weal or Kingdom in the World, wherein no Man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World and not above it. They are not infinite to examine every Man's cause, or to relieve every Man's wants. And yet, in the latter, (though to his own prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other Men's necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said, as of *Salomon*, *Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis*: which if other Men do not understand with *Pineda*, to be meant by *Liberality*, but by *Latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any King that ever *England* had; who as well in Divine, as Humane understanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withal suspect, that it might befall these Papers of mine, (though the loss were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen *Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common Painters; which by her own Commandment, were knockt in pieces and cast into the Fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the external: and weak Writers, in describing the virtues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well-formed Faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely minds, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse, if the honest Reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour Princes (of whom for that purpose I have inserted this brief discourse) with His Majesties temperate, revengeless, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even hand: and withal, but bestow every deformed Child on his true Parent; he shall find, that there is no Man which hath so just cause to complain, as the King himself hath.

Now as we have told the successes of the trumperies and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages, so we find, that GOD is every where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, and unnatural cruelty of *Henry* the First, and of our Third *Edward*, in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of *Loys Debonaire*, the Son of *Charles* the Great, or *Charlemain*. For after such time as *Debonaire* of *France*, had torn out the Eyes of *Bernard* his Nephew, the Son of *Pepin*, the eldest Son of *Charlemain*, and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder Brother: there followed nothing but Murders upon Murders, Poisonings, Imprisonments, and civil War; till the whole Race of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And

And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure Guard, all the days of their Lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition: Yet GOD railed up against him (which he suspected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him Prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom (to satisfy their Ambition) he had shared his Estate, and given them Crowns to wear, Kingdoms to govern, during his own Life. Yea his eldest Son *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loys*, and *Charles*) made it the cause of his Deposition, That he had used violence towards his Brothers and Kinmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain, *eo quod, scilicet* the Text, *fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interficere permisit. B. cause he used violence to his Brothers and Kinmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slain whom he might have delivered.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his Cruelty. For among many other things, which he performed in the General Assembly of the States, it follows, *Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, Pags. libidem* tam de his, quam que in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem gesserat. After this he did openly confess himself to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodosius*, he underwent voluntary Penance as well for his other Offences, as for that which he had done against *Bernard* his own Nephew.

This he did: and it was Praise-worthy. But the Blood that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by Repentance. These Medicines, ministered to the dead, have but dead Rewards.

This King, as I have said, had four Sons. To *Lothaire* his eldest he gave the Kingdom of *Italy*; as *Charlemain*, his Father, had done to *Pepin* the Father of *Bernard*, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To *Pepin* the second Son he gave the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*: to *Loys*, the Kingdom of *Bavaria*: and to *Charles*, whom he had by a second Wife, called *Judith*, the Remainder of the Kingdom of *France*. But this second Wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded *Debonaire* to cast his Son *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to greatness *Charles*: which, after the death of his Son *Pepin*, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grand-child bearing the same Name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son *Loys* of *Bavaria*, he dies for Grief.

Debonaire dead: *Loys* of *Bavaria*, and *Charles* afterwards called the *Bald*, and their Nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, joyn in League against the Emperour *Lothaire* their eldest Brother. They fight near to *Auxerre* the most bloody Battle that ever was stricken in *France*: in which, the marvellous loss of Nobility, and Men of War, gave courage to the Saracens to invade *Italy*; to the *Hunnes*, to fall upon *Almain*; and the *Danes*, to enter upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by Treason seizeth upon his Nephew *Pepin*, kills him in a Cloyster, *Carloman* rebels against his Father *Charles* the *Bald*, the Father burns out the Eyes of his Son *Carloman*; *Bavaria* invades the Emperour *Lothaire* his Brother, *Lothaire* quits the Empire, He is assailed and wounded to the Heart by his own Conscience, for his Rebellion against his Father and for his other Cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. *Charles* the *Bald* the Uncle oppresseth his Nephews the Sons of *Lothaire*, he usurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of *Loys* of *Bavaria* his elder Brother, *Bavaria's* Armies and his Son *Carloman* are beaten, he dies of Grief, and the Usurper *Charles* is poisoned by *Zede-kias* a Jew his Physician, his Son *Loys le Beque* dies of the same Drink.

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Beque

Beque had *Charles* the simple, and two Bastards, *Loys* and *Carloman*; they rebel against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his Neck, the younger is slain by a wild Boar; the Son of *Bavie* had the same ill Destiny and brake his Neck by a Fall out of a Window in sporting with his Companions. *Charles* the *gross* becomes Lord of all that the Sons of *Debonaire* held in Germany, wherewith not contented, he invades *Charles* the simple, but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Understanding, he dies a distracted Begger. *Charles* the simple is held in Wardship by *Eudes* Major of the Palace, then by *Robert* the Brother of *Eudes*, and lastly being taken by the Earl of *Vernandois*, he is forced to die in the Prison of *Peron*: *Loys* the Son of *Charles* the simple breaks his Neck in chasing a Wolf, and of the two Sons of this *Loys*, the one dies of Poyson, the other in the Prison of *Orleans*, after whom *Hugh* Capet of another Race, and a stranger to the French, makes himself King.

These miserable ends had the issues of *Debonaire*: who after he had once apparelled Injustice with Authority, his Sons and Successors took up the Fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other Provisions, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every Man despised them as miserable and naked Beggars. The wretched success they had, (saith a learned French-man) shews, *qu'en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: That in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the Son of Pepin, the true Heir of Charlemaine, Men had more meddling, than either GOD, or Justice had.*

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis* the first, one of the worthiest Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himself; after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of *Mirandol* and *Cabrières*, to the Parliament of *Provence*, which poor People were thereupon burnt, and murdered; Men, Women, and Children. It is true, that the said King *Francis* repented himself of the Fact, and gave Charge to *Henry* his Son, to do Justice upon the Murderers; threatening his Son with GOD's Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unreasonable Care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for Payment. For after *Henry* himself was slain in Sport by *Montgomery*, We all may remember what became of his four Sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry* and *Hercules*. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautiful and virtuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres, upon those of the Religion, and great effusion of Blood; the Crown was set upon his Head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spain, as in England and France. Towards whom we will look no further back than to *Don Pedro* of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicily, our *Richard* the third, and the great *Evan Vasilowich* of Muscovia, were but petty ones: this *Cassilian*, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having been the most mercilefs. For besides those of his own Blood and Nobility which he caused to be slain in his own Court and Chamber, as *Sancho Ruis* the great Master of *Calatrava*, *Ruis Gonzales*, *Alphonso Tello*, and *Don John* of *Arragon*, whom he cut in pieces and cast into the Streets, denying him Christian Burial: I say besides these, and the Slaughter of *Gomes Manriques*, *Diego Peres*, *Alphonso Gomes*, and the great Commander of Ca-

stile;

stile; He made away the two Infants of *Arragon* his Cousin-germans; his Brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John* de la Cerde, *Albuquerque*, *Nugnes* de *Guzman*, *Comel*, *Cabrera*, *Tenorio*, *Mendes* de *Toledo*, *Gutiérrez* his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest Brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close Prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other, fourteen; he murdered them there. Nay he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Lastly as he caused the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and the Dean, to be killed of Purpose to enjoy their Treasures: so did he put to death *Mahomet A'en Alhamar* King of *Barbary*, with seven and thirty of his Nobility; that came unto him for Succour, with a great Summ of Money, to levy (by his Favour) some Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea he would needs assist the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope *Urban* declared him an Enemy both to GOD and Man. But what was his End? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-established by the Valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earl of *Athramara*, who dispossessed all his Children of their Inheritance; which, but for the Father's Injustice and Cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any Man with this King, it must be Duke *John* of *Burgoyne*: who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of *Orleans*, caused the Constable of *Armagnac*, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of *Constance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and Reverend Church-men, the Earl of *gran Prè Hector* of *Chartres*, and (in effect) all the Officers of Justice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury and Request, (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered France: He was soon after stricken with an Axe in the Face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slain. These were the Lovers of other Mens miseries: and Misery found them out.

French Inveni;
in Anno 1418:

Now for the Kings of Spain, which lived both with *Henry* the seventh, *Henry* the eighth, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* was the first: and the first that laid the Foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himself to hold *Arragon* by the Usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon*, which *Isabel* his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Niece the Daughter of the last *Henry*: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of Right; He also cast his own Niece out of the Kingdom of *Nacarre*; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best Places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King I say, that betrayed also *Ferdinand* and *Frederick* Kings of *Naples*, Princes of his own Blood, and by double Alliance tied unto him; sold them unto the French: and with the same Army, sent for their Succour under *Gonsalvo*, cast them out; and shared their Kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politick King, who fold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son, the Prince of Spain, the greatest Monarch of the World: saw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with Child, with her untimely Birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto *Don Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, beheld her first Husband break his Neck in her presence; and being with Child by her second, died with it. A just

just Judgment of GOD upon the Race of *John*, Father to *Alphonso*, now wholly extinguished: who had not only left many disconsolate Mothers in *Portugal*, by the slaughter of their Children; but had formerly slain, with his own Hand, the Son and only comfort of his Aunt the Lady *Beatrix*, Dutches of *Viseo*. The second Daughter of *Ferdinand*, married to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, turned Fool, and died mad and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King *Henry* the Eighth, he saw cast off by the King: the Mother of many troubles in *England*; and the Mother of a Daughter that in her unhappy zeal shed a world of innocent Blood; lost *Callice* to the *French*; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have Masters of a new name; and, by a strange Family are governed and posselt.

Charles the Fifth, Son to the Arch-duke *Philip*, in whose vain enterprises upon the *French*, upon the *Almans*, and other Princes and States, so many Multitudes of Christian Soldiers, and renowned Captains, were consumed: who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the *Turks*, and suffered *Rhodes*, the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of *France*, and in a sort out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the Empire; stole away from *Spain*; and scaled the *Alpes* by Torch-light, pursued by Duke *Maurice*; having hoped to swallow up all those Dominions, wherein he concocted nothing save his own disgraces. And having, after the slaughter of so many Millions of Men, no one Foot of Ground in either: He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Pensioner of an Hundred thousand Duckers by the Year to his Son *Philip*; from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His Son again, King *Philip* the Second, not satisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zeland* (wrested by his Ancestors from *Jaqueline* their lawful Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the *Netherlands*: persuaded by that mischievous Cardinal of *Granvil*, and other *Romish* Tyrants; not only forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor by the Nobility of those Countries; not only forgot the Present, made him upon his entry, of Forty Millions of *Florens*, called the *Naval aid*; nor only forgot, that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their Ancient Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, conditional Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constrain them, and enthrall them by the *Spanish Inquisition*, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intolerable Impositions; He lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Sovereigns of *England* and *France*; but *Turk*-like, to tread under his Feet all their National and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and Ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of all the War and bloodshed since then) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister *Margaret* of *Austria*, and the Cardinal *Granvil*; He employed that most merciless Spaniard *Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain the Earl of *Egmont*, Prince of *Gavare*; and *Philip Montmorency* Earl of *Horn*: made away *Montigne*, and the Marquis of *Bergues*; and cut off in those six Years (that

*Nether. Hist. l.
7. fol. 313.*

*History of the
Netherlands.*

(that *Alva* governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the Hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous Murders and Massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtlety, which he had failed to perform by force: He sent for Governor his Bastard Brother *Don John* of *Austria*; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those People. But he, using the same Papal advantage that his Predecessors had done; made no scruple to take Oath upon the Holy *Evangelists*, to observe the Treaty made with the general States; and to discharge the *Low Countries* of all *Spaniards*, and other Strangers, therein garisoned. Towards whose Pay and Passport, the *Netherlands* strained themselves to make payment of six hundred thousand pounds. Which Monies received, he suddenly surpris'd the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Nemours*: not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have posselt himself of all the mastering places of those Provinces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended, He held in secret a contrary Council with the Secretary *Escovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, Ministers of the *Spanish* Tyranny; formerly practis'd, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this Perjury, and of all other the Dukes Cruelties. First for himself, after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) Eighteen thousand six hundred in six years; and most cruelly slain Man, Woman, and Child, in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Naerden*, and other places: and after he had consumed six and thirty Millions of Treasure in six Years: notwithstanding his *Spanish* vaunt, That he would suffocate the *Hollanders* in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-rubs: He departed the Country no otherwise accompanied, than with the Curse and Detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his Masters Affairs in a tenfold worse Estate, than he found them at his first arrival. For *Don John*, whose haughty conceit of himself overcame the greatest difficulties; though his Judgment were over weak to manage the least: what wonders did his fearful breach of Faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealousy and distrust; with the untimely death that seized him, even in the flower of his youth. And for *Escovedo* his sharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Master both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being sent into *Spain* upon some new project, He was at the first arrival, and before any access to the King, by certain *Russians* appointed by *Anthony Peres* (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own Lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of *Spain's* Carriage, his Council, and Success in this business; there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those Countries; which, for beauty gave place to none, and for Revenue, did equal his *West-Indies*: for the loss of a Nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this Day, after forty Years War, are in despite of all his Forces become free Estates, and far more rich and powerful, than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politick subtlety, have these fore-named Kings, both Strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent Ministers! and in the end have brought those things to pass for their Enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their

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own counsels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said it and performed it ever: *Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.*

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the Eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the World is the same that it hath been; and the Children of the present time, will still obey their Parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the World are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our selves; or perswade our selves, that GOD hath given us Letters Parents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a *non obstante*: so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the Body: we are by it joyned to the Earth: we are compounded of Earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, far off and unsearchable: we have sense and feeling of Corporal things; and of Eternal grace, but by Revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also Earthly: and it is less to be wondered at, that the words of worthless Men cannot cleanse them; seeing their Doctrine and Instruction, whose Understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the Prophet *Isaiah* cried out long ago, *Lord, who hath believed our reports?* And out of doubt, as *Isaiah* complained then for himself and others: so are they less believed, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every Man's Mouth, yea in the discourse of every Woman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an universal dissimulation? We profess that we know GOD: but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of Divine things, but in a Divine life: for the Devils know them better than Men. *Beatitudo non est divinarum cognitio, sed vita divina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private Contention, the passionate Dispute, the personal Hatred, and the perpetual War, Massacres, and Murders, for Religion among *Christians*: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledge but of the Religious disputations among Men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it self were but used as it ought, and as an Inn or Place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our Celestial habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the Soul hath nothing but Hypocrisy. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in Religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, Divine virtues, in all the course of our lives we renounce our Persons, and the Parts we Play. For Charity, Justice, and Truth, have but their being in terms, like the Philosophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that Wisdom, which *Salomon* defineth to be the *School-Mistress of the knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the World: it is enough that we give it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of Riches chiefly; by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respects which attend it.

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These indeed be the Marks (which when we have bent our Consciences to the height) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the Care is our own; the Care our own in this Life, the Peril our own in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one Man. For the rest; He that had the greatest Wildom, and the greatest Ability that ever Man had, hath told us that this is the Use: *When Goods increase (saith Salomon) they also increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their Eyes?* As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair Weather: they again forsake us in the first Tempest of Misfortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our Destinies. Of these, among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of *Master Darnet*, and use his own words: *Whilst the Emperour Charles the Fifth, after the resignation of his Estates, stayed at Vlushing for Wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinand's Embassador, till the deep of the Night. And when Seldius should depart, the Emperour calling for some of his Servants, and no body answering him (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their Lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperour took up the Candle himself, and went before Seldius to light him down the Stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the Stairs foot, He said thus unto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That thou, whom thou hast known in thy Time environed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his own domestical Servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no means go about to withstand.*

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend Respect that is held of great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of People. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward Love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward Worship given to their Places and Power; without which what is the Applause of the Multitude, but as the outcry of an Herd of Animals, who, without the knowledge of any true Cause, please themselves with the Noise they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; and the most virtuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For as Fortune's Man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on Foot: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter Contercept spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second, is the greatning of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their Glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which *Lactantius* spake of certain Heathen Philosophers, *quod sapientes sunt in re stulti.* For when our Spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal Bodies; and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other Joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of Pride in that Stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace; nor any other Sorrow for their Poverty, than there doth of Shame in that, which beareth up a Begger's Cottage. *Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi etiam eorum filii; S. Aug. de civitate quia anime mortuorum rebus viventium non interfunt.* The Dead though holy, know nothing of the Living, no, not of their own Children: for the Souls of those departed,

are not conversant with their Affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint Augustine, we cannot of Job; who tells us, *That we know not if our Sons shall be Honourable: neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low Degree.* Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: *Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain: he begetteth up Riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them.* The living (saith he) know that they shall die; but the dead know nothing at all. For who can shew unto Man, what shall be after him under the Sun? He therefore accounted it among the rest of Worldly Vanities, to labour and travel in the World, not knowing after Death, whether a Fool or a wise Man should enjoy the Fruits thereof: which made me (saith he) endeavour even to abhor mine own Labour. And what can other Men hope, whose blessed or sorrowful estates after Death GOD hath reserved? Man's Knowledge lying but in his Hope; seeing the Prophet *Ezay* confesseth of the Elect, *That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not.* But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark Night of Death: of whose following Day we shall never behold the dawn, till his return that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over, till the World be no more. After which, and when we shall again receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelical Affections: in so great admiration shall the Souls of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less Joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal Affection, towards Friends, Kindred or Children. Of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no Man can assure us; and the wisest Men doubt. But on the contrary; If a Divine Life retain any of those Faculties, which the Soul exercised in a mortal Body; we shall not at that time fo divide the Joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their Felicities which remain in the World. No; be their Estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detect their consideration. And whatsoever Comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the Charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value Honour and Riches at nothing, and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain: certainly no. For that infinite Wisdom of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angels by Degrees: which hath given greater and less Light, and Beauty to Heavenly Bodies: which hath made differences between Beasts and Birds: created the Eagle and the Fly, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among Stones, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the People, Magistrates, Judges, and other Degrees among Men. And as Honour is left to Posterity, for a Mark and Ensign of the Vertue and Understanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing *Siracides* preferreth Death before Beggery: and that Titles, without proportionable Estates, fall under the miserable succour of other Mens Pity; I account it foolishness to condemn such a Care: Provided, that worldly Goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own Buildings out of other Mens Ruines. For as *Plato* doth first prefer the perfection of bodily Health; secondly, the Form and Beauty; and thirdly, *Divitiar nulla fraude questas*: so *Jeremy* cries, *Wo unto them that erect their Houses by unrighteousness, and their Chambers without Equity: and Ezay* the same, *Wo to those that spoil and were not spoiled.* And it was out of the true Wisdom of *Salomon*, that he commandeth us, *not to drink the Wine of Violence; not to lie in wait for Blood; and not to swallow them up alive, whose Riches we covet: for such are the Ways* (saith he) *of every one that is greedy of Gain.*

And

And if we could afford our selves but so much Leisure as to consider, That he which hath most in the World, hath, in respect of the World, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when we were not, or by that time which is to come in which we shall abide for ever: I say, if both, to wit our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not our of any excellency of Understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves after the World were but mortal.

But let every Man value his own Wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich Man think all Fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger esteem all negligent, that have not trodden down their Opposites; the Politician, all gross, that cannot Merchandize their Faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of Death, to which all Winds drive us; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the Navigation of this Life takes end: Then it is I say, that our own Cogitations (those sad and severe Cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing Passages of our Lives past. It is then that we cry out to GOD for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise Cruelty towards others: and it is only then, that we are stricken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, *That GOD will not be mockt.* For if according to Saint *Peter*, *The Righteous scarcely be saved: and that GOD spared not his Angels:* where shall those appear, who, having served their Appetites all their Lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerful GOD were given but in sport; and that the short Breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of Satisfaction or Amends), is sufficient? *O quam multi*, saith a reverend Father, *cum hac spe ad aeternos labores & bella descendunt*: I confess that it is a great Comfort to our Friends, to have it said, that we ended well: for we all desire (as *Balaam* did) *to die the death of the righteous.* But what shall we call a disesteeming, an apportioning, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if those Men do not appose him, disesteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for GOD, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious Breath? For what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto GOD as followeth? We beseech thee O GOD, that all the Falshoods, Forfeittings, and Treacheries of our Lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy Nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just GOD; that thou wilt love Injuries and Oppressions, call Ambition Wisdom, and Charity Foolishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess my self to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise Worldlings have either found out a new GOD; or have made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as *Lewis* the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his Head and kiss it: beseeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it should be the last, which, (as at other times) he did; when by the practice of a Cardinal and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earl of Ar-

Gal. 6. 7.
1 Pet. 4.

magnack to be stabbed to death; Mockeries indeed fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the ever-living GOD. But of this Composition are all the devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous: they fear the Plots and Practices of their Opposites, and their very Whisperings: they fear the Opinions of Men which beat but upon shadows: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they Friends or Kings: yea they dive under Water, like Ducks, at every Pebble-stone, that's but thrown towards them by a powerful hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obdurate and Giant-like Valour, against the terrible Judgments of the All-powerful GOD: yea they shew themselves gods against GOD, and slaves towards Men; towards Men whose Bodies and Consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both Conditions; to wit of the Rich and Mighty, whom we call Fortunate; and of the Poor and Oppressed, whom we account Wretched: we shall find the Happiness of the one, and the miserable Estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both so subject to interchange (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy uprising of the meanest Persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For there is no Man so assured of his Honour, of his Riches, Health or Life; but that he may be deprived of either or all, the very next Hour or Day to come. *Quid vesper vokat, incertum est, What the Evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (saith Saint James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found: for he is turned into dust, and his Purpose perisheth.* And although the Air which compasseth Adversity, be very obscure: yet therein we better discern GOD, than in that shining Light which environeth worldly Glory; through which, for the clearness thereof, there is no Vanity which escapeth our Sight. And let Adversity seem what it will; to happy Men, ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other Mens Misfortunes; and to those under the Cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the Portions remaining are equal to either. For be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Salomon) in them all we have rejoiced; or be it that we have measured the same length of Days, and therein have evermore sorrowed: yet looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the Joy and the Woe, failed out of sight; and Death which doth pursue us and hold us in chase, from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid etatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoever of our age is past, Death holds it.* So as whosoever be, to whom Fortune hath been a Servant, and the Time a Friend: let him but take the account of his Memory (for we have no other keeper of our Pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath retained, either of Beauty and Youth, or foregone Delights; what it hath saved, that it might last, of his dearest Affections, or of what ever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of Contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other Vapour out of these Dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad Sighs. He shall find nothing remaining, but those Sorrows, which grow up after our fast-springing Youth; overtake it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poor, diseased, and captive Creature, hath as little Sense of all his former Miseries and Pains; as he, that is most blest in common Opinion, hath of his fore-passed Pleasures

and

and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing: and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it. *Omnia quæ eventura sunt, in incerto jacent.* Only those few black Swans I must except, who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold Death without dread, and the Grave without fear; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endless Glory.

For my self, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life, are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first, we complain to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confess, *Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ conerunt super nos.* And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second, we complain to our selves against GOD, as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly Goods and Honours, answering our Appetites; or for taking them again from us, having had them: forgetting that humble and just acknowledgment of *Job*, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken* To the first of which *S. Paul* hath promised Blessedness; to the second, Death. And out of doubt he is either a Fool or ungrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his Estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which GOD oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his Afflictions be, that the same are yet far less, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wife Man call the Adversities of the World, but *tribula vivendi, the tributes of living*: a wise Christian Man ought to know them, and bear them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them Man-like, and resolvedly; and not as those whining Soldiers do, *qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.*

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the Parts we are to Play: and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greatest Emperor, and the part of the most miserable Begger; a Begger begging Water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of Death; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Signior* of the *Turks* in the Morning, and in the same Day the *Foot-stool* of *Tamerlane* (both which Parts *Valerian* had also played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Belisarius* play the most Victorious Captain, and lastly the Part of a blind Begger; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other Men, who are but as the least Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the less. For when on the one and the other, every Man wears but his own Skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any Man, out of weakness, prize the passages of this World otherwise (for saith *Petrarch*, *Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus*) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the Brains of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversitie work all that they work. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madness in the Shipwrack of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as *Seneca* saith, *Fortuna succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato; to fall under Fortune, of all other the most miserable destiny.*

But

But it is now time to found a Retreat; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and wishal, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time past (which we call *History*) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of Divine Providence, every where found (the first Divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: Creation, inferring Providence: (for what Father forsaketh the Child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) yet many of those that have seemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to disjoin this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the *Aristotelian* granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this Doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we understand, that the World was made by the Word of God) be too weighty a Work for *Aristotle's* rotten Ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verbal Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of Infinite Power, and the Worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary even in the judgment of Natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those Men which are desirous of knowledge, (seeing *Aristotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than terms in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the Law of those Philosophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are undoubted Grounds and Principles indeed, because so called? Or that *ipsi dixerunt*, doth make them to be such? certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and finite Power, may be approved for a Fundamental Law of Humane knowledge. For saith *Charron* in his Book of Wisdom, *Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorité que l'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference*. Every Humane proposition hath equal Authority, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof how shall the upright and impartial Judgment of Man give a Sentence, where Opposition and Examination are not admitted to give in Evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam sibi adiungunt, qui sine ulla judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis peculum more ducuntur*. They neglect their own Wisdom, who without any Judgment approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerful a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity, in a Pillory; and written over the first, *Contra negantem Principia*; over the second, *Virtus specifica*; and over the third, *Ecclesia Romana*.

But for my self, I shall never be persuaded, that GOD hath shut up all light of Learning within the Lanthorn of *Aristotle's* Brains: or that it was ever said unto him, as unto *Esdra*, *Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus*: that GOD hath given invention but to the Heathen; and that they only have

have invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same Nature having consumed all her Store, and left nothing of Price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reason: and so hath Experience, without Art. The Cheefe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that *sowre Runnet* doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But if we ask a reason of this cause, why the *sowre-ness* doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how; I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But Man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grass under his Feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are far less noble Creatures than himself; who is far more Noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (saith *Salomon*) that can hardly discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; that hath so short a time in the World, as he no sooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if *Aristotle* be he) could never so much as define, but by the action and effect, telling us what it works (which all Men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, saith *Job*.) Man I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life, will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in Creating the World; of GOD who (saith *Job*) is so excellent as we know him not; and examine the beginning of the Work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable GOD's Power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Moths of the Air for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two Powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Form; and lastly, for want of a Work-man, have it Eternal: which latter opinion *Aristotle*, to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectators have maintained it; *parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis invictis opinionibus tueri*. For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or soon after, *Moses*, *Zoroaster*, *Museus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Melissus*, *Perecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleantes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by *Stoichus Engubinus*) found in the necessity of invincible reason, one Eternal and Infinite Being, to be the Parent of the Universal. *Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut Providentiam unam esse consentiant: sive enim Natura, sive Ether, sive Ratio, sive mens, sive fatalis necessitas, sive divina Lex; idem esse quod à nobis dicitur Deus*. All these Mens opinions (saith *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this, That they agree upon one Providence; whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or Understanding, or Destiny, or Divine Ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under Ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at last find, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that Humane capacity hath; and after all Philosophical contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this Infinite Power, all the Reason of Man ends and dissolves it self.

*Euseb. de Prep.
Evang. l. 7. c. 8.*

As for others; and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the World to have been *Eternal*, and that God did not create the World *ex nihilo*, but *ex materia præexistente*: the supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith *Eusebius*) *Mibi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortissimam quoque Deo amittere. They seem unto me, which affirm this, - to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune.* Inasmuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universal. For were the Matter or Chaos, *Eternal*: it then follows, That either this supposed Matter did fit it self to God; or God, accommodate himself to the Matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workman's will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of Matter which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the work of the World: Or had there been more of this matter, than sufficed, then did God dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same Work of God alone, to Create any thing out of nothing: And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that *Eternal matter*, be again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible, *Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do Bodies compound themselves.*

For the rest; Those that feign this matter to be *Eternal*, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite form, but that the first matter was finite, the form which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part; whoever will make choice, rather to believe in *Eternal deformity*, or in *Eternal dead matter*, than in *Eternal light and Eternal life*: let *Eternal death* be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of Man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupefied) hath doubted, That Infinite Power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of Shadow, *quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for matter or form; yea for as many Worlds (if such had been GOD's Will) as the Sea hath Sands? For where the Power is without limitation, the Work hath no other limitation, than the Workman's will. Yea Reason it self finds it more easie for infinite Power, to deliver from it self a finite World, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite Man, a Fool and Dust, to change the form of matter made to his Hands. They are *Dionysius* his words, *Deus in una existentia omnia*

omnia præhabet: and again, *Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod videt, et quod non videt*: to wit, casually, or in better terms, *non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis*. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of GOD: For the most parts of his Works (saith *Siracides*) are hid. Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened, by the glorious Work of the World: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his Infinite Power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldom entitle GOD, the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the all-mighty; that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, infer the Worlds Eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an *Eternal* being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [nothing] be taken in the Affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite Power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor *Aristotle* himself confesseth, *Quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum. That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be Infinite*: and a little after, more largely and plainly, *Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere*. It is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsely; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvelous Bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, with *ipsum infinitum*: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirmeth of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui destruit omnem proportionem*) is no wonder in GOD's Power. And therefore *Anaximander*, *Melissus*, and *Empedocles*, call the World Universal, but particular *Universitatis* & *Infininitatis*: a parcel of that which is the *Universality* and the *Infinity* it self; and *Plato*, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to prove the Worlds Eternity, urgeth this Maxime, That, *A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted*: inferring, that GOD being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World Universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, (to wit an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent: and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his Conclusion; to make GOD free in Power, and bound in Will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of GOD, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burn things combustible.

Again he thus disputes, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work: if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act. But GOD (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work: whence he concludeth, if the World were caused by GOD, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore *Eternal*. The answer to this is very easie; For that GOD's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his Will, which made the World for ever, did also with-

Cap. 16. v. 21.

*Stew. Eng. l. 3.
c. 9. ex Arist.
Phys. 3. 20.*

*Met. Fin. de
immort. Animæ.
L. 18. c. 1.*

hold the effect to the time ordained. To this Answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be said to be Eternal: which the Platonicks call, *spiritualem mundum*; and do in this sort distinguish the Idea, and Creation in time. *Spirituális ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vixit æquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, æritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab æpice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia fit semper futurus.* That Representative, or the intentional World (say they) the Sampler of this visible World, the first Work of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material World, the second Work or Creature of GOD, doth differ from the Worker in this, That it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come. The first Point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confess: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shall be a new Heaven and a new Earth; without any new creation of Matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such Opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this Consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable Cause, producing a changeable and temporal Effect. Touching which Point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World, (and because compounded, therefore dissapable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseparable Power, flowing from Divine Unity; and that the Worlds natural Appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a Goodness and Understanding Divine; and that this Vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine Infinite, according to the temporal Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Material World is not altogether: but the abolished Parts are departed by small Degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small Degrees succeed; as the shadow of a Tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never seen, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered Corruption; or that they appear any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural Arguments may receive Answer by Conjectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others were grossly mistaken: or else those parts of the World, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sun's Heat; neither were the Seas under the Equinoctial, navigable. But we know by Experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with People, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the World were burnt up by the Sun's violent Heat.

*Arist. Met. 2.
Plin. l. 2. c. 8.
Strab. l. 3.
Beda de ratione
tem. 11. c. 32.
Thom. T. P. 9.
102. art. 2.*

But

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter molding and friable, have stood two or three thousand years: that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration either of Substance or Figure, yea it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if Bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential Bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Gyants, such as the eldest World had: nor mighty Men, such as the elder World had: but all things in general are reputed of less Vertue, which from the Heavens receive Vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Discourse, we might easily fetch store of proof: as that this World shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be made to this Objection: If the World were Eternal; why not all things in the World Eternal? If there were no First, no Cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible Wisdom, but that every Nature had been alike eternal; and Man more Rational than every other Nature: Why had not the eternal Reason of Man, provided for his eternal being in the World? For if all were equal: why not equal Conditions to all? why should Heavenly Bodies live for ever; and the Bodies of Men rot and die.

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Air: that the Sun should travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed those Bounds, nor fail to perform that Progress once in every Year: The Moon to live by borrowed Light: the fixt Stars (according to common Opinion) to be fastened like Nails in a Cart-Wheel, and the Planets to wander at their Pleasure? Or if none of these had power over other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sun by his perpetual travel within those two Circles, hath visited, given Light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the Sun have of his own accord kept this Course in all Eternity: He may justly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and clear Fountains of Vertue and Operation, may also be called eternal Vertues: the Earth may be called eternal Patience; the Moon, an eternal Borrower and Begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dream'd of. But in stead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal Eyes: and the Eyes of our Reason discern it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they have not constrained, nor could. *Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem; quæ illud determinaverit, Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.*

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this Name, the School of Aristotle hath both commended many Errors unto us, and sought also thereby to obscure the Glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best defini-

nition be taken out of the second of *Aristotle's Physics*, or *primo de Caelo*, or out of the fifth of his *Metaphysics*; I say that the best is but nominal, and serving only to difference the beginning of Natural Motion, from Artificial: which yet the *Academicks* open better, when they call it *A seminary Strength*, infused into Matter by the Soul of the World: who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. *Providentia* (by which they understand GOD) *dux & caput*; *Fatum*, *medium* ex *Providentia* prodians; *Natura postremum*. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath Choice or Understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no Man hath avowed. For this is unanswerable of *Lactantius*: *Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam*; He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

*Laët. de ira
Dei l. 1. c. 10.*

Ficin. in Plat.

But the Will and Science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by *Ficinus*: *Potest ubique Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, diversa facere: sublata vero mediorum materialiumque diversitate, vel unicum vel simillimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari*; It is the power of Nature by diversity of Means, or out of diversity of Matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of Means, and the diversity of Matter, it then works but one or the like Work; neither can it but work, Matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diversity of Matter, to work all these variable Works of Heaven and Earth; it had then both Understanding and Will; it had Counsel to begin; Reason to dispose; Virtue and Knowledge to finish; and Power to govern: without which, all things had been but one and the same: all of the Matter of Heaven; or all of the Matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this Will, and this Understanding, this Counsel, Reason, and Power: *Cur Natura potius, quam Deus nominetur*? Why should we then call such a Cause rather Nature, than GOD? GOD of whom all Men have Notion, and give the first and highest place to Divine Power: *Omnes homines rationem deorum habent, omnesque summum locum divino cuidam nomini assignant*. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true Reason in Man (were there no Authority more binding than Reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime Power. *Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his que fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea que vire sunt, & semper eadem*: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

*Laët. de ira
Dei l. 1. c. 10.*

*Arist. l. 1. de
caelo, c. 2. T. 22.*

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound GOD and Nature: be it but in terms. For it is GOD, that only disposeth of all things according to his own Will; and maketh of one Earth, *Vessels of Honour and Dishonour*. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is GOD, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is GOD that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is GOD, that hath all things in himself: Nature, nothing in it self. It is GOD, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it self it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in Fire, that makes it to

consume

consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things work as they do, (call it by *Form*, by *Nature*, or by what you please) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest Power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the Wonder, and to him is the Worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a Faculty, as neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the virtue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable Man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all Men truly learned that ever the World had; to wit, That there is a Power Infinite, and Eternal, (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by Divine Letters, as the Waters of a running River do successively pursue each other from the first Fountains.

This much I say it, that Reason it self hath taught us: and this is the beginning of Knowledge. *Sapientia precedit, Religio sequitur*: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth, *absoluti boni scientiam*; The Science of the absolute good: and another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum*. For Faith (saith *Isidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: *fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur*. I confess it, That to inquire further, as of the Essence of GOD, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World: Or of his secret Judgment, and the Causes; is not an effect of Reason: *Sed cum ratione insaniant*, but they grow mad with Reason, that inquire after it. For as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arrest aubut qu'on nasceu surpasser; For a Man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true Reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as Understanding it self not to be Infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is *pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum meriti*) that the World was made by a Power Infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same Infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where, it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

*Laët. l. 4. c. 4.
de vera Sapientia.*

Isaac de despi.

Quod est infinitum & non secundum naturam terminatum, non constituitur a Scientia; Arist. Poster.

I have been already over-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsuitable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the Building after the Foundation was laid, and the First Part finished. All Men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of these things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little; *Ipse nobis furto subducitur,*

We

We are stollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; that who so thinks himself the wisest Man, is but a poor and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best Men of War, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest Guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the *Assyrians*, which after the downfal of *Babel* take up the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* excepted.

It was the Story of the *Hebrews*, of all before the *Olympiads*, that overcame the consuming Disease of Time; and preserved it self, from the very cradle and beginning to this Day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with *Virgil*,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

They appear here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws; they had diversity of Government; they had Kingly Rule; Nobility, Policy in War; Navigation; and all, or the most of needful Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is that I have also made many others: which if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of Humane error. For seeing we digress in all the ways of our lives: yea seeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their Lives and Actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the Kinds.

The same hath been taught by many; but by no Man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir *Francis Bacon*. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every Day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions: yea the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the *Persians* had wrested the Empire from the *Chaldeans*, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so flourished, that the Affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Persians*, as also towards the Affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.

As for the *Meds*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other Nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers, who seldom give names to those small Brooks, whereof many joined together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and run in a main Stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phraze be weak, and the Style not every where like it self: the first, shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second, will excuse it self upon the variety of Matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Ecloques*, *gracili avena*, used stronger Pipes when he founded the Wars of *Aeneas*. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers *Hebrew* words in my First Book, and elsewhere: in which Language others may think, and I my self acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I find in *Montanus*; others in *Latin* Character in *S. Severus*, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned Friends. But say I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, having had Eleven Years leisure, to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other Tongue; howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own times; having been permitted to draw Water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosoever in writing a modern History, shall follow truth too near the Heels, it may happily strike out his Teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself: and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after Mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them: and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extream ambition, or extream cowardice, or both, do yet, (when death hath them on his Shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: where-in also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living, in their Persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves sported like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over a new, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.

For I protest before the Majesty of GOD, That I malice no Man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions; but that they seem divers Persons in one and the same day. *Seneca* hath said it, and so do I: *Unus mihi pro populo erat*: and to the same effect *Epicurus*, *Hoc ego non multis sed tibi*; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, *Satis est unus, Satis est nullus*. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince *Henry*, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master; from which all that is presented, hath received both blows

and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo his secundum plures datur.* But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: so against those, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall: and for rising again, as in the Natural privation there is no recession to habit; so is it seldom seen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to file my Readers *Gentle, Courteous*, and *Friendly*, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promise a Second and Third Volume (which I also intend) if the First receive Grace and good Acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous Phrases; yet shall we evermore be thought Fools, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love, towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure, to have made my self a Fool in Print.

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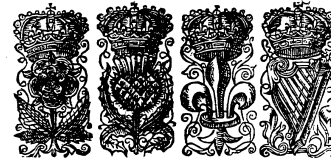
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THE
L I F E
OF THE
VALIANT and LEARNED
Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.
WITH HIS
T R Y A L
A T
WINCHESTER.

The Third Edition.



THE

L O N D O N,

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T H E
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O F
S^r Walter Raleigh.



Determine to write the Life, the Rise, Fortunes and End of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, his Memoires being certainly worthy to be transmitted to Posterity, who hath been so successfully industrious in retrieving the Actions of former Ages from the Ruines of Time, even in its very Infancy, in a well-compil'd, masculine, and learned History of the World. The Image of so great a Person should not be quite lost, though drawn in little, which deserves to be portray'd by the greatest Masters of Policy, and with the boldest Touches. Indeed his Shadows cannot now well be left exact, seeing they must be taken so long after his Death; when Time hath defac'd his best Features, and shed *Oblivion* on the most beautiful of his Actions. Who follows Truth (as Sir *Walter* has wisely remark'd) too near the heels, may have his teeth struck out: and he that goes after her, oft loseth her sight, and himself too. Distance of time doth sometimes, like some *mediums*, make the straightest Actions seem crooked, and sometimes gives them the advantage of Landscapes, which appear taking and agreeable afar off, though when nearly search'd, and pry'd into by a curious and intelligent Eye, they seem rude, harsh, and unpleasant.

In his Preface to the History of the World.

We must therefore despair of a just and exact Account of him, unless we could by some Magick Power (as the Author of a Pamphlet has done, to terrifie and make *Gondamore* speak the Truth) raise him from the Dead, and converse a while with his Ghost. I shall however with what imperfect Clue our Histories have bequeathed, trace him through the various Labyrinths of Fortuæ, and take a Prospect of him in the several Scenes of Court and Camp, Peace and War, till I have followed him to the Scaffold, the place of his much lamented and unhappy End; keeping as near as I can a *medium* between *Those* who in their Annals drive on with an implicit faith; and *Those*, who to get the reputation of Observers and Men of Reach, steal into the private recesses of Princes, and disrobe Majesty it self to find some Deformities; which Love to their Prince, and Interest of State should cover; The best Vail for all deform'd Actions.

I find him born at a place, call'd *Budley*, or *Budleigh*, in the County of *Devon*, in an House which his Family had long possessed, call'd *Hays*: A County (as Mr. *Census* has observ'd) renown'd among foreign Nations for the Valour of its Inhabitants in Sea-Services of all sorts. That *Spain* thought so, Sir *Francis Drake*, with many others of that County, as well as our Sir

Sir *Walter*, are very convincing Arguments.

That he was well defended, was never yet questioned, but by my Lord of *Oxon*, who indeed was wont to call him the Jack, and Upstart. But these were words which only Envy and Emulation could extort, and every one very easily confute.

Indeed that he was a Gentleman, because a Favourite, was no ill Argument amongst the Politicians of those Times, if we may believe a Secretary of State, who hath left this as a Maxima then, That the Queen through her whole Reign never was guilty of creation, never in her choice took into her Favour a mere New-Man, or a Mechanick.

That he was but poor in the beginning seems not strange, if we consider him the youngest Brother, and the Fortunes of his Family much diminished by the Generosity (if not Prodigality) of his Ancestors. But the wants of Fortune are often recompenc'd with the richer gifts of the Mind; Nature foreseeing the disability of his Estate, stock'd him with a larger portion of Sense, bequeath'd him the fairer Patrimony of a faithful Memory, plausible Tongue, strong Wit, and solid Judgement.

But because the natural Endowments of the Mind, though never so great, are capable of Advancement by the help of Education, he resolv'd for one of the Universities. *Oxon* had the happiness to own him, where I find him in *Oriel* Collegd. His slender Fortune, and his active Genius, always pointed with a restless Ambition, would not let him settle here, so that he could only (like a Spy) take a transient view of, or (like an haughty Enemy) make some incursions and inroads into those parts of Learning, which he afterward conquered, and was entirely Master of.

Therefore that he might the better feed those Hopes Ambition had kindled in his thoughts, and remove nearer to the Mists of Court, which he knew were always Places of Esteem with the Queen, who would say, *they fitted youth for the future*. Here he spent his time, and improv'd himself in the intricate knowledge of our Laws, and in the studies of all Manly and Real Accomplishments.

But he said not long here neither; for Fate it seems would have him of the Sword first. Yet though he laid aside his Gown, it was not with a design of never re-assuming it; for through the frequent Vicissitudes of his whole Life, he challenged a Reputation amongst the most Eminent Statesmen, being upon all Emergencies of Affairs consulted, as one of the best Oracles of Government and Policy in his time. It's

true he was never sworn, for some Reasons of State which Courts spread a Vail over, but was frequently called in Council. Through his Life he made good his Motto, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*: and it is still a Question, whether he was the better States-man or Souldier? incomparably excelling in both the Arts of Peace and War. To rise by his Studies, probably his Condition and Ambition would not let him judge the speediest course; much time and a considerable Fortune being often spent in climbing up the tedious steps of Preferment that way. He thought it more easie to fight, than talk himself into a Reputation. Active times, and a buisie Warlike Princess, pointed him out the readiest way to the Temple of Honour. The Sword he judged, with *Alexander*, the quickest Instrument to unty all the Knots and tedious Obstacles of Greatness.

Nor could he want Occasions enough to draw forth his Spirits into Action. France was engaged in a Civil War; And the Queen whether out of concern for the Protestants, or for Reason of State, to divert the Giant-Enemy the Spaniard, assisted the poor distressed Dutch. And the Spaniard by a Policy of the same nature, rais'd Rebellions in Ireland; which like subterranean Fires, broke out over all that Kingdom at several times; When one *Mac* had in one place spent his Force, presently we hear of the eruption of another. This Fire was kept in to the end of her Reign, being maintained by that lasting fessel of Rebellion, and common pretext of change in Government, *RELIGION*: the Pope pretending the Kingdom belonged to *S. Peter*.

Of his first Publick Appearance Mr. *Canden* hath given us this Account: The Queen though imbroil'd in a Rebellion at home of the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Dacres* in the North, yet failed not to relieve the Protestants in France, who were now brought into a distressed and almost desperate condition; she exhorted all the Protestant Princes to assist the Common Cause, supplied the Queen of *Navary* with Money, taking Jewels in pawn; Permitted *Henry Champernown* to carry into France a Troop of Gentlemen-Volunteers, who were resolved to make good the Motto their Colours bore, *Finem det nobis Virtus*. Among these Sir *Walter* engaged himself, though (as Mr. *Canden* goes on) very young, and now first beginning to be of any note. So soon the early blossoms of his Valour began to appear, which afterwards grew up to an exact ripeness and perfection. France was the first School, wherein he learnt the Rudiments of War; and the Low-Countries and Ireland (the Military Academies of those Times) made him Master of that Discipline; for in both places

he expos'd himself afterwards to Land-Service: But their slender Pay discourag'd him from staying long in either. The Service of Ireland especially, scarce supplying the necessities of a Military Life.

Being restless and impatient of a narrow and low Condition, and his Services being not so successful as his Hopes were great, and his Merits not answered with a Fortune strong enough to buoy up his Reputation, he was resolv'd to leave no Stone unturned, nor any Method of living unexperienced. And since his Land-Expeditions could make no Additions to his Fortunes, Novelty, and a desire of putting himself into a better capacity, urg'd him to a Sea-Voyage. At both Sea and Land he was the true Pattern of Industry; and if any Man ever manag'd Necessity to his furthest Improvements, it was He. No expert Souldier or Mariner escap'd his Acquaintance or Enquiries; nothing that related to the Arts of War and Navigation mis'd his perusal: and one who was Master of those parts he enjoy'd, could with no great difficulty make those Arts his own. Add to this the Methods he us'd to improve himself: He slept but five hours; four he spent in reading and mastering the best Authors, two in a select Conversation and an Inquisitive Discourse, the rest in Business. He underwent all the labours that attend a Souldier, and far'd as the meanest. No common Mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the most difficult Attempts.

What his Sea-Voyages produc'd, Histories are silent in; but not long after his return I find him get again into Ireland, appearing with his own Colours flying in the Field, under the command of the Deputyship of that Kingdom. He had not been long there, before a Quarrel was rais'd between the Lord-Deputy and our Captain, (for with that Title he went into Ireland) which being complain'd of to a Council of War, was refer'd to the Council-Table in England. Our Historians would make the Lord *Grey's* Cause the fairest; but Justice, and the Result of the Council, gave *Raleigh* the Victory. What were the occasions of this Quarrel our Annals slip over, and have only left a large Field for Conjecture to tire it self in. Whether an eager pursuit after Honour, without exact obedience to Military Command, occasioned by a restless desire of doing something Great, or what ever else it might be, we leave the Reader to fancy: However if his Cause had not been good, no Apology, how well so ever manag'd, could have brib'd the

Judgment of so wise a Council, wholly strangers to his Worth and Person.

About this time Authors place the *Era* of his Rise, but cannot well agree about the occasion of it. Some would have *Leicester* to be the chief Agent in it, and that he related the whole business at Council to the Queen with no little advantage to our Captain. Not so much probably out of respect to *Raleigh*, as to his own Interest. For Favourites, like their Princes, seldom espouse any Cause upon any other ground than what advances or stands with their own Designs. His own Designs indeed on the Queen were blasted, and finding the burden and envy of a Statesman too heavy for his aged shoulders, he was willing handsomely to impart them to a more active Genius. Though great Favourites seldom admit of a Partner, till Age makes them willing to withdraw, and leave the trouble of Business to more sprightly years. They care not to have new Plants set, till themselves are almost wither'd and laps'd.

Others would have his Rise attributed to *Suffex*, who brought him to Court to outshine *Leicester*, and eclipse the splendor of his Enemy. But what was the strongest Argument and only Perswasive with the Queen was his Merits, which she soon saw, and presently encouraged. Nor must I here pass by one final step to his future Health, which our Chronicles have over-look'd, as below the Pen of an Historian, though some have judg'd an Account of some little transactions the best Inters to Truth and Mysteries of State. The occasion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of Ireland upon the aforementioned Cause to Court, in very good habir, (which it seems was the greatest part of his Estate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Deserts are not known, found the Queen walking, till she was stop'd by a plain-place which the scrupled treading on; presently he spread his new Plush-Coat on the Ground, on which the Queen gently trod, being not a little pleas'd, as well as surpris'd with so unexpected a Complement. Thus, as one remarks upon this Story, *An Advantagious Admission into the first Notices* of a Prince, is more than half a degree to Preferment. For he presently after found some gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was resolv'd, and well knew how to cherish and contract. To put the Queen in remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majesty either espying, or being shewn, under-wrote this Answer,

If

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But his aspiring Soul could not rest in the lower, though safer way of living; He could not be mean, whose Resolutions were so great, and whose Prudence and Activity made him capable of the highest Preferments. Inspir'd with a restless and ambitious *Genius*, he design'd nothing but what was extreme; and had rather not be, than not be one of the most Eminent. And to the greatest height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reigns than that of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; the former being not over-hasty to raise any to any great Honour, and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was so towards an Apprentice in the Court-Trade, that he soon set up for himself, and would have improved this stock of favour to a great advantage, had he not lost by those common Enemies to it, Envy and Jealousy. In a short time he is become a *Minion*, obtains the Queen's Ear, is often consulted, and nothing done without him. Her Favour and his Parts began to alarm his Rivals, who like some envious Neighbours will not easily permit any Fabrick to stand long that hinders their own Prospect. Jealous Favourites, like wife Planters, will not suffer the Under-Wood to raise, which may obstruct the growth of taller Trees.

Leicester began to repent his choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too fast in his Mistress's Favour. To stop the current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Esteem, and introduce a new Favourite that might be his Rival. To bring about this Design, *Leicester* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by Raleigh's absence he could have opportunity to introduce the Earl of *Essex*; nor did he long expect before one offer'd it self: for the Queen being willing to encourage Raleigh, (who, as Mr. *Canden* is pleas'd to tell us, was never sufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took to discover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the English Navigation and Trade) sent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitless one; for at his Return he brought news of a new Country, discover'd by him in the Year 1584, call'd in honour of the Queen, *Virginia*, before call'd *Catingandaco* by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been since of no inconsiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to settle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*: Wherein this Nation quick-

ly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulness of the Place, so agreeable to our English Bodies, and profitable to the *Exchequer*. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her parsimony to other parts of the World. An Acre there yieldeth often forty Bushels of Corn; and which is more strange, there being three Harvests in a Year: For, their Corn is sown, ripe, and cut down in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Designs, this Year her Majesty was pleas'd to confer on him the Honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more esteem'd than in her Successors. The Queen keeping the Temple of Honour close shut, and never open'd but to Virtue and Desert. Nor was she indeed ever hasty to reward; for she seldom paid in any other Coin than Patents and good Words. So that the greatest number of those who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a *Speitator*, who praises the Workmanship, and commends the handson Contrivances of a Building, but is at no part of the Expenses of raising it. Hence our Sir *Walter*'s Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Designs, but the Wardenship of the *Stanneries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jersey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor answerable to his Worth, or just Ambition.

In 1588, the grand *Cyphaisterick* of *Spain*, (for Bodies Politick have their *Critical* Times) I find Sir *Walter* by his Example encouraging others of the Gentry to set out Ships at their proper Charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the best use. Which hired Ships were Actors of no small use in that fatal Blow given to the *Invincible Armada*. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatness, with infinite Expenses and Industry; but was beaten, ruin'd, and dishonourably overthrow'n in less than a Months space: the *Spaniards* finding that our Ships as well as the Heavens could fight against them.

But this Shock, like some *Ague-fit*, was easily recover'd, and in a short time after the *Spaniards* began to renew their former Designs. For in the Parliament which began *Febr. 19. 1592*. I find Sir *Walter Raleigh* informing the House, that the Queen could not without Subsidies prevent the eminent dangers threatened from the *Spaniard*. Of which Subsidies he spake (as he protest'd) not only to please the Queen, to whom he was infinitely oblig'd, but

but for the necessity he both saw and knew; He told them; he very well discovered the great Strength of the King of *Spain*; and to shew his Mightiness, he inform'd the house how he posselt all the World. And that his Malice and ill purposes against this Realm might be evident, he shew'd how on every side he had beleaguerr'd us; In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility; so it was very likely he would speed himself of Ships from thence. In the Maritime Towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Morrey* he hath laid in great store of Shipping. In *France* he hath the Parliament-Towns at command; In *Britanny* he hath all the best Havens; and in *Scotland* he hath corrupted the Nobility, and promis'd them Forces to assist the *Papists*, and that they were ready to joyn with any Foreign-Aids, that would make them strong enough to be by themselves, and to resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country there are all possible Preparations making, and he is coming with sixty Gallies besides other Shipping. If our Subsidies are not sudden, he may with ease invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming he fully resolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at least to possess some of the Havens this Summer within our Land. And *Plymouth* is in most danger; for no Ordinance can be carried thither to remove him, the Passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to send a Royal Army and supplant him in *Britanny*, and to possess our selves there; and to send a strong Navy to Sea, and to lie with it on the Cape, and at *Lambuck*; to which places come all his Ships with Riches from all places, and there they may set upon all that come.

What success this Speech alone had I know not, but the Subsidy was granted with the general Consent of the House, to carry on the War against *Spain*. His Expedition a little after demonstrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the *Spaniards* at a distance; and whilst the could not handsonly assault his more neighbourly and guarded parts, to disturb those that were more naked and farther off, his *Indies*. The Moneys brought from thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefest Incendiary in the *Irish Rebellion*, which if handsonly stop'd, would put an end to his Greatness, and humble the Mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an opportunity to shew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen sends him to Sea to manifest both; thinking none more fit

to be employ'd in a Business, than the Person that counsel'd and started it; having the Courage of a Soldier to put in execution the sober Advices of the Governor. To *America* he is sent with 15 Men of War to possess himself of *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* ship their Riches, or to intercept them in their passage home-wards. But he found more Encouragement from the willingness of the Seamen than from the Winds, which held the Ships in their Havens for three Months: A Circumstance which put an ill look upon the enterprize, and had almost made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were buoy'd up with the hopes of Prey, and the success of their Commander. Having set sail at last, they got beyond the *Spanish* Cape, call'd the *Land-end*, where they met with new Intelligence, viz. That by express command from his *Catholic* Majesty no Ship was to stir from the *West-Indies* that Year. Together with this News, instead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attack'd with a more invincible one, a furious Tempest, which dispers'd and disorder'd the Fleet, and sunk their Ship-Boats. Thus being on all sides assauled with Tempests, Distresses, and the worse news of the *Spaniards* stay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had dash'd his Designs, and rendred a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at first he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offer'd it self after second thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the hope that though while together they had been successful, yet Fortune might offer them when separated something worthy their patience and desires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the Conduct of Sir *John Burroughs*, Son to the Lord *Burroughs*; the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*, with their respective Commissions. Sir *Martin*'s charge was to lie off and on the Coast of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Vessels. Sir *John*'s to wait at the *Azores* for the coming of the Carracks out of the *East-Indies*.

Sir *Walter* was much blamed for this Action, and thought short in his Politics, in giving over the hopeful part of the Design to Sir *John Burroughs*, and retiring himself to Court. But the Success was the only Argument of his Oversight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Division of the Fleet prov'd a wise Design, and amazed the *Spaniard*. For while the *Spanish* Admiral eyed *Forbisher*, the mighty Carracks were unregarded, and left to the mercy of *Burroughs*'s Men of War as an easie Prey. Who having

ving according to Order arriv'd at *Santa Cruz*, a small Town in the Isle of *Azores*, a little after got fight of a *Portugal* Merchantman, (briskly parlied by a Privateer of the Earl of *Cumberland's*) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at too far a distance. But a more welcome Storm arising in the night, forc'd both to weigh Anchor. Alsoon as day appear'd, the *Portugees* was unloading as fast as she could at *Flores*, and upon the approach of the *Englisb* fired their Carack: But though their Designs were ruin'd as to that Ship, yet the news they got from some Prisoners taken, gave them fresh hopes, and heartned them with the Information, that several other Merchant-men were behind coming for *Spain*. This put Sir *John Burroughs* upon placing his Men of War at several distances, to reach as far about as was possible. But they had not long waited, before their diligence was rewarded with the surprisal of a large Vessel, call'd *The Mother of God*, which was 165 foot long from Head to Stern, and seven Decks high, laden with Goods to the value of 150000 l. *Englisb*, besides what the Seamen privately took for their own use.

Sir *Walter* having now deferted his Naval Employ, and become again a Courtier, it was not long before he was seiz'd with the idle-Court-disease of Love, the unfortunate occasion of the worst Action of his whole Life. For in the Year 1595, I find him under a Cloud, banish'd the Court, and his Mistress Favour withdrawn, for degrading a Maid of Honour. But why for this one Action he should lie under the imputation of an *Atheist*, and from a single crime get the denomination of a Debauch, is the Logick of none but the Vulgar. By the same reason the other Favourites of those Times (*Leicester*, *Cecil*, and *Essex*) bid as fair for those titles, the latter making the Parallel good in this Vice with his successor *Buckingham*, though in other Circumstances there was a great disparity. Neither ever was it accounted any great Crime in the Orb of Courts. But to stop the Mouth of Fame, which is always open on such occasions, and to wipe out the Infamy of the Fact, he was shortly after married to the Object of his Love, the deflowred Lady. And to get Reputation among the People, who always were unjust to him in their sentiments, he put himself on a Voyage to *Guiana*, for the Improvement and honour of his Country. Having therefore obtained his Liberty, (for, for this Action he was imprisoned some months) and finding all things with an unpleasant Aspect, he followed his *Genius* of discovering New Places, and tracing Nature in her more retired and hidden Paths; thinking that Abſence, and a Fortunate Voyage,

might re-vent him in his Mistress's thoughts, and merit a new Esteem.

Guiana had been talk'd of much by the *Spaniards* as an excellent Country, and for one Commodity the *Spaniards* had a great reverence for, very famous *Gold*, which put Sir *Walter* upon the Attempt, judging it besides a place (if matter'd) very convenient for its situation to annoy and disturb the *Spaniards* American Traffick, and would be no little help in building his Fortunes, and what was more estimable, place him in his Mistress's Favour again.

From *Plymouth* he set sail on the sixth of February, and on the 22d of March arriv'd at the Isle of *Trinidad*, eight degrees on this side the *Equinoctial*-Line; where he soon made himself Master of *S. Joseph's*, a small City; and, which was more considerable, of the Governour *Antonio Beroe*, from whom he got the best account of those Parts, and its Trade. Leaving his Ship at *Trinidad*, with some Pinaces and an hundred Men, and the small stock of Knowledge he obtain'd of *Beroe*, he made up the great River *Orinoco*, in search of *Guiana*. What he found, saw, and performed there, his most Ingenious History of those Parts may satisfy the Curious.

In his Return he fired *Cumana*, because the Inhabitants would not redeem it with Money; besides several Cottages at *S. Maries*, and *Rio de la Hatch*. Neither did he desist in this Design of *Guiana*; for once or twice Mr. *Cambden* tells us afterwards he prosecuted it with vast Expences, although the *Spaniards* had plac'd a Colony at *Trinidad* to hinder his farther Attempts.

Whilst Sir *Walter* is searching for a new World, *Hawkins* and *Drake* are attempting fresh Things in those parts of *America* which the *Spaniards* were already possess'd of. But their old Fortune had left them, and the unhappiness of the Action put an end to their Lives; In the Year 1596 both died with Grief, and bequeath'd their Hatred of the *Spaniard* to Sir *Walter Raleigh* to revenge their Quarrel.

Who this Year return'd, being satisfi'd with his Expedition, and much more with the Reception he found at Court. The Storm was blown over, and his Mistress's Brow was more smooth than at his departure; after his Eclipse he shone brighter at Court, and the Death of those two famous Sea-men, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the necessity of State forc'd them to cherish and encourage. It's strange, that what was *Essex's* Ruine, should confirm Sir *Walter* in Favour, frequent Abſence from his Mistress. But Sir *Walter's* Obsequiousness world much upon the humour of the Queen, who lov'd Plianctness, and exact Obedience, which *Essex* could not always counterfeit.

The

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the possession of *Cales*, from whence it was but a short cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former scourge, *Drake*, and the earnest solicitations of the *Irish*, (who through her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which was fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, though they had been sufficiently bloodied by the *Englisb*;) and the Queen foreseeing a Storm gathering, thought 'twas the best way to scatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She resolv'd therefore to begin with the *Spaniard* first, and fairly set on the Enemy in his own Ports. She speedily riggs a brave Fleet, consisting of 150 Ships, Mann'd by 6360 Souldiers, 1000 Volunteer-Gentlemen, 6772 Sea-Men, Robert Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Howard* were Commanders of equal Authority, having been both at an excessive charge in carrying on the War. To these were joyn'd a Council of War, consisting of several eminent Seamen and Souldiers, among whom was our Sir *Walter*. The Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the first commanded by the Lord Admiral *Howard*; the second by *Essex*; the third by Sir *Thomas Howard*; the fourth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

In the beginning of June they set sail, and got to *Gades* the 20th their Design being perfectly unknown, as well to their Enemies as their own Men. *Essex* heated with Youth, and an ambition of doing bravely, would have presently landed and assaulted the Enemy: but this heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter's* Advice, who impugned all such rash Attempts. At last a fit Opportunity presented it self, and by all it was resolv'd to fight them. At which News the Earl threw up his hat for joy. The Ebbing-Waters would not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater hazard than the Enemy. Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the most proper Person in the midst of the Channel to provoke them, who accordingly in a little Ship, called the *Walfflight*, directed his Prow against the *Spanisb* Men of War, who thereupon presently fell back. Upon this the rest of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took several of their Ships. After this Victory at Sea, the Men were very importunate to go on shore, whom *Essex* landed at *Punial*, a league from the City. At first the *Spaniards* received them with a great deal of Courage, but the *Englisb* charged so warmly, that they thought it their prudentest way to retire with more speed than they came out. The *Englisb* pursued so close that they had almost recover'd the City-Gates as soon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he espied an

Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very steep Precipice but this did not affright several of our *Englisb*, who leap'd from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the mean time Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entered the Town, and the Castle was surrendred upon Merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* was not idle, or eager after the enjoyment of his Conquest; for whilst others were reaping the plentiful Harvest of War, he with some small Ships who could pass up the Chanel, fired their Merchant-Men which were withdrawn to *Port-Real*, although they offered two millions of Ducats for their Redemption. Great were the Losses to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Histories, amounted to no less than Twenty Millions of Ducats. Upon Consultation it was resolv'd to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Essex*, who was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*; and being weary at last of their Victories, they resolv'd for home, though much against *Essex's* will, whose youthful heat was but inflam'd by their Successes, but was wisely slack'd by the Prudence of the Admiral, and the sober Advice of Sir *Walter*: who finding their Men sick, and having gotten so ample Rewards, were not again for hazarding their Fortune upon hopes of a future Prey.

At their Return the Queen welcom'd and encourag'd her Souldiers with new Honours. All but *Essex* were pleas'd, who found State-Preferences not dispos'd of according to his mind. Vere was made Governour of the *Briel*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State.

To recover their Losses at *Gades*, the *Spaniard* riggs out a new Fleet, which were baffled alone by the Winds; for the greatest part were cast away and wreck'd. With the Reliques of this Fleet, in the Year following I find him upon his old Designs of *Ireland*: But the Queen was always too nimble for the grave *Don* whose Designs, like his Ships, mov'd slow and heavy.

Twenty Ships were rigg'd out at present, and afterwards encreas'd to an hundred and twenty Men of War and Victuallers; five thousand Men rais'd, besides a thousand old Souldiers brought from the *Netherlands* by *Vere*. To appease *Essex*, the whole Conduct of the Expedition is committed to him. The Navy was divided into three Squadrons; The first led by *Essex* himself; The second by *Howard*; The third by Sir *Walter*, who now was esteem'd the ablest Seaman of his Age. To enable this Expedition, several Persons of quality of all sorts engag'd themselves, who look'd rather like Courtiers than Souldiers, * * * * *

being more adorn'd with Feathers and gay Cloaths, than arm'd with Courage and Resolution. On the ninth of July they set out with these Instructions, viz. To fleet to *Faro* and the *Groine*, to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and to intercept their *Indian Fleet* (the Bait of the War) at the *Azores*. Which Design was built upon very good Maxims of State: For it would hinder the Fleet intended against *England*; Their Merchant-men wanting Convoys, might be seized on; The *Azores* won, (where the *Indian Fleet* always call'd for fresh Water in their Return); the Queen have the Dominion of the Seas, and the *Spaniard* be obliged to a Treatment of Peace. *Essex* gave out that he was resolv'd to sacrifice Himself and the Navy for his Country: But his brisk Resolutions were quickly daunted by a dismal Tempest, which astonish'd the Mariners themselves, and forc'd home our gaudy Volunteers, who thought no Enemy so terrible as a Tempest, and the severe motions of a Sea-sick stomach. Thus by this Contradiction of Heaven their Ships were torn, their Victuals spent, and they upon this Emergency forc'd to a Consultation what to do. Some were for laying aside the *Faro* and the *Groine* Attempts; others for a Voyage to the *Azores*, which was contradicted by *Vere*. So that at last *Essex* and *Raleigh* were pitch'd on to ride Post for Advice to the Queen. *Essex* talk'd to the Queen of strange *Chimera's*; how that if he were permitted to have the Fleet, he would with ease fire the *Spanish Navy*, and perform many other bold Designs; about which the Queen caution'd him, and desir'd the whole Business should be managed as their joint discretion should prompt, and opportunity offer it self. But if it were possible, if any occasion courted them to it, they should fire the Ships in *Faro* Haven, and intercept what other Ships they could from the *Indies*; And upon all Occasions manifest their Conduct and Valour. With these Instructions they set sail again from *Plymouth*, (whither they were returned the seventeenth of August) but were separated by a Tempest near the Lands-end. A cross Yard in *Raleigh's* Ship was broken by the impetuosity of the Storm, and fell, which forc'd him to stay behind to make it good; And having been falsly inform'd that the *Spanish Fleet* was bound for the *Azores*, after having repaired his Ship, he fleet'd his course thitherwards. In the mean time *Essex's* Jealousie, and the pernicious Insinuations of *Raleigh's* Enemies, had wrought him into a belief that this Division of the Navy was on purpose laid and fore-design'd by *Raleigh*: But however the business was put up at his arrival, and *Essex* welcom'd him, making an *Apology* for acquainting the

Queen with the Division falsly represented, and built (as it appear'd) on wrong suppositions.

Here wanting Water, Sir *Walter* landed without leave, and scarce had taken in Water before he received Orders immediately to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*, whither he repaired: but not finding *Essex* there according to his Order, he spent his time in taking an exact survey of the Haven, and of the People there, who from the fear and apprehension of what followed, were hastily packing away their Goods. This fair Opportunity, upon Consultation, puts him upon taking the Town, and egg'd on the Soldiers in hopes of an ample Prey. Sir *Gilly Merrick* (one of *Essex's* Creatures) dissuaded Sir *Walter* from the Design, alledging it would rob the Earl of the honour of taking it, and to confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter's* desire of Glory, and the Soldiers Avarice, urg'd him (after he had staid some time for *Essex's* Arrival) to the Assault of the Place, which was at last taken. The next day after this Exploit *Essex* arriv'd at *Fayal*, where he was quickly inform'd of what *Raleigh* had done, and that the whole business was transacted with no other design than to rob him of the Glory, which his Jealousie made him easily believe.

Some perswaded the Earl to try Sir *Walter* by a Council of War, and Censure him; others without more ado would have him put to Death, for landing without Orders: At last some of *Raleigh's* Officers were Cather'd, He himself frown'd on, and severely reprov'd by *Essex*. But he never wanted an Apology for his Ambition; insinuating that he was not obliged to the Orders the inferior Officers and Soldiers were, that the Commission did not reach him; being one of the three Generals; Moreover, that he staid for him four days; and that he was necessitated as last to land, being in extreme want of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. However, the Lord *Howard* became his Mediator, and perswaded him to an honourable submission; which was perform'd, and accepted of; and thereupon both himself and the cashier'd Officers and Soldiers were again admitted into favour. But this was only laying their Passions asleep a while, which in the sequel of our story were again awaken'd. I cannot here omit a speech of the Earls upon this occasion, (which Sir *Henry Wotton* calls a Noble Word) who being urg'd to put Sir *Walter* on Martial Law: That I would do, said he, if he were my Friend.

However, this Expedition was not so glorious and great as at first they hop'd it might have been. For after burning the Town, and taking *Flores*, *Gratiosa*, and *Villa Franca* in *S. Michaels*, with three Ameri-

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can *Spanish Ships*, together with the burning of a *Carack*, they came home much torn, leaky, and weather-beaten, about the end of October. This Expedition was commended on variously by the People, who were strangely carried on with a blind Passion for *Essex*, and so very prone to misconstrue *Raleigh's* Actions, from a Prejudice they had entertain'd, that because he was not *Essex's* friend, he must be an Enemy to his Country. However, the Queen look'd on him with another eye, and he grew faster in her favour than his Rival, who from this time began rather to decline, by a fault Sir *Walter* was afterwards guilty of, insatiable Ambition; a Principle that put him on those Practices which brought him afterwards to the Block. *Essex* was incens'd that Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Raleigh's* Friend, was prefer'd in his absence. And because the Earl's Concerns are woven amongst Sir *Walter's*, it will not be impertinent to give some Account of him here.

Essex was arriv'd to the height of Favour, and might have staid there, had he taken his measures aright; had he own'd an Obsequiousness to the Queen, or been Master of the great Requisite in a Courtier, Diffimulation; but it was a part of his Character to be a great Resenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least Disgrace. His *Ireland* Transactions were ill contrived, and his Miscarriages nicely dissected by the curious Eyes of those State-Anatomists, the Lord-Treasurer *Buckhurst*, the Lord-Admiral *Nottingham*, and his mortal Enemy Secretary *Cecil*, who began to remove him out of that Favour he had long possess'd. But it was true, as the Earl of *Clarendon* has observ'd, "That though he was Rival'd by a strong and subtle Faction, which cared, consulted for his Ruine; yet the Danger was thus allayed, that they were all his publick and professed Enemies, and so known to the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure that Malice was confuted, when the Reason of their Objection on haply might not be considered."

However, in 1601 the Earl drew near his Ruine: for being hurried on by *Cuffs* ill Counsel and his own Discontents, he projects new Plots against the State, and tamper with the King of *Scots* to remove his Enemies at Court by force, informing him that the Power of the Nation lay in their hands, *Raleigh* being Governour of *Jersey*, &c. and other of his Enemies having the strength of the Nation at their command. And vainly presuming upon the Love of the Citizens, he projects to seize the Court, and secure *Raleigh*, as the most considerable Enemy he had. Of which Designs *Gorges* informs Sir *Walter*. The better to carry on his designs, *Essex* goes into *London*, where

he endeavour'd to excite the Citizens to an Insurrection: But the City then being Rich, was not so apt to rebel; Rebellion being usually the Daughter of Poverty and Discontent. For these Treasonable Actions, being found guilty, he was condemn'd and executed.

That he died bravely and like a Gentleman, is not to be question'd; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* should come openly to see him dye on purpose only to fat his Eyes with the Sacrifice of his Enemy, can never be granted, if we may believe himself in the same circumstances on the Scaffold, where he told his Auditors on the words of a Dying-man, he only came there to defend himself if any thing had been urg'd against him by the Earl.

Thus ended that Favourite, whose Death struck a damp on the Queens prosperous days, and gave blackness to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but shook his Enemies at a distance; for it reach'd Sir *Walter* too, who wanting strength to grapple with his Rival the Treasurer, and not owning humility enough to be his Servant, perish'd at last in the Encounter. This himself prefag'd (if we may believe *Osborn*) as he came from the Execution of *Essex*, in a Boat, when he was heard to say, *That it was more safe to have many Enemies at Court of equal power, than one false and ambitious Friend who hath attain'd to the absoluteness of Command.*

The Queen could not long survive her Favourite; for I find her Death to be the next year following. A Queen who had enrich'd the Nation, reform'd Religion, curb'd the Pride of Spain, supported *France*, preserv'd *Scotland*, protected the *Hollander* against the *Spaniard*, and had vanquish'd his Armies by Sea and Land, reduc'd *Ireland* to obedience notwithstanding all the subtil Practices of Spain, and open Assistance given in Arms to her Irish Rebels; with many other things, which might seem too much to be the Achievements of one Reign.

King *James* her Successor came to the possession of a Kingdom arriv'd at the height of Prosperity, which like other Bodies when they are at their Acme tend to Corruption, and degenerate. This Sir *Walter* perceiv'd, and would have (as he thought) remedied. Sir *John Fortescue*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter*, and others, would have oblig'd the King by Articles before his coming to the Crown, that his Country-mens number should be limited: But this was stop'd by the prudent Treasurer, and the bold *Northumberland*. Sir *Walter* fear'd that the *Scots*, like Locusts, would quickly devour this Kingdom; it being probable that (like the *Goths* and *Vandals*) they

** 2 would

would settle in any Country rather than their own, and would make it their business to render our Nation as poor as their own: for this, he, with the rest of them, was afterwards frown'd on by the King, and lost his Command of the Guards.

However, Sir Walter still pursued the Good and Glory of his Country; and as formerly in Active Times, gave his Advice against the Peace with Spain, which might now with no great difficulty be brought on its knees. At the entrance of the King he presented him with a Manuscript of his own writing, with no weak Arguments against the Peace. But Sir Walter was mistaken; for his Counsel was ill tim'd, and a new Part was now to be acted, the Scene being changed. Peace was the King's Aim, whether out of Fear, or Religious Principles I determine not. But with Spain a Peace is concluded, with an Enemy already humbled, who now had time given them to recover their former Losses, and were as it were cherish'd to assault us with the greater vigour: which how true it proved, every Man can tell. And as if the King would quite run counter to the Queens Politicks, the Estates of the Netherlands are despised, slighted, and deserted, under pretence that it was of ill example for a Monarch to protect them.

The King is hardly warm in his Throne, but there is a great noise of a Plot, generally call'd Sir Walter Raleigh's Treason; but upon what Grounds I know not, since he had the least hand in it, as by his Tryal will appear. A Plot that is still a Mystery, and hath a Vail spread over it; A Plot compos'd of such a Hodgepodge of Religion and Interests, that the World stands amazed Sir Walter Raleigh should ever be drawn into it; A Plot to unlikely to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that as *Ossor* tells us, *If ever Folly was capable of the Title or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim so large a share, as not possibly to be too severely condemn'd, or slightly enough punished.* Envy and Disdain, as Sir Walter has told us in his *Remains*, seek Innovation by Faction. Discontent is the great Seducer, which at first put him to search into a Plot, he afterwards was betray'd into. The chief Ingredients in this Medley were two Priests, *Watson* and *Clerk*, and Count *Arem-*

bergh; Ambassador Extraordinary for the Arch-Duke, who brought in *Cobham*, and he his Brother *George Brook*, both Protestants; at least seeming so; *George Brook* hook'd in *Parham* and others, and they the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, a rank Puritan; then came in Sir *Walter*, the wisest of them all according to *Sanderfon*, who as he tells us, dallied like a Fly in the flame till it consum'd him. Willing he was to know it, and thought by his Wit to over-reach the Confederates, whom he knew well enough, though he dealt with none but *Cobham*, as I can find out. One Mr. *Lawency* an Antwerp-Merchant, was the property made use of by *Arembergh*, and a Crony of the Lord *Cobham's*. These carried on the Contrivance a long while, which (as *Sanderfon* tells us) was betray'd by *Lawency*, and the vigilancy of *Cecil*. And indeed it was morally impossible that so many disagreeing weak Souls should carry on a Project without taking Air; the least glimpse being enough to give light to the States-men of those times. Their Designs were,

1. To set the Crown on the Lady *Arabella*; or to seize the King, and make him grant their Desires, and a Pardon.
 2. To have a Toleration of Religion.
 3. To procure Aid and Assistance from Foreign Princes.
 4. To turn out of the Court such as they dislike'd, and place themselves in Offices.
- Watson* to be Lord-Chancellor.
George Brook Lord-Treasurer.
Sir Griffin Markham Secretary of State.
Lord Grey Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of England.

But it seems they made no provision for Sir *Walter*; which is no inconsiderable Argument of his Innocency, who could have deserv'd, and might have expected as great a Reward as any of them, had he been engaged in the Plot.

To oblige to Secrecy, *Watson* draws up an Oath. But all is betray'd; they are seiz'd, examin'd, and try'd. How well or ill Sir *Walter* has acquitted himself, we shall leave to the Opinion of the Readers of the following TRYAL, which was exactly and faithfully taken.

THE



THE ARRAIGNMENT OF S^r Walter Raleigh, Knight.



T Winton, Thursday the 17th of November, Anno Dom. 1603, before the Right Honourable, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Devon.

Lord Henry Howard.

Lord Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

Lord Watson.

Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain.

Lord Chief-Justice of England, Popham.

Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, Anderson.

Justice Gaudie.

Justice Warburton, and Sir William Wade Commissioners.

First, The Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Prisoner bid hold up his Hand.

And then presently the INDICTMENT was in effect as followeth:

THAT he did Conspire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government; to raise up Sedition within the Realm; to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure Foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdoms. That the Lord Cobham, the ninth of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham-House, in the Parish of St. Mar-

tins in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him, how to advance Arabella Stuart to the Crown and Royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, that Cobham should treat with Aremberg, Ambassador from the Arch-Duke of Austria, to obtain of him 600000 Crowns, to bring to pass their intended Treasons. It was agreed that Cobham should go to the Arch-Duke Albert, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of Arabella: from thence knowing that Albert had not sufficient means to maintain his own Army in the Low-Countries, Cobham should go to Spain to procure the King to assist and further her pretended Title.

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conspiracy, that Arabella should write three Letters, one to the Arch-Duke, another to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Savoy, and promise three things: First, to establish firm Peace between England and Spain. Secondly, To tolerate the Popish and Roman Superstition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.

And for the effecting these Traiterous Purposes, Cobham should return by the Isle of Jersey, and should find Sir Walter Raleigh Captain of the said Isle there, and take Counsel of Raleigh for the distributing of the aforesaid Crowns, as the Occasion or Discontentment of the Subjects should give cause and way.

And

And further, That Cobham and his Brother Brook met on the 9th of June last, and Cobham told Brook all these Treasons: To the which Treasons Brook gave his Assent, and did joyn himself to all these; and after on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did speak these words: That there would never be a good World in England, till the King (meaning our Sovereign Lord) and his Cubs (meaning his Royal Issue) were taken away.

And the more to disable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his Intent, Raleigh did publish a Book, fully written against the most just and Royal Title of the King, knowing the said Book to be written against the just Title of the King; which Book Cobham after that received of him. Further, for the better effecting these Traiterous Purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his Intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said Book unto him the 14th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June, for accomplishment of the said Conference, and by the Traiterous Instigation of Raleigh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed Princes, to procure them to advance her Title; and that she, after she had obtained the Crown, should promise to perform three things, viz. Peace between England and Spain. 2. To tolerate with impunity the Popish and Roman Superstitions. 3. To be ruled by them three in the contracting of her Marriage.

To these Motions the said Brook gave his Assent. And for the better effecting of the said Treasons, Cobham on the seventeenth of June, by the Instigation of Raleigh, did write Letters to Count Aremberg, and did deliver the said Letters to one Matthew de Lawrency, to be delivered to the said Count: which he did deliver for the obtaining of the 600000 Crowns; which Money by other Letters Count Aremberg did promise to perform the payment of; and this Letter Cobham received the eighteenth of June. And then did Cobham promise to Raleigh, that when he had received the said Money, he would deliver 8000 Crowns to him: to which motion he did consent; and afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said Crowns, he would give to him 10000 thereof; to which Motion Brook did assent.

To the Indictment Sir Walter Raleigh pleaded Not Guilty.

The JURY.

Sir Ralph Conibey,
Sir Thomas Fowler,
Sir Edward Peacock,
Sir William Rowe,

Knights.

Henry Goodyer,
Roger Wood,
Thomas Walker,
Thomas Whisky,

Esquires:

Thomas Highgate,
Robert Kemphorn,
John Chankey,
Robert Brumley,

Gentlemen.

Sir Walter Raleigh Prisoner, was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury?

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Christians, and honest Gentlemen, I except against none.

E. Suff. You Gentlemen of the Kings Learned Counsel, follow the same course as you did the other day.

Raleigh. My Lord, I pray you I may answer the Points particularly as they are delivered, by reason of the weakness of my memory and sickness.

Popham, Chief Justice. After the Kings Learned Counsel have delivered all the Evidence, Sir Walter, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the Kings Sergeant at Law. You have heard of Raleigh's Bloody Attempts to kill the King and his Royal Progeny, and in place thereof to advance one Arabella Stuart: The particulars of the Indictment are these. First, That Raleigh met with Cobham the ninth of June, and had Conference of an Invasion, of a Rebellion, and an Insurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to depose the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes that never gave offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governour. In our King consists all our Happiness, and the true use of the Gospel, a thing which we all wished to be settled after the Death of the Queen. Here must be money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where should that be had? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip King of Spain, five or six hundred thousand Crowns, and out of this Sum Raleigh must have eight thousand. But what is that Count Aremberg? though I am no good Frenchman, yet it is as much as to say in English, Earl of Aremberg. Then there must be Friends to effect this: Cobham must go to Albert Arch-Duke of Austria, for whom Aremberg was Ambassador at that time in England. And what then? He must persuade the Duke to assist the pre-

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tended. Title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the King of Spain, and persuade him to assist the said Title. Since the Conquest there was never the like Treason. But out of whose Head came it? Out of Raleigh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his Brother Brook to incite the Lady Arabella to write three several Letters, as aforesaid in the Indictment; all this was on the ninth of June. Then three days after Brook was acquainted with it: After this Cobham said to Brook, It will never be well in England till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards Raleigh delivered a Book to Cobham, treacherously written against the Title of the King. It appears that Cobham took Raleigh to be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new King, or Governour. God forbid mine Eyes should ever see so unhappy a change. As for the Lady Arabella, the upon my Conscience hath no more title to the Crown than I have, which before God I utterly renounce. Cobham a Man bred in England, hath no experience abroad: but Raleigh, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-Man. Now whether these things were bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than my self. And so let him down again.

Sir Edward Cook, the King's Attorney.

I must first, my Lords, before I come to the Cause give one Caution, because we shall often mention Persons of eminent Places, some of them great Monarchs: Whatever we say of them, we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the Capital Offenders in their Confessions: We professing Law, must speak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive these honourable Lords, and the rest of this great Assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the Wrack of Reputation. We carry a just Mind, to condemn no Man but upon plain Evidence. Here is Mischief, Mischief in summo Grade, exorbitant Mischief. My Speech shall chiefly touch these three Points; Imitation, Supportation, and Defence.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent; as on the contrary Imitation of Good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported but by Mischief; yea, it will lo multiply, that it will bring all to confusion. Mischief is ever underprop'd by Falshood of foul Practices. And because all these things did concur in this Treason, you shall understand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treason of the Bye, consisteth in these Points: First, That the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by Force in the Night to surprize the King's Court: which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to take him that is a Sovereign, to make him subject to their Power, purposing to open the Doors with Mulqueys and Calievers, and to take also the Prince and Council. Then under the King's Authority to carry the King to the Tower; and to make a State of the Admiral. When they had the King there, to extort three things from him: First, A Pardon for all their Treasons. Secondly, A Toleration of the Roman Superstition: Which, their Eyes shall sooner fall out than they shall ever see; for the King hath spoken these words in the hearing of many, I will lose the Crown, and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion. And, Thirdly, To remove Counsellors: In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have plac'd one Watson a Priest, absurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. Brook, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord-Treasurer. The great Secretary must be Markham, Oculus Patria. A Hole must be found in my Lord Chief Justice's Coat. Grey must be Earl-Marshal, and Master of the Horse, because he would have a Table in the Court: marry, he would advance the Earl of Worcester to an higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore Watson the Priest tells a Resolute Man that the King was in danger of Puritans and Jesuites; so to bring him in blindfold into the Action, saying, That the King is no King till he be Crown'd; therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: but he is Rex natus, His Dignity descends as well as yours, my Lords. Then Watson imposeth a blasphemous Oath, That they should swear to defend the King's Person; to keep secret what was given them in charge, and seek all ways and means to advance the Catholic Religion. Then they intend to send for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the Tower, lest they should make any Resistance, and then to take Hostages of them; and to enjoyn them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. Grey, because the King removed before Midsummer, had a farther reach, to get a company of Sword-men to assist the Action: Therefore he would stay till he had obtained a Regiment from Offend, or Austria. So you see these Treasons were like Sampson's Foxes, which were joyned in their Tails, though their Heads were severed.

Raleigh.

Raleigh. Your Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

Attourney. You are not. My Lords, you shall observe three things in the Treasons: First, They had a Watch-word (the King's safety) their Pretence was *Bonus in se*, their Intent was *Malum in se*. Secondly, They avouched Scripture; both the Priests had *Scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. Thirdly, They avouched the Common Law, to prove that he was no King till he was Crowned; alledging a Statute of *Eliz.* 13. This, by way of Imitation, hath been the course of all Traytors.

In the 20th of *Edw.* the 2d, *Isabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, That the King's Person was not safe, for the good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Bishop of *Carlisle* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*: meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d *Hen.* 4. Sir *Roger Clavingdon* accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that *Richard* the Second was Alive when he was Dead.

Edward the 3d caused *Mortimer's* Head to be cut off, for giving counsel to Murder the King.

The 3 *Hen.* 7. Sir *Henry Stanley* found the Crown in the Duff, and set it on the King's Head; when *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him that *Edward* the 5th was alive, he said, *If the alive, I will assist him.* But this cost him his Head.

Edmond de la Pool, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7th, for which the King would have him hold up his hand at the Bar, and then Pardoned him. Yet he took such an Offence thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Commonwealth; and then said, he would go to *France*, and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treason, and discovered *Windon* and others, that were Attainted.

He said there was another thing that would be stood upon, namely, that they had but one Witness. Then he vouched one *Appleyard's* Cafe, a Traytor in *Norfolk*, who said a Man must have two Accusers. *Helm* was the Man that accused him; but Mr. *Just. Cawlin* said, that that Statute was not in force at that day. His words were [*Thrust her into the Ditch.*]

Then he went on speaking of Accusers, and made this difference: An Accuser is a speaker by Report, when a Witness is he that upon his Oath shall speak his knowledge of any Man.

A third sort of Evidence there is like-wile, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a Man by his Accusation of another, shall by the same Accusation also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same Fault and Punishment: this is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then I much by way of Imitation. Then he defined Treason; there is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation: comparing that in *Corde* to the Root of a Tree; in *Ore*, to the Bud; in *Manu*, to the Blossom; and that which is in *Consummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury. The greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum*. This Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be *Crimen lese Majestatis*; this goes further, and may be termed *Crimen extirpande Regie Majestatis, & totius Progeniei sue*. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are Innocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and whose Works are full of Honour; although it be a true saying, *Nunquam nimis quod nunquam satis*. But to whom do you bear your Malice? To the Children?

Raleigh. To whom speak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attourney. Oh Sir, do I? I will prove you the Notorious Traytor that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: as you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

Raleigh. Your words cannot condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole Indictment, and that I am the horriest Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be Crucified with a thousand thousand Torments.

Attourney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monster, thou hast an English Face, but a Spanish Heart. Now you must have Money: *Aremberg* was no sooner in *England* (I Charge thee *Raleigh*) but thou incitedst *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to bestow on discontented Persons, to raise Rebellion on the Kingdom.

Raleigh. Let me Answer for my self.

Attourney. Thou shalt not.

Raleigh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Justice Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attourney* is but yet in the Gene-

general, but when the Kings Council have given the Evidence wholly, you shall answer every Particular.

Attourney. Oh! do I touch you.

Lord Cecil. M. *Attourney*, when you have done with this general Charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

Attourney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. *Raleigh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Intigation: *Raleigh* supped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*; after Supper, *Raleigh* conducted him to *Durham* House; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawency*, a Servant of *Aremberg's*, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertained this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Raleigh*. *Aremberg* answered, the Money should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then *Cobham* and *Lawency* came back to *Durham* House, where they found *Raleigh*. *Cobham* and *Raleigh* went up, and left *Lawency* below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawency* departed from *Raleigh*. Your *Jargon* was Peace! What is that? *Spanish* Invasion, *Scottish* Subversion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a Lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is dishonourable. Then *Cobham* must go to *Spain*, and return by *Jersey*, where you were Captain: And then because *Cobham* had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the Money. Would you have deposed so good a King, lineally descended of *Elizabeth*, Eldest Daughter of *Edward* the 4th? Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make *Arabella* a Titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing, but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Raleigh. You tell me News, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to day with a Man of Wit.

Raleigh. Did I ever speak with this Lady?

Attourney. I will track you out before I have done: *English-Men* will not be led by perfwade of Words, but they must have Books to perfwade.

Raleigh. The Book was written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. I would not have you impatient.

Raleigh. Methinks you fall out with your self, I lay nothing.

Attourney. By this Book you would perfwade Men that he is not the Lawful King.

Now let us consider some Circumstances: My Lords, you know my Lord *Cobham* (for whom we all Lament, and Rejoice; Lament in that his House, which hath stood so long unperturbed, is now Ruinated; Rejoice, in that his Treasons are Revealed): he is neither Politician nor Sword-man; *Raleigh* was both, united in the Cause with him, and therefore cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is the secret Contriving of it. *Hamphry Stafford* claimed Sanctuary for Treason. *Raleigh* in his Machivilian Policy hath made a Sanctuary for Treason. He must talk with none but *Cobham*, because (saith he) one Witness can never condemn me. For *Brook* said unto Sir *Griffith Markham*, Take heed how you do make my Lord *Cobham* acquainted; for whatsoever he knoweth, *Raleigh* the Witch will get out of him. As soon as *Raleigh* was examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord *Cobham*, he wrote to him thus; *I have been examined of you, and confessed nothing*. Further you sent to him by your trusty *Francis Kemish*, that one Witness could not condemn; and therefore had his Lordship be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobham's* Quiver? No: But out of *Raleigh's* Machivilian and Devilish Policy. Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it; Why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomless Pit of the Lowest Hell. After that *Raleigh* had Intelligence that *Cobham* had Accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young Sir *John Payton*: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Raleigh. The Lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attourney. Thus *Cobham* by the Intigation of *Raleigh*, entered into these Actions: So that the Question will be, Whether you are not the principal Traitor, and he would nevertheless have entered into it? Why did *Cobham* retract all that fame? First, because *Raleigh* was so Odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his false. Secondly, he thought thus with himself, If he be free, I shall clear my self the better. After this *Cobham* asked for a Preacher to confer with, pretending to have Doctor *Andrews*; but indeed he meant not to have him, but Mr. *Galloway*; a Worthy and Reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant Denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If *Raleigh* could perfwade the Lords, that *Cobham* had no Intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower *Cobham* must write to Sir *Thomas Vane*, a Worthy Man, that he meant not to go into *Spain*; which Letter *Raleigh* devised in *Cobham's* Name.

* Raleigh.

Raleigh. I will wash my hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

Attorney. You are the absolute Traytor that ever was.

Raleigh. Your Phrases will not prove it, Mr. *Attorney*.

Attorney. *Cobham* writeth a Letter to my Lord *Cecil*, and doth will *Mellis* his Man, to lay it in a *Spanisb* Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper, that he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me, I never had it.

Attorney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Masters of the Jury, respect not the Wickedness and Hatred of the Man, respect his *Cause*; if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the Preservation of the King, the Continuance of the Gospel authorized, and the Good of us all.

Raleigh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one word against me, here is no Treason of mine done: If my Lord *Cobham* be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that he did was by thy Infingation, thou Viper; for I *show* thee, thou Traytor.

Raleigh. It becometh not a Man of Quality and Virtue, to call me so: But I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I anger'd you?

Raleigh. I am in no Cafe to be angry.

Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attorney* speaketh out of the Zeal of his duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be valiant on both sides.

Now they proceed to the Reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's Examination read.

'He confesseth he had a Passport to go into *Spain*, intending to go to the Arch-Duke to confer with him about these Practices; and because he knew the Arch-Duke had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to *Spain*, to deal with the King for the 600000 Crowns, and to return by *Jersey*, and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for distribution of the Money, to them which were discontented in *England*. At the first beginning he breathed out Oaths and Exclamations against *Raleigh*, calling him Villain and Traytor; saying he had never entered into these Courses, but by his Infingation, and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. *Attorney* willed the Clerk of the Crown Office to read over these last words again (he would never let him alone.)

The Lord Cobham's Examination.

'Besides he spake of Plots and Invasions: Of the Particulars whereof he could give no Account, though *Raleigh* and he had conferred of them. Further, he said, He was afraid of *Raleigh*, that when he should return by *Jersey*, that he would have him and the Money to the King. Being Examined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he freed him, saying:

They never durst trust him, but Sir *Arthur Savage* they intended to use, because they thought him a fit Man.

Raleigh. Let me see the Accusation: This is absolutely all the Evidence can be brought against me; poor shifts! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this: This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life; which must free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is that must prove me a notorious Traytor, or a true Subject to the King. Let me see my Accusation, that I may make my Answer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and shew you all the Examinations.

Raleigh. At my first Examination at *Windsor*, my Lords asked me, what I knew of *Cobham's* Practice with *Aremberg*? I answered Negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of ten thousand Treasons. It is a strange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being Examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I suspected his Visiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Darham House*, I saw him pass by his own Stairs, and passed over to *S. Mary Savoyours*, where I knew *Lawrence*, a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, lay, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrence*; I said, that if you do not apprehend *Lawrence*, it is dangerous he will die; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord *Cobham* notice thereof. I was asked likewise, who was the greatest Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I answered, I knew no Man to great with him, as young *Wyas of Kent*.

As soon as *Cobham* saw my Letter to have discovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accused me, but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented, and said he had done me Wrong. When he came to the end of his Accusation, he added, That if

if he had brought this Money to *Jersey*, he fear'd that I would have deliver'd him and the money to the King. Mr. *Attorney*, you said this never came out of *Cobham's* Quiver, he is a simple Man. Is he so simple? No: He hath a Disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. But it is strange for me to devise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain*, to persuade the King to disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having resigned my room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the *Stanneries*: Is it not strange for me to make my self *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*? I knowing *England* to be in better Estate to defend it self than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* United; *Ireland* Quiet, wherein of late our Forces were dispersed; *Denmark* assured, which before was suspected. I knew that having a Lady whom Time had surprized, we had now an active King, a lawful Successor, who would himself be present in all his Affairs. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a Discourse, which I had intended to present unto the King, against Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniards* had fix Repulses, three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was Discouraged and Dishonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince in Christendom; but now he cometh Creeping to the King my Master for Peace. I knew whereas before he had in his Port fix or seven score Sail of Ships, he hath now but Six or Seven. I knew of Twenty five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so Poor, that the Jesuites in *Spain*, who were wont to have such large Allowance, were fain to beg at the Church-Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince should disburse so much Money without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majesty Money without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the States Money without *Fifshing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, that he would let *Cobham* have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham's* but about matters of his Profit, as the Ordering of his House, Paying of his Servants Board-wages, &c. I had of his when I was examined, Four Thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pound, and a Ring worth five hundred Pound: If he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a Lease in Fee Farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books to send to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of

thirty Pound to give to Mr. *Attorney*, for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel or no. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg* framed, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge my self worthy ten thousand Deaths.

Cobham's second Examination Read.

The Lord *Cobham* being required to subscribe unto an Examination, there was shewed a Note under Sir *Walter Raleigh's* hand, the which when he had perused, he paused and after brake forth into these Speeches; Oh Villain! Oh Traytor! I will now tell you all the Truth: And then said, His purpose was to go into *Flanders*, and into *Spain*, for the obtaining the aforelaid Money, and that *Raleigh* had appointed to meet him in *Jersey* as he returned Home, to be advised of him about the Distribution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Justice. When *Cobham* answer'd to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe, and being urged to it, he said, If he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at *Richmond*, for fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he subscribed. The Lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord *Cecil*: He desired to see the Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had reposed in you.

Raleigh. He is as passionate a Man as lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in *England* in his Passion: My Lords, I take it, he that has been examined, has ever been asked at the time of his Examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some Arguments, whereby to persuade the King of *Spain*, and answer his Objections. I knew *Westmorland*, and *Barthwell*, Men of other Understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury. Did Sir *Walter Raleigh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Dispute with my self to speak in the Case of this Gentleman:

man: A former Dearnus between me and him tied so firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Discovery of his Imperfections. I protest, did I serve a King that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this Case I would speak whatever came of it: But seeing he is compacted of Piety and Justice, and one that will not mislike of any Man for speaking a Truth, I will answer your Question.

Sir Walter Raleigh was said by me at *Windfor*, upon the first News of *Coply*, that the Kings Person should be surprised by my Lord Grey, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I suspected *Cobham*; then I doubted *Raleigh* to be a partaker. I speak not this, that it should be thought I had greater Judgment than the rest of my Lords, in making this haste to have them examined. *Raleigh* following to *Windfor*, I met with him, upon the *Tarras*, and willed him as from the King to stay, saying the Lords had something to say to him: Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the Surprising Treason. My Lord Grey was apprehended, and likewise *Brook*; by *Brook* we found, that he had given notice to *Cobham* of the surprising Treason, as he delivered it to us, but with as much sparingness of a Brother as he might: We sent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he stood upon his Justification and his Quality; sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* said, if my Lord Chief Justice would say it were a Contempt, he would subscribe; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawency* was examined, but that *Raleigh* knew that *Cobham* was examined, is more than I know.

Raleigh. If my Lord *Cobham* had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. *Raleigh* did by his Letters acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had sent *Lawency* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. How. It made for you, if *Lawency* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with *Cobham's* Practice with *Lawency*, and it was known to you before, that *Lawency* depended on *Aremberg*.

Attourney. 1. *Raleigh* protested against the surprising Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you, Sir *Walter*, with a matter of Falshood: You say, you suspected the Intelligence that *Cobham* had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawency*.

Raleigh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be warranted.

Attourney. Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that *Cobham* had accused you in Passion, I answer three Ways: 1. I observed when *Cobham* said, Let me see the Letter again? he paused, and when he did see that Count *Aremberg* was touched, he cried out, Oh Traitor! Oh Villain! Now will I confess the whole Truth. 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing: Would he accuse himself on Passion, and ruinate his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you? 3. Could this be out of Passion? Mark the manner of it: *Cobham* had told this at least two months before to his Brother *Brook*, *You are Fools, you are on the Bye*. *Raleigh and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cabs*; this he delivered two months before. So mark the manner and the matter, he would not turn the Weapon against his own Bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Raleigh. Hath *Cobham* confessed that? *Lord Chief Justice*. This is spoken by Mr. *Attourney*, to prove that *Cobham's* Speech came not out of Passion.

Raleigh. Let it be proved that *Cobham* said so.

Attourney. *Cobham* said, He was a long time doubtful of *Raleigh*, that he would send him and the money to the King. Did *Cobham* fear lest you would betray him in *Jersey*? Then of necessity there must be Trust between you. No man can betray a man but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest Argument to prove that he was acquainted with *Cobham's* Proceedings. *Raleigh* has a deeper reach than to make himself, as he said, *Robin Hood*, a *Kett* or *Cade*, yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* was a Traitor; they say he was an Outlaw. And whereas he said, that our King is not only more Wealthy and Potent than his Predecessors, but also more Politick and Wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail. I answer, There is no King so Potent, Wife and Active, but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say *Spain* is so Poor, discouraging so largely thereof: it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Besides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joyned, you might have hoped to prevail a great deal the better. For his six Overthrows, I answer; He hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leases, and letting Lands, and ordering his House; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your

your Knees at first, and confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pounds, perhaps, he thought by those means to have anticipated me therewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true: Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the Accusation.

Lord H. How. *Cobham* was not then pressed to subscribe.

Attourney. His Accusation being testified by the Lords, is of as great force, as if he had subscribed. *Raleigh* said again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought face to face to speak, and alledges 25th *Edw*. 3d. That there must be two sufficient Witnesses that must be brought face to face before the Accused, and alledgeth 10, and 13 *Eliz*.

Raleigh. You try me by the Spanish Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances without two Witnesses.

Attourney. This is a Treasonable Speech. *Raleigh*. *Evertere hominem justum in Causa sua injustum est*: Good my Lords, let it be proved either by the Laws of the Land, or the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it so: it is no rare thing for a Man to be falsely accused. A Judge condemned a Woman in *Sarum* for killing her Husband, on the Testimony of one Witness; afterwards his Man confessed the Murder, when he was executed. Who after being touched in Conscience for the Judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purget*. It is also commanded by the Scripture, *Allocutus est Jehovah Moyses, In Ore duorum non trium Testium*, &c.

If Christ requireth it, as it appeareth, *Math*. 18. If by the Canon, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required, that there must be two Witnesses at the least, bear with me if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to *Cobham's* Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to set up *Arabella*, and refused so Gracious a Lord and Sovereign: But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Justice. You have offered Questions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accusers in case of Indictments; you have deceived your self, for the Laws of 25 *Ed*. 3. and 5 *Ed*. 6. are repealed. It sufficeth now if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Testimony of Witnesses, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subscription of the Party, so there be Hands of credible Men to testify the Examination.

Raleigh. It may be an Error in me, and if those Laws be repealed, yet I hope the Equity of them remains still; but if you affirm it, it must be a Law to Posterity. The Proof of the Common Law is by Witnesses and Jury, let *Cobham* be here, let him speak it: Call my Accuser before my Face, and I have done.

Attourney. *Scientia sceleris est mera Ignorantia*: You have read the Letter of the Law, but understand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Randevous: you trust to *Cobham*, either *Cobham* must accuse you, or no body; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one Witness; if he did not, then you are safe.

Raleigh. If ever I read word of the Law or Statute before I was Prisoner in the Tower, God confound me.

Attourney. Now I come to prove the Circumstances of the Accusation to be true. *Cobham* confessed he had a passport to travel, hereby intending to prelate Overtures to the Arch-Duke, and from thence to go to *Spain*, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You say he promised to come home by *Jersey*, to make merry with you and your Wife.

Raleigh. I said, in his return from France, not *Spain*.

Attourney. Further, in his Examination he said, nothing could be set down for the Distribution of the Money to the Discontented, without Conference with *Raleigh*. You said it should have been for procurement of Peace, but it was for raising Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* said, he would never have entered into these Courses, but by your Instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots, that is enough for you to do, that are, his Master: You intended to trust Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an honest and true Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge*.

Raleigh. All this is but one Accusation of *Cobham's*, I hear no other thing; to which Accusation he never subscribed nor avouched it; I beseech you, my Lords, let *Cobham* be sent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King; if he affirm it, I am Guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence against you, must it not be of force without his Subscription? I desire to be relieved by the Judges, whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. My Lord, it is.

Raleigh. The King at his Coronation is sworn, *In omnibus Judiciis suis Aequitatem, non Rigorem Regis, observare*: by the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Justice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Justice of the Law;

Law; else when a Man hath made a plain Acculation, by Practice he might be brought to retract it again.

Raleigh. Oh my Lord, you may use Equity.

Lord Chief Justice. That is from the King, you are to have Justice from us.

Lord Anderson. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you Guilty; for *Cobham's* Acculation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is satisfied, that *Cobham's* Subscription is not necessary: I pray you Mr. *Attorney* go on.

Raleigh. Good Mr. *Attorney* be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary Patience is a hindrance, let him go on with his Proofs, and then refer them.

Raleigh. I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen, and Ink, you shall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter, which the Lord *Cobham* did write in July, which was to the effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to accuse any one falsely, were to burden my own Conscience.*

Attorney. Read *Copley's* Confession the 8th of June, he saith, *He was offered 1000 Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here *Watson's* Additions were read.

"The great Mass of Money from the Count was impossible, saith *Brook*, &c."

Brook's Confession read.

"There have Letters passed, saith he, between *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, for a great Sum of Money, to assist a second Action for the surprising of his Majesty.

Attorney. It is not possible it was of Passion; for it was in talk before three Men being severally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be bestowed on discontented Persons. That *Grey* should have 12000 Crowns, and *Raleigh* should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, July 18.

"If the Money might be procured (saith 'he') then a Man may give Pensions. Being asked if a Pension should not be given 'to his Brother *Brook*, he denied it not.

Lawrence's Examination.

"Within five days after *Aremberg* arrived, *Cobham* resorted unto him. That Night that *Cobham* went to *Aremberg* with *Lawrence*, *Raleigh* supped with him.

Attorney. *Raleigh* must have his part of the Money, therefore now he is a Tray-

tor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be condemned by Circumstances: For if A. tells B. and B. tells C. and C. D. &c. you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

Raleigh's Examination was read

He confesseth *Cobham* offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the furtherance of the Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and that he should have it within three days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, When I see the Money I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceits, and therefore made no account thereof.

Raleigh. The *Attorney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how *Cobham* was altered. For he told me, if I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Noble Man (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, he will not be persuaded by you, and he will extremely hate you for such a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have Printed it: If *Cobham* changed his mind; if the Priests, if *Brook* had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of time.

Serjeant Philips. *Raleigh* confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it by distinguishing of Times. You said it was offered you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such money of *Cobham*, or not: You said yea, and that you should have it within two or three days. *Nemo meritis presumitur mentiri.*

Lord Hen. Hon. Alledg me any Ground or Cause, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Pensions; in Matters you had not to deal with.

Raleigh. Could I stop my Lord *Cobham's* Mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir *Walter Raleigh* presleth, that my Lord *Cobham* should be brought face to face. If he ask things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we fit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak.

Lord Chief Justice. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treasons should flourish: The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

Judge

Judge Gandy. The Statute you speak of, concerning two Witnesses in case of Treason is found to be inconvenient, therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Raleigh. The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witnesses.

Lord Chief Justice. No, by Examination: If three conspire a Treason, and they all confess it; here is never a Witness, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of such Experience and Wit, should stand on this Point; for so many Horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without Witnesses. If one should rush into the King's Privy-Chamber, whilst he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this man be met coming with his Sword drawn all Bloody; shall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to save you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

Raleigh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Justice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Raleigh. The Wisdom of the Law of God is absolute and perfect, *Hec fac, & vivet, &c.* But now by the Wisdom of the State, the Wisdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuser may, he is alive, and in the House. *Sisanna* had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth?* Remember, it is absolutely the Commandment of God: If a false Witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the Judges; if he be found false, he shall have the Punishment which the Accused should have had. It is very sure for my Lord to accuse me is my certain Danger, and it may be a means to excuse himself.

Lord Chief Justice. There must not such a Gap be opened for the Destruction of the King, as would be if we should grant this. You plead hard for your self, but the Laws plead as hard for the thing. I did never hear that Course to be taken in a Case of Treason, as to write one to another, or speak one to another during the time of their Imprisonment. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumstances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

Raleigh. The King desires nothing but the knowledge of the Truth, and would have no advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a Gracious King, now we have; I hope, as he is, such are

his Ministers. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at common Law, a Witness must be deposed. Good my Lords, let my Accuser come face to face, and be deposed.

Lord Chief Justice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any man should accuse himself upon his Oath.

Attorney. The Law presumes, a man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cause the worse that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some Stirs to be raised in *Scotland*.

Part of *Copley's* Examination.

"Also *Watson* told me, that a special Person told him, that *Aremberg* offered to him a thousand Crowns to be in that Action; and that *Brook* said, the Stirs in *Scotland* came out of *Raleigh's* Head.

Raleigh. *Brook* hath been taught his Lesson.

Lord H. Hon. This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Lesson?

Raleigh. I protest before God, I meant it not by any Privy Counsellor; but because Money is scant, he will juggle on both sides.

Raleigh's Examination.

"The way to invade *England*, were to begin with Stirs in *Scotland*.

Raleigh. I think so still: I have spoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by way of Discourse and Opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to those words of *Destroying the King and his Cubs*.

Raleigh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural Villains, should use those words, shall I be charged with them? I will not hear it, I was never any Plotter with them against my Country, I was never false to the Crown of *England*. I have spent 4000 Pounds of my own against the *Spanish* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the words of these *Hellish* Spiders, *Clark*, *Watson*, and others against me?

Attorney. Thou hast a *Spanish* Heart, and thy self art a Spider of Hell; for thou confessest the King to be a most Sweet and Gracious Prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

Watson's Examination read.

"He said, that *George Brook* told him twice, That his Brother, the Lord *Cobham*, said to him, That you are but on the Bye, but *Raleigh* and I are on the Main.

Brook's

Brook's Examination read.

"Being askt what was meant by this *Jar-*
"the Bye and the Main? he said, That
"the Lord Cobham told him, That *Grey* and
"others were in the Bye, he and *Raleigh*
"were on the Main. Being askt what Ex-
"position his Brother made of these words?
"he said, he is loth to repeat it. And af-
"ter faith, by the Main was meant the ta-
"king away of the King and his Issue; and
"thinks on his Conscience, it was infused
"into his Brother's Head by *Raleigh*."

Cobham's Examination read.

"Being askt, if ever he had said, *It will*
"*never be well in England, till the King*
"*and his Cabs were taken away.* He said, he
"had answered before, and that he would
"answer no more to that Point."

Raleigh. I am not named in all this: There
is a Law of two sorts of Accusers, one of his
own Knowledge, another by Hear-say.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Case of *Arnold*.
Lord Chief Justice. It is the Case of Sir
Will. Thomas, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold*.

Raleigh. If this may be, you will have a
ny Mans Life in a Week.

Attorney. *Raleigh* faith, That *Cobham*
was in a Passion when he said so. Would he
tell his Brother any thing of Malice against
Raleigh, whom he lov'd as his Life?

Raleigh. *Brook* never loved me; until his
Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that
might lead us to think that *Brook* accused
you, he was only in the Surprising Treason;
for by accusing you he should accuse his Bro-
ther.

Raleigh. He doth not care much for
that.

Lord Cecil. I must judge the best. The
Accusation of his Brother was not voluntary;
he par'd every thing as much as he
could, to save his Brother.

Cobham's Examination read.

"He said he had a Book written against
"the Title of the King, which he had of
"*Raleigh*, and that he gave it to his Brother
"*Brook*: and *Raleigh* said it was foolishly
written."

Attorney. After the King came within
twelve miles of London, *Cobham* never came
to see him; and intended to travel without
seeing the Queen and the Prince. Now in
this Discontentment you gave him the Book,
and he gave it his Brother.

Raleigh. I never gave it him, he took it
off my Table. For I well remember a
little before that time I received a Chal-
lenge from Sir *Amias Preston*, and for that

I did intend to answer it, I resolv'd to leave
my Estate fetted, therefore laid out all my
loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

Lord Howard. Where had you this Book?

Raleigh. In the old Lord Treasurer's Study,
after his Death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever shew or make
known the Book to me?

Raleigh. No, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. My Father being employed
in the Affairs of State at that time, it was
like enough, he had many Books and Pa-
pers written against the then Queen and
State, which might come to his hands by the
Discovery of such Offences.

Attorney. I observe there was Intelligence
between you and *Cobham* in the Tower;
for after he said, it was against the King's
Title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my Lord *Cob-*
ham confesseth it, and after he had subscribed
it, he revoked it again: To me he always
said, that the Drift of it was against the
King's Title.

Raleigh. I protest before God, and all his
Works, I gave him not the Book.

Nota. *Sir Robert Wroth* speaketh, or
whispereth something secretly.

Attorney. My Lords, I must complain
of Sir *Robert Wroth*, he says this Evidence
is not material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the words.

Attorney. Let Mr. *Serjeant Philips* testi-
fie, whether he heard him say the Words
or no.

Lord Cecil. I will give my Word for Sir
Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly
as you, Mr. *Attorney*, for by God, I ne-
ver spake it.

Lord Chief Justice. Wherefore should this
Book be burnt?

Raleigh. I burned it not.

Sergeant Philips. You presented your
Friend with it, when he was discontented.
If it had been before the Queens Death it
had been a less matter; but you gave it
him presently when he came from the
King, which was the time of his Discon-
tentment.

Raleigh. Here is a Book supposed to be
Treasonable; I never read it, commended it,
or delivered it, nor urged it.

Attorney. Why this is cunning.

Raleigh. Every thing that doth make for
me is cunning, and every thing that maketh
against me is probable.

Attorney. Lord *Cobham* faith, that *Kemish*
came to him with a Letter torn, and did with
him not to be disdain'd, for one Witness could
not hurt him.

Raleigh. This poor Man hath been close
Prisoner these eighteen Weeks; he was of-
fer'd the Rack to make him confess. I
never sent any such Message by him, I

WIT

writ to him, to tell him what I had done
with Mr. *Attorney*; having of his at that
time a great Pearl and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumstance mov-
eth me more than this. *Kemish* was never
on the Rack, the King gave charge that no
Rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God,
there was no such matter intended to our
knowledge.

Raleigh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack
sent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Solicitor
and my self examined *Kemish*, we told him
he delver'd the Rack, but did not threaten
him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we
knew.

Cobham's Examination read.

"He said, *Kemish* brought him a Letter
"from *Raleigh*, and that part which was
"concerning the Lords of the Council, was
"sent out; the Letter contained, that he
"was examined and cleared himself of all;
"and that the Lord *H. Howard* said, be-
"cause he was discontent, he was fit to be in
"the Action. And further, that *Kemish*
"said to him from *Raleigh*, that he should
"be of good Comfort, for one Witness could
"not condemn a Man for Treason."

Lord Cecil. *Cobham* was ask'd, whether,
and when he heard from you? he said,
Every Day.

Raleigh. *Kemish* added more, I never bad
him speak those Words.

Nota. Mr. *Attorney* here offered to inter-
rupt him.

Lord Cecil. It is his last Discourse. Give
him leave, Mr. *Attorney*.

Raleigh. I am accused concerning *Arabel-*
la, concerning Money out of Spain. My

Lord Chief Justice faith, a Man may be
condemned with one Witness, yea, with-
out any Witness. *Cobham* is guilty of ma-
ny things, *Conscientia mille Testes*; he hath
accused himself, what can he hope for but
mercy? My Lords vouchsafe me this Grace.
Let him be brought, being alive, and in
the House; let him avouch any of these
things, I will confess the whole Indictment,
and renounce the King's Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the
Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinwoman
of the Kings. Let us not scandal the in-
nocent by confusion of Speech: She is as
innocent of all these things as I, or any Man
here; only she received a Letter from my
Lord *Cobham*, to prepare her; which she
laught at, and immediately sent it to the King.
So far was she from Discontentment that she
laught him to scorn. But you see how far
the Count of *Aremberg* did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being
by in a Standing, with the Lady *Arabella*,
spake to the Court.

The Lady doth here protest upon her Sal-
vation, that she never dealt in any of these
things; and so she willed me to tell the
Court.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to
my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come
to speak with her, and gave her to under-
stand, that there were some about the King,
that laboured to disgrace her; she doubted
it was but a Trick. But *Brook* faith, his
Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to
write Letters to the King of Spain; but he
faith, he never did it.

Raleigh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accused
me, you see in what manner he hath for-
sworn it. Were it not for his Accusation,
all this were nothing. Let him be asked,
if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrence*
brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me
speak for my Life, it can be no hurt for
him to be brought; he dares not ac-
cuse me. If you grant me not this Fa-
vour, I am strangely used. *Campion* was
not denied to have his Accusers face to
face.

Lord Chief Justice. Since he must needs
have Justice, the Acquitting of his old
Friend may move him to speak otherwise
than the Truth.

Raleigh. If I had been the Infuser of all
these Treasons into him. You Gentlemen
of the Jury, mark this, he said I have been
the Cause of all his Miseries, and the De-
struction of his House, and that all Evil
hath happened unto him; by my wicked
counsel. If this be true, whom hath he
cause to accuse, and to be revenged on,
but on me? And I know him to be as re-
vengefull as any man on Earth.

Attorney. He is a Party, and may not
come; the Law is against it.

Raleigh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law.
I defie such Law, I stand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often speaking
(who am inferior to my Lords here pre-
sent) will make the World think I delight
to hear my self talk. My Affection to you,
Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguished,
but slack'd in regard of your desires. You
know the Law of the Realm (to which
your mind doth not consent) that my Lord
Cobham cannot be brought.

Raleigh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Raleigh. No.

L. Cecil. You say that my Lord *Cobham*,
your main Accuser, must come to accuse
you. You say, he hath retract'd: I say,
many particulars are not retract'd. What
the Validity of all this is, is merely left
to the Jury. Let me ask you this, If my
Lord *Cobham* will say you were the only In-

figitor

stigator of him to proceed in the Treasons, dare you put your self on this?

Raleigh. If he will speak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella's* Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the surprising Treason; I put my self on it. God's Will and the King's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How if he speak things equivalent to that you have said.

Raleigh. Yes in the main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he say, you have been the Initiator of him to deal with the *Spanish* King, had not the Council cause to draw you hither?

Raleigh. I put my self on it.

Lord Cecil. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, call upon God, and prepare your self; for I do verily believe my Lords will prove this. Excepting your faults (I call them no worse) by God I am your Friend. The Hear and Passion in you, and the Attorney's Zeal in the King's Service makes me speak this.

Raleigh. Whosoever is the Workman, it is reason he should give account of his Work to the Work-master. But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*; he would surely have given me some account.

L. Cecil. That follows not. If I set you on work, and you give me no account, am I therefore innocent?

Attorney. For the Lady *Arabella*, I said she was never acquainted with the matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Conference in all these Treasons, it is manifest; The Jury hath heard the matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who ask'd him if the King of *England* was Crown'd yet? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly.* Nay, saith the *Portugal*, that shall never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* before he be Crowned.

Dyer was called and sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. I came to a Merchants House in *Lisbon*, to see a Boy that I had there; there came a Gentleman into the House, and enquiring what Countryman I was? I said, an Englishman. Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned? And I answered, No, but that I hoped he should be shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be Crowned; for *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* will cut his Throat ere that day come.

Raleigh. What infer you upon this?

Attorney. That your Treason hath wings.

Raleigh. If *Cobham* did practise with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw's* Treason, and the Duke of *Tork* with *Jack Cade*,

but that it was to countenance his Treason.

Consider you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cause so doubtful which the Kings Council cannot make good against the Law. Consider my Disability, and their Ability: They prove nothing against me, only they bring the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for an horrible Murder for he knew that all this Sorrow which should come to me, is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent Facts. I have spent 40000 Crowns against the *Spaniard*. I had not purchased 40 Pound a Year. If I had died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemned the *Spanish* Faction, methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what *S. Austin* says, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi, unus Judex, unus Tribunal.* If you would be contented on Presumptions to be delivered up to be slaughtered, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; If you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this so clear as that the Wit of Man shall have no Colour to answer it. The Matter is Treason in the highest Degree, the end to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treasons are these: First, To raise up Rebellion, and, to effect that, to procure Money to raise up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a Treasonable Book against the Kings Right to the Crown; the Purpose, to take away the Life of his Majesty and his Issue. My Lord *Cobham* confesseth Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be guilty of all these Treasons. The Question is, Whether he be guilty as joining with him, or intigating of him? The Course to prove this was by my Lord *Cobham's* Accusation. If that be true, he is guilty; if not, he is clear. So whether *Cobham* lay true, or *Raleigh*? that is the Question. *Raleigh* hath no Answer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can devise. He useth his Denial; the Denial of a Defendant must not move the Jury. In the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Question, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria causa*; therefore much less in matters of Treason. *Cobham's* Testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely discountred.

Raleigh. If Truth be constant, and Constancy be in Truth, why hath he forsworn that that he hath said? You have not proved any one thing against me by

by direct Proofs, but all by Circumstances. *Attorney.* Have you done? The King must have the last.

Raleigh. Nay, Mr. *Attorney*, he which speaketh for his Life, must speak last. False Repetitions and Mistakings must not mar my Cause. You should speak *secundum allegata & probata*. I appeal to God and the King in this Point, whether *Cobham's* Accusation be sufficient to condemn me?

Attorney. The Kings Safety and your Clearing cannot agree. I protest before God, I never knew a clearer Treason.

Raleigh. I never had intelligence with *Cobham* since I came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidentest Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why should you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient good Mr. *Attorney*, give him leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage Traytors, and discourage us. I am the King's sworn Servant, and must speak: If he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not, deliver him.

Nota. Here Mr. *Attorney* sat down in a Chaise, and would speak no more, until the Commissioners urged and intreated him. After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence, for the direction of the Jury; and as the repeating of some things Sir *Walter Raleigh* interrupted him, and said, He did him wrong.

Attorney. Thou art the most vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

Raleigh. You speak indifferently, barbarously and uncivilly.

Attorney. I want words sufficient to express thy viperous Treasons.

Raleigh. I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attorney. Thou art an odious Fellow, thy Name is hateful to all the Realm of *England* for thy Pride.

Raleigh. It will go near to prove a measuring Cast between you and me, Mr. *Attorney*.

Attorney. Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the face of the Earth than thou, and therewithal he drew a Letter out of his Pocket, saying further, My Lords, you shall see, this is an Agent that hath writ a Treatise against the *Spaniard*, and hath ever so detested him; this is he that hath spent so much money against him in service; and yet you shall all see whether his Heart be not wholly *Spanish*. The Lord *Cobham*, who of his own nature was a good and ho-

nourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conscience heavily burthened with some Courses which the Subtily of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could be at no rest with himself, nor quiet in his thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy weight; out of which Rallion of his Mind, and discharge of his Duty to his Prince, and his Conscience to God; taking it upon his Salvation that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own hands he wrote this Letter. Now Sir you shall see whether you had intelligence with *Cobham*, within four days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly *Spanish*, that desired a Pension of 1500 Pound a Year from *Spain*, that *Spain* by him might have intelligence, then *Raleigh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham's* Window; the Contents whereof were this, It is doubtful, whether we shall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you shall not be tried. This was to get a Retraction. Oh! it was *Adam's* Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, Do not as my Lord of *Essex* did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty. I doubt not but this day God shall have as great a Conquest by this Traytor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, *Viciisti Galilee*; you know my meaning. What though *Cobham* retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep till he confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Master shall not live three years to an end.

Nota. Here Mr. *Attorney* produced the Lord *Cobham's* Letter, and as he read it, inserted some speeches.

I have thought fit to set down this to my Lords, wherein I protest on my Soul to write nothing but the truth. I am now come near the period of my time, therefore I confess the whole Truth before God, and his Angels. *Raleigh*, four days before I came from the Tower, caused an Apple (*Eves Apple*) to be thrown in at my Chamber Window; the effect of it was to entreat me to right the wrong that I had done him, in laying, that I should have come home by *Jerley*; which under my hand to him I have retracted. His first Letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me word that the Judges met at Mr. *Attorney's* House, and that there was good hope the Proceedings against us should be stayed; He sent me another time a little Tobacco. At *Aremberg's* coming, *Raleigh* was to have pro-

cured a Pension of fifteen hundred Pounds a Year; for which he promised that no Action should be against Spain, the Low Countries, or the Indies, but he would give knowledge before-hand. He told me the States had Audience with the King. (Attorney. Ah! is not this a Spanish Heart in an English Body?) He hath been the Original Cause of my Ruine; for I had no dealing with *Arenberg*, but by his instigation. He hath also been the cause of my Discontentment; he advised me not to be overtaken with Preachers, as *Essex* was; and that the King would better allow of a constant denial, than to accuse any.

Attorney. Oh damnable Atheist! he hath learned some Text of Scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him not to be counselled by Preachers, as *Essex* was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast by when he died. *Et Lupus et rapaces instant morientibus Ursa*. He died indeed for his Offence. The King himself spake these words; He that shall say *Essex* died not for Treason is punishable.

Raleigh. You have heard a strange Tale of a strange Man. Now he thinks, he hath matter enough to destroy me; but the King, and all of you shall witness, by our Deaths, which of us was the ruine of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this purpose, *You know you have undone me: now write three Lines to justify me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treasons, if I acquainted him with my Dispositions?

Lord Chief Justice. But what say you now of the rest of the Letter, and the Pension of 1500 l. per annum?

Raleigh. I say that *Cobham* is a base dishonourable poor Soul.

Attorney. Is he base? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Lord Chief Justice. I perceive you are not so clear a Man, as you have protested all this while; for you should have discovered these matters to the King.

Nota. Here Raleigh pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord Cobham had written to him, and desired my Lord Cecil to read it, because he only knew his hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.

Cobham's Letter of Justification to Raleigh

'Seeing my self so near my End, for the discharge of my own Conscience; and free-

ing my self from your Bood, which else will cry Vengeance against me: I protest upon my Salvation, I never practised with Spain by your procurement; God so comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any thing that I know. I will say as *Daniel*, *Purus sum à sanguine hujus*. So God have mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treason by you.

Raleigh. Now I wonder how many Souls this Man hath! he damns one in this Letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado. Mr. Attorney alledged that his last Letter was politically and cunningly urged from the Lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the Truth; and that lest it should seem doubtful that the first Letter was drawn from my Lord Cobham by promise of mercy, or hope of favour, the Lord Chief Justice willed that the Jury might herein be satisfied.

Whereupon the Earl of Devonshire delivered that the same was not voluntary, and not extracted from the Lord Cobham upon any hopes or promise of Pardon.

Nota. This was the last Evidence: whereupon a *Martyr* was sworn to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and staid not a quarter of an hour, but returned; and gave their Verdict, Guilty.

Serj. Heale demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir Walter Raleigh, Thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not Guilty, for all these several Treasons, and for trayal thereof hast put thy self upon thy Country; which Country are these, who have found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thy self, why Judgment and Execution of Death should not pass against thee?

Raleigh. My Lords, the Jury have found me Guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why Judgment should not proceed. You see whereof *Cobham* hath accused me. You remember his Protestations, that I was never guilty. I desire the King should know of the Wrongs done unto me since I came hither.

Lord Chief Justice. You have had no wrong, Sir Walter.

Raleigh. Yes, of Mr. Attorney. I desire my Lords to remember three things to the King. 1. I was accused to be a Practiser with Spain. I never knew that my Lord Cobham meant to go thither; I will ask no mercy

mercy at the Kings hands if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord Cobham's practice with *Arenberg*, nor of the surprising Treason.

Lord Ch. Justice. In my Conscience I am perswaded that *Cobham* hath accused you truly. You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a Pension to be a Spy for Spain; therefore you are not so true to the King as you have protested your self to be.

Raleigh. I submit my self to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife, and Son of tender years, unbrought up, to his Compassion.

Lord Chief Justice. I had thought I should never have seen this Day, to have flood in this place to give Sentence of Death against you; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great Parts should have fallen so grievously.

God hath bestowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit and able to have served the King in good Place. You had brought your self into a good State of living, if you had entered into a good Consideration of your Estate, and not suffered your own Wit to have entrapped your self, you might have lived in good comfort. It is best for Man not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden on. It was the Policy of the wisest and greatest Counsellor of our time in England, *Lucretius*, *Lucretius mediocria firma locum*. You might have lived well with 3000 Pound a Year, for so I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented; but if you had been down, you know Fortunes Wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainship of the Guard, which he did with very good Reason, to have one of his own knowledge, whom he might trust, in that Place. You have been taken for a wife Man, and so have shewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, &c. If the King had said, it is a matter that offends my People, should I burthen them for your private Good? I think you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eased, though by your private hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition, the other corrupt Covetousness. Ambition in desiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth should become a base Spy for the Enemy, which is the vilest of all other; wherein

on my Conscience *Cobham* hath said true: by it you would have increased your Living 1500 Pound a Year. This Covetousness is like a Canker, that eats the Iron Place where it lives. Your Canker being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of zeal, and love to your good. You have been taxed by the World, with the Defence of the most Heathenish and Blasphemous opinions, which I lift not to repeat, because Christian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them suffered to live in any Christian Common-Wealth. You know what Men said of *Harpool*. You shall do well before you go out of the World to give satisfaction therein, and not to die with these Imputations on you. Let not any Devil persuade you to think there is no Eternity in Heaven: for if you think thus, you shall find Eternity in Hell-Fire. In the first Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, I observed his manner of speaking; I protest before the living God, I am perswaded he spoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote that he should not in any case confess any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Essex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this day among us. He confessed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord, for I am verily perswaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your conceit of not confessing any thing is very inhumane and wicked. In this World is the time of Confessing, that we may be absolved at the Day of Judgment. You have shewed a fearful sign of denying God, in advising a Man not to confess the Truth. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuser come face to face: for such an one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors should have any Access to, or Conference with one another; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to have their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treason again, and so in some sort seek Revenge.

Now it resteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wish you had not been this day to have received of me: For if the fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good Subject. I never saw the like Trial, and hope I shall never see the like again.

The Judgment.

But since you have been found guilty of these horrible Treasons, the Judgment of this Court is, That you shall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain 'till the day of Execution; and from thence you shall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets to the place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body shall be opened, your Heart and Bowels plucked out, and your Privy Members cut off, and thrown into the fire before your Eyes; then your Head to be stricken off from your Body, and your

Body shall be divided into four Quarters, to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure: And

God have Mercy upon your Soul.

Sir Walter Raleigh beought the Earl of Devonshire, and the Lords to be Suitors on his behalf to the King; that in regard of Places of Estimation he did bear in his Majesties time, the Rigour of his Judgment might be qualified, and his Death honourable, and not ignominious.

Wherein after he had promised him to do their utmost Endeavours, the Court rose, and the Prisoner was carried up again to the Castle.

Here follows the Continuation of the Life.

IT was observed, that before the Lords (principally to my Lord Cecil) at Winchester (for there he was tried, the Sickness then reigning in London) he was humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, but not deject: For in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious Speeches; in others acknowledge that their Honours said true, as in relating some Circumstances. And in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and answer them as in points of Law, or essential matters of Fact. To the Jury he was affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them; carefully perswading them with Reason, not diffidently importuning them with Conjunction; rather shewing love of Life, than fear of Death. What made ill for Sir Walter was his Discovery of *Lawrence* and *Cobham's* frequent private Conferences; which so incensed *Cobham*, that he positively accused him: though the single Evidence of one already convicted of what Sir Walter was but yet impeached, could only make a Circumstance, and not convict him. The Judges and the King's Counsel did what they could to bawl him out of his Life; and since they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. If we may believe *Osborn*, several of the Jurymen, after he was cast, were so far touch'd in Conscience as to ask of him pardon on their Knees.

A further Confirmation of his Innocency may be a Passage of his own in a Letter to Secretary *Winwood*, wherein he tells him, 'That the worthy Prince of

Wales was extream curious in searching out the nature of his Offences. The Queens Majesty had informed her self from the beginning. The King of Denmark at both times of his being here, was thoroughly fatished of his Innocency; they would otherwise never have moved his Majesty on his behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King do not use to sue for Men suspect. Nay, further yet, the Scots themselves declar'd in favour of him; if we may believe him in another Letter of his to Sir Robert Carr, after Earl of Somerset, wherein are these words: 'I have ever been bound to your Nation, as well for many other Graces, as for the true Report of my Trial to the King's Majesty, against whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my Cause could not have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compassion, and the Minds of the greatest number then present into Commiseration of mine Estate: It is not the nature of foul Treason to beget such fair Passions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful Subjects (especially of your Nation) to bewail his Overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord.

Two days after Raleigh's Trial, were sentenced *Brook*, who pretended his intention was only to try faithful Subjects, and said he had a Commission for so doing, but produc'd it not; *Markham*, who confest the Indictment, pleaded Discontent, and desired Mercy; *Watson*, who confest he drew them all in, holding the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, instancing in *Saul* and *Jeroboam*; And *Clark*,

Clark, who said the like. *Parham* and *Brookshire* were acquitted by the Jury; *Watson*, *Clark*, and *Brook* were executed; *Markham*, *Cobham*, and *Grey* brought severally on the Scaffold to dye, and at the instant on the Block, had their particular Executions remitted, by a Letter to the Sheriff under the King's own Hand, without the knowledge of any, save Mr. *Gibbs*, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that brought it. However an evil Fate did attend these Men; *Grey* died in the Tower, the last of his Line; the rest were dishonour'd but died miserably poor: *Markham* and some others abroad; but *Cobham* (as *Osborn* tells us) in a Room ascend'd by a Ladder, at a poor Woman's House in the *Minories* (formerly his Landress) died rather of hunger than a natural disease.

Sir Walter was left to his Majesties Mercy, who thought him too great a Malecontent to have his Freedom, and probably too Innocent to lose his Life. Therefore in the Tower he is confin'd, but permitted to enjoy *Libera Custodia*; where he improv'd his Imprisonment to the greatest advantage of Learning and Inquisitive Men. Since his Majesty had civilly buried him, and as it were banish'd him this World, he thought it no Treason to disturb the Affairs of former times, and bring to view the Actions of deceased Heroes. And certainly none was so fit to comment on their Achievements, and so able to raise excellent Maxims from them, as he who had been brought up in so wife a Court as Queen *Elizabeth's*, and read so many wife Men. After some time past there, he was deliver'd of that great *Minerva*, the *History of the World*; a Book which for the Exactness of its Chronology, Curiousness of its Contexture and Learning of all Sorts, seems to be the Work of an Age. An History which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if some Authors may be credited, of King James himself, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man who had been the greatest part of his life taken up in Action, should write so judiciously, so critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book it self. It still remains a Dispute whether the Age he lived in was more oblig'd to his Pen or his Sword, the one being buile in conquering the *New*, the other in so bravely describing the *Old* World. An History wherein the only fault, or defect rather, is, that it wanteth one half thereof; which was occasion'd, as our Story tells us, thus: Some few days before he suffered, he sent for Mr. *Walter Barr*, who formerly Printed his first Volum: of the *History of the*

World, whom taking by the Hand, after some other Discourse, he ask'd how it had fild? Mr. *Barr* return'd this Answer, *I told so slowly that it had undone him*. At which words of his Sir Walter stepping to his Desk, reaches his other unprinted Part of his History, which he had brought down to the Times he lived in, and clapping his hands upon his breast, said with a sigh, *Alas, my Friend, hath the first Part undone thee? the second Part shall undo no more; this ungrateful World is unworthy of it: and immediately going to the Fire-side, threw it in, and set his foot upon it till it was consumed*. As great a loss to Learning as Christendom could have sustain'd; the greater, because it could be repaired by no hand but his. It often happening to Authors, as to great Masters in Painting, their Pieces are not valued till they are dead, and the succeeding Age find the Originals inimitable.

Whilst Sir Walter was thus confin'd, Death took away his and *Effes's* mortal Enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of *Salisbury*, who had purchased the monopoly of Favour, and being jealous of Sir Walter's Parts, had some fear he might supplant him; which was the Cause, according to *Osborn*, that he was brought to the aforementioned Trial. However Sir Walter outlived his Enemies designs and hatred, and for all his kindness bestowed upon him the following Epitaph, which I am upon very good grounds assur'd to be his. King James was so much taken with the smartness of it, that he hoped the Author would die before him. The Verses are these:

*Here lies Hobnail, our Pastor while here,
That once in a quarter our flocks did shear.
To please us, his Car he kept under clogg,
And was ever after both Shepherd and Dog.
For Oblation to Pan his Custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.
And through his false Worship such pow'r he did gain,
As kept him 'till o' his Mountain, and us on the Plain:
Where many a Hornpipe he tun'd to his Phillis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amarillis;
Till Atropos clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,
For spite of his Tar-box he dy'd of the Scab.*

If the Reader desires a Key to these Verses, he may meet with it in *Osborn's* Memoires, who yet for all his Intelligence hath not inform'd us that his Mistress's name was *Walsingham*.

Fourteen Years Sir *Walter* had spent in the *Tower*, and being weary of a state wherein he could be only servicable by his Pen, but not in a capacity of serving and enriching his Country any other way (of whom Prince *Henry* would say, that no King but his Father would keep such a Bird in a Cage;) At length he fell upon an Enterprize of a Golden Mine in *Guiana* in the Southern parts of *America*. The Proposition of this was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir *Ralph Winwood* the Secretary of State, as a Matter not in the Air, or Speculative, but Real, and of certainty: for that Sir *Walter* had seen of the Ore of the Mine, and tried the richness of it, having gotten a pound from thence by the hands of Captain *Kemish* his ancient Servant.

Sir *Ralph Winwood's* Recommendations of the Design, and the earnest Solicitations for his Enlargement, of the Queen, the Prince, and the French Lieger (with much affection to his Defects, not without some Politick Designs on *Spain*) together with the Asseverations of Sir *Walter* of the truth of the Mine, work'd upon his Majesty, who thought himself in Honour obliged, nay in a manner engaged (as the Declaration which he published after the Death of Sir *Walter* tells us) not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of so great Riches to be fought and achieved at the Charge of Volunteers, especially since it stood so well with his Majesties Politick and Magnanimous Courses, in these his flourishing Times of Peace, to nourish and encourage Noble and Generous Enterprizes for Plantations, Discoveries, and opening of a new Trade.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and subtle Instrument to serve his Master's ends)

took Allarm at this, and represented to his Majesty the Enterprize of Sir *Walter* to be hostile, and predatory, intending a breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithstanding; Power at last is granted to Sir *Walter* to set forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promising on the word of a King to keep it secret) the number of his Men; the burthen and strength of his Ships; together with the Country and River which he was to enter; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very Original Paper was found in the *Spanish* Governours Closet at St. *Thomas*. So active were the *Spanish* Ministers, that Advertisement was sent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *English* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But as we have just Cause to admire the more than usual Activity of the *Spanish* Agents, so may we wonder no less at the Mis carriage of his Majesties present Ministers, who notwithstanding he had past his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; So much both King and Court were at *Gondamor's* service.

A Commission indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor's* means is limited; that the Fleet should commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain's* Subjects by Land, unless they began first; with other limitations in the Commission, which for the Readers Curiosity and Satisfaction I have here inserted.

James

JAMES, by the Grace of GOD, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and in charge of them greeting: Whereas Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, intended to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, upon the South parts of *America*, or elsewhither within *America*, possessed and inhabited by Heathen and Savage People: to the end, to discover and find out some Commodities and Merchandizes in those Countries, that be necessary and profitable for the Subjects of these Our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no use: and to have thereupon allowance by Trade and Commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and to reform Religion amongst those Savage and Idolatrous People: And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* in this his Enterprize, had they sufficient Assurance to enjoy their due parts of the Profits returned (in respect of the Peril of Law wherein the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* now standeth:) And whereas also we are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Kinsmen and Friends of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their Lives with him in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that we, upon deliberate Consideration had of the Premises, being desirous by all ways and means to seek and procure the benefit and good of Our loving Subjects, and to give our Princely furtherance to the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Friends and Associates herein, to the Intouragement of others in the like laudable Journeys and Enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the Conversion of Savage People, as of the increase of Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes used by Our Subjects of this Our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our special Grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, full Power and Authority, and free Licence and Li-

berty out of this our Realm of England, or any other Our Dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead for and towards his said intended Voyage unto the said South parts, or other parts of *America*, (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to Travel thither, all such, and so many of Our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become Our loving Subjects, and live under Our Obedience and Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habillments, Cloaths, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild People in those parts, Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses, and Wares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his Voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his Company, and Trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, Sell, Barter, Exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same Goods, Merchandizes, and Wares, to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Company, and such other Person, or Persons, as shall be Adventurers or Assistants with, or unto him in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to Return, Import, Convey, and bring in to this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandizes, or Commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient and the same being so Returned, Imported, Conveyed, and Brought into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Use, Benefit, and Repose of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his said Company, and other Persons Adventurers and Assistants with, or to him in his Voyage, without the Lett, Interruption, molestation, or Disturbance of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors whatsoever: Paying and Answering unto Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, the full fifth part, in five parts to be divided, of all such Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, or Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stones, as shall be Imported over and besides; and together with such Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to be so Imported by the true meaning of these

Prefens

Presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his Enterprise, and all our loving Subjects desirous to be Adventurers with him, or Assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Proceedings: We do hereby in verbo Regio, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, Covenants, Promises, and Grants, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other Persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Assistants with, or to him in this his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them to be imported into this our Kingdom of England, or any other our Dominions, from any the said South, or other parts of America, (Possessed or Inhabited, as aforesaid) shall be attached, seized, or taken by Us, Our heirs or Successors, or to the use of Us, Our heirs or Successors; or by any the Officers or Ministers of Us, Our heirs or Successors whatsoever; But that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Ore of Gold and Silver, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid, being truly answered and payed) shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and such Persons as shall be Adventurers with him, or Assistant to him in this his Voyage; any Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Provision, or Restraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of Us, Our heirs or Successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of our more especial Grace, certain Knowledge; and mer Bottom, We do hereby for Us, Our heirs and Successors, ordain, constitute and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the sole Governour and Commander of all Persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said Voyage, to the said South, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him full Power and Authority to Coerce, Punish, Pardon, Govern, and Rule them, or any of them, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time Established, aswell in cases Capital and Criminal, as Civil, both Pa-

rine and other; So always as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of this our Realm of England; and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that in such and the like Enterprises and Voyages, great Inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and unruly carriage of the Mariners and Seamen employed in the same, for want of sufficient Authority to punish them according to their Offences; We do therefore by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of Rebellion or Mutiny by Sea or Land, to use and exercise Martial Law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our Lieutenant General by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in our Counties, within our Realm of England, have had, or ought to have by force of their Commission of Lieutenantcy. And we do further by these Presents; give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to Collect, Dominate and Appoint such Captains, and other inferior Commanders and Ministers under him; as shall be requisite for the better governing and governing of his Company; and the good of the Voyage. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, straightly Charge and Command the Warden of our Cinque Ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surbepers, Searchers, Waiters, and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our heirs and Successors, for the time being, that they and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all Person and Persons that shall be willing to Travel and Adventure with him in this Voyage with their Ships, Munition, Goods, Wares, and Merchandises whatsoever out of this our Realm, or any other our Dominions, to pass into the said South or other parts of America, (Possessed and Inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this our Realm, or any other our Dominions, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises whatsoever, and there to Sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his Company, and such other Persons as shall be Adventurers with him in this Voyage; paying

ing the fifth part of all Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, and Silver, and of Pearl, and precious Stones imported, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents, or the Inrolment thereof, shall be unto the said Wardens of the Cinque Ports, Customers, Comptrollers, and other the Officers and Ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. And our Will and Pleasure is; And by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and singular Grants, Clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in Law, according to our gracious Pleasure and Meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Prohibition, Ordinance, or Restraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. in Writings whereof, &c. Witness our Self at Westminster the six and twentieth Day of August, in the fourteenth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixtieth.

Per breve de privato
Sigillo.

With this Commission, and the Company of several brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood and Worth, he set out in Quest of the Mine, with a complete Fleet of Twelve Sail; letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit than his Wisdom, That his whole History of the World had not the like President: Of a Kings Prisoner to purchase Freedom, and his bosome Favorite to have the Halter; but in Scripture, Mordecai and Haman: Meaning himself and the Duke of Somerset. To which he was told, that the King replied, He might die in that Decree; which he did, for Somerset was saved. Of whom was made good what Sir Walter used to say of Favours; That Minions were not so happy as Vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and sometimes to unnatural Employments.

On the 17th of November, he arrived at Guiana, having been much retarded by contrary Winds, and having lost several of his Volunteers in the Voyage, by a violent Calenture. But of the whole Transactions, Sir Walter hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary; which I have here transcribed.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Passages towards the Indies, so have I no other Subject to write of, than of the greatest Misfortunes that ever befall any Man. For whereas for the first, all those that navigate between Cape de Verd, and America, do pass between Fifteen or Twenty Days at most, we found the Wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature) so many Storms and Rains, as we spent six Weeks in the Passage; by reason whereof, and that in so great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Isle Prano de Cape de Verd, we lost our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks; and being driven from the Isle with a Hurricane, we were like all to have perished. Great sickness fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest Men, both for Sea and Land. The 17th of November, we had sight of Guiana, and soon after came to Anchor in five Degrees of the River Galiano; here we staid till the fourth of December, landed our Sick-men, set up our Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of England in Quarters, washed our Ships, and took in Fresh-water, being fed and cherished by the Indians of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Respect. My self being in the hands of Death this six Weeks, and not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail into Orinocoque, having Captain Kemish for their Conductor towards the Mines: And in those five Ships, five Companies of fifty, under the Command of Captain Parker, Captain North, Brethren to the Lord Montague, and the Lord North, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat which they have endured: My Son had the third Company; Captain Thornix of Kent the fourth Company; Captain Chidly, by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Sergeant Major, Captain Piggot, died in the former miserable Passage; so my Lieutenant Sir Warham Saint Leiger, lay sick without

* * * * * 2 hope

hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew, George Raleigh, who had al-
so served long with infinite Commendations;
but by reason of my absence, and of Sir War-
ham's, was not so well obeyed as the En-
terprize required. As they passed up the Ri-
ver, the Spaniards began the War, and
shot at us, both with their Ordnance and Mus-
kets; whereupon the Companies were forced
to charge them, and soon after beat them out
of the Town. In the Assault my Son (more
desirous of Honour than Safety) was slain;
with whom, to say truth, all the re-
specks of this World have taken end in me;
and although these five Captains had as
weak Companies as ever followed valiant
Leaders, yet were there among them some
twenty or thirty valiant adventurous Gen-
tlemen, and of singular Courage; as of my
Sons Company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammond,
Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington;
his Officers, Sir John Hamblen, Mr. Sim-
mon Leak, Corporal of the Field, Mr. Ham-
mond, the elder Brother, Mr. Nicholas
of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent,
Mr. Perin, Mr. Trelham, Mr. Molinax,
Mr. Winter, and his Brother; Mr. Wray,
Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain
Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these
Gentlemen, to the end that if his Majesty
shall have cause to use their Service,
it may please you to take notice of them for
very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships
staid at Trinidad, having no other Port
capable of them near Guiana. The second
Ship was Commanded by my Vice-Admiral
Captain John Pennington, of whom (to
do him right) he is one of the sufficientest
Gentlemen for the Sea that England hath.
The third by Sir Warham Saint Legier,
an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman.
The fourth by Sir John Fern. The fifth
by Captain Chidley of Devon. With these
five Ships I daily attended their Armada
of Spain, which had they set upon us, our
Force divided, the one half in Orinocoque,
150 Miles from us, we had not only been
torn in pieces, but all those in the River
had also perished, being of no force at all
for Sea-fight. But we had resolved to be
burnt by their sides, had the Armada ar-
rived: But belike they staid for us at
Margaret, by which they knew we must pass
to the Indies. For it pleased his Ma-
jesty to value us at so little, as to command
me upon my Allegiance, to set down un-
der my hand the Country, and Ri-
ver by which I was to enter it; to set down
the Number of my Men, and Burthen of
my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship
carried: which being known to the Spanish
Ambassador, and by him unto the King of

Spain, a dispatch was made, and Letters
sent from Madrid, before my departure out
of the Thames. For his first Letter, sent
by a Barque of Advice, was dated the 19th
of March, 1617. at Madrid, which
Letter I have here inclosed sent to your
Honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing
whether they may be intercepted or not.
The second by the King, dated the second
of May, sent also by a Colonel of Diego
de Polonioque, Governour of Guiana, Elde-
redo, and Trinidad. The third by the
Bishop of Perericho, and delivered to Po-
lonioque, the fifteenth of July at Trini-
dado. And the fourth was sent from the
Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the
Indies. At the same time by that of the
Kings Hand sent by the Bishop, there was
also a Commission for the speed Levying of 300
Souldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be sent
from Portoriche for the Defence of Guiana.
One 150 from Nuevo Remo de Grando,
under the Command of Captain Anthony Mu-
fica; and the other 150 from Portoricho, to
be conducted by Captain Francis Landio.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the
Indies since his Majesties time, knew that the
Spaniards have slayed alive all the poor Men
which they have taken, being but Merchant
Men, what Death and cruel Torment shall we
expect, if they conquer us? Certainly, they
have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence
as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, To make an Apology for not
working the Mine (though I know his Ma-
jesty expected it, whom I am to satisfy as
much as my self) having lost my Son and
my Estate in the Enterprize; yet it is true,
that the Spaniards took more care to defend
the Passage leading unto it, than they did
the Town, which by the Kings Instructions
they might easily do, the Countries being Alpera
& Nemorola.

But it is true, that when Captain Kemish
found the River low, and that he could not
approach the Banks in most places near the
Mine by a Mile, and where he found a de-
scent, a volley of Musquet shot came from
the Woods upon the Boat, and slew two Row-
ers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gen-
tleman of Captain Thornix, of which wound
he languisheth to this day. He, to wit,
Captain Kemish, following his own Advice,
thought it was in vain to discover the Mine;
and he gave me this for an Excuse at his
return, that the Companies of English in
the Town of S. Thome were not able to
defend it against the daily and nightly Assaults
of the Spaniards; that the Passages to the
Mines were thick and unpassable Woods; and
that the Mine being discovered, they had no
Men

Men to work it; did not discover it at
all. For it is true, the Spaniards having
two Gold Mines near the Town, the one
possessed by Pedro Rodrigo de Paran, the
second by Harmian Protimio, the third of
Silver by Captain Francisco, are useless
for want of Negroes to work them: For as
the Indians cannot be constrained, by a Law
of Charles the 5th, so the Spaniards will
not, nor can endure the labour of those
Mines, whatsoever the Bragadocio the Spa-
nish Ambassador saith. I shall prove un-
der the Proprietors hands, by the Custom-
Brook and the Kings Quinto, of which
I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also
make it appear to any Prince, or State,
that will undertake it, how easily those Mines,
and five or six more of them, may be pos-
sessed, and the most of them in those Parts,
which have never as yet been attempted by
any, nor by any Passage to them, nor e-
ver discovered by the English, French, or
Dutch. But at Kemish's return from O-
rinocoque, when I rejected his counsel
and his counsel, and told him he had undone
me, and wounded my Credit with the Kings
past recovery, he flew himself: For I told
him, seeing my Son was slain, I cared not
if I had lost one hundred more in open-
ing the Mine, so my Credit had been sa-
ved. For I protest before God, had not
Captain Whitney (to whom I gave more
countenance than to all the Captains of my
Fleet) run from me at the Granadoes,
and carried another Ship with him of Cap-
tain Woolfolds, I would have left my
Body at Saint Thome, by my Sons, or have
brought with me out of that or other Mines,
so much Gold Ore as should have satisfied
the King. I propounded no vain thing,
what shall become of me I know not. I am
unpardoned in England, and my poor Estate
confused, and whether any Prince will give
me Bread or no, I know not. I would de-
sire your Honour to hold me in your good
Opinion, to remember my Service to my
Lord of Arundel and Pembroke, to take
some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare
not write for renewing her sorrow for her Son.
And I beseech you to give a Copy of this to my
Lord Carew; for to a broken Mind, a sick
Body, and weak Eyes, it is a torment to
write many Letters. I have found many
things of Importance for discovering the
State and Weakness of the Indies, which if
I live I shall hereafter impart unto your
Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful
Servant,

WALTER RALEIGH.

Whilst this Action of S. Thome was
performed, and the Repulse in the way
to the Mine, Sir Walter staid at S. Point
de Gallo the space of nine weeks, where
the unwelcome news was brought him
of the loss of his Son, and the Defeat
they met with in their Design upon the
Mine. However this ill News could
not alter the Resolutions of Sir Walter,
of Returning to England, though he
knew he should meet with several En-
emies there, who had by their Calum-
nies rendred the Voyage nothing but a
Design; and though several of his Men
were for landing at New-found-Land. For
if we may believe himself at the hour
of his Death, the two Noble Earls, Tho-
mas of Arundel, and William of Pembroke,
engaged him to return; and Sir Walter
was resolv'd, though inevitable Danger
threatened him, to keep his Promise.

No sooner had they arrived upon the
Coasts of Ireland, but the Taking and
Sacking of Saint Thome, firing of the
Town, and putting the Spaniards there
to the Sword (though in their own de-
fence) was noised abroad in all parts,
and was by special Advertisment come
unto the knowledge of Count de Gonda-
mor: Who thereupon desiring Audience
of his Majesty, said he had but one
word to say: His Majesty much won-
dering what might be delivered in one
word; when he came before him, he
only bawld out, Pyrates, Pyrates, Py-
rates. A very pretty short Speech for an
Ambassador. Whereupon his Majesty
published his Royal Proclamation, for
the discovery of the Truth of Sir Wal-
ter Raleigh's Proceedings, and the Ad-
vancement of Justice. But after all this
Noise, Sir Walter is not question'd for
his Guiana Action. For it is believed,
not without very good Ground, that
neither the transgression of his Commis-
sion, nor any thing acted beyond the
Line, where the Articles of Peace be-
tween the two Crowns did not extend,
could have in a legal course of Trial short-
ened his days.

When Sir Walter was arrived at Ply-
mouth, Sir Lewis Stentky, Vice-Admiral of
the County of Devon, seiz'd him, being
Commissioned by his Majesty to bring
him to London; which could add no
Terror to a Person who could expect
nothing less; and was now forc'd to
make use of all the Arts imaginable to
appease his Majesty, and defer his An-
ger. To which intent, Mynorny, a
French Quack at Salisbury, gave him fe-
veral Vomits, and an Artificial Cough,
***** 3 position,

position, which made him look gaily and dreadful, full of Pimples and Blisters, and put the Cheat upon the very Physicians themselves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (though often inspected) being adulterated with a Drug in the Glass, that turn'd it even in their very hands, into an earthy humour of a blackish colour, and of a very offensive favour.

While he lay under this Politick disguise, he penn'd his *Declaration and Apology*, which have sufficiently proved his honourable Designs in that Voyage, and answered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to London, he was permitted the Confinement of his own House: But finding the Court wholly guided by *Gondamor*, he could hope for little Mercy; therefore he wisely contriv'd the design of an Escape into France, which *Sir Lewis Stenckley* betrayed. But the fate of Traytors pursued him, and brought him to a Contemptible End, to dye a poor distracted Begger in the Isle of *Lindsey*, having for a Bag of Money falsified his Faith, confirmed by the tye of the holy Sacrament, (if we may give credit to *Mr. Hmel*, who hath given us this Story;) as also before the Year came about, to be found clipping the same very Coin in the King's own House at *White-Hall*, which he had received for a Reward of his Perfidiousness: for which, being condemn'd to be hang'd, he was forc'd to sell himself to his Shirt, to purchase his Pardon of two Knights.

King James was willing to sacrifice the Life of *Sir Walter* to the Advancement of Peace with Spain, but not upon such Grounds as the Ambassadors had design'd: for he desir'd a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occasion he might fly gain from the English an acknowledgment of his Master's Right in those Places, and hereafter both stop their Mouths, and quench their Heat and Valour. Hence upon his old Condemnation (for having had experience upon a former Tryal, they cared not to run the hazard of a second) he was sentenced: The old Judgment being only Averred against him; and from *Westminster-Hall* he was carried to the Gate-House; and from thence the next Morning to the Parliament-Yard, where he had the Favour of the Ax granted him. But all Persons have wonder'd how that Old Sentence, that had laid dormant sixteen Years and up-

wards against *Sir Walter*, could have been made use of to take off his Head afterwards: Considering the then Lord Chancellor *Vernham* told him positively, (as *Sir Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of *Sir William St. Leon* for a Pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a less Sum, than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in these words: 'Sir, the Knee Timber of your Voyage is Money; spare your Purlie in this particular, for upon my Life you have a sufficient Pardon for all that is pass'd already, the King having under his Broad Seal made you Admiral of your Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial Law over the Officers and Souldiers. It was the Opinion of most Lawyers, that he, who by his Majesties Patent, had Power of Life and Death over the King's Liege People, should be esteemed or judged *Reus in Curia*, and free from all old Convictions. But *Sir Walter* hath made the best Defence for his *Guiana* Actions, in his Letter to his Majesty, which I have here insertet.

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

IF in my Journey outward bound, I had my Men Murdered at the Island, and yet spared to take Revenge. If I did discharge some Spanish Barques taken, without spoil. If I did forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea Coast, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any Directions from me a Spanish Village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the Mine; by your Majesty's favour, I find no Reason why the Spanish Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the Spaniards to Murder 26 Englishmen, binding them back to back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as one Sword; and that it may not be lawful for your Majesties Subjects, being charged first by them, to repel Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable English! If Parker and Metham took Campeach and other places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt Towns, killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said to them at their Return, and my self forbore to look into the Indies because I would

'I would not offend; I may justly say, O miserable *Sir Walter Raleigh*! If I spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffered by Sickness, and otherwise a World of Miseries; if I have resisted with the manifest hazard of my Life, the Robberies and Spoils which my Company would have made; if when I was Poor, I might have made my self Rich; if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and Nature it self do so much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put 5 or 6000 Pound in my Pocket, and yet have brought her into England. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesty's Trust. My Mutineers told me, that if I returned for England, I should be undone; but I believed in your Majesty's Goodness more than in all their Arguments. Sure I am, that I am the first that being free, and able to enrich my self, have embraced Poverty and Peril: And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the last. But your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most

humble Vassal,

WALTER RALEIGH.

But this Apology, though never so perfwasive, could not satisfy *Gondamor's* Rage, who was resolv'd to sacrifice the only Favorite left of *Queen Elizabeth*, to the Spanish interest: And who, as *Osborn* remarks, was the only Person of Essex's Enemies that died lamented; and the only Man of Note left alive, that had help'd to beat the Spaniard in the Year 1588.

Upon Thursday the 29th of October 1618. *Sir Walter Raleigh* was conveyed by the Sheriffs of London to a Scaffold in the Old Palace at *Westminster*, where he was executed about nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day, whose

Confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance, saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he address'd himself to speak in this manner.

I desire to be born withal, because this is the third Day of my Favour: And if I shew any weakness, I beseech you attribute it to my Malady, for this is the hour I look for it.

Then pawing a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, and the Lord of *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights late, with a loud Voice he said as followeth:

'I thank God of his infinite Goodness that he hath sent me to dye in the sight of so Honourable an Assembly, and not in Darkness. But by reason the place where they sit was some distance from the Scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said, I will strain my self, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me. The Lord of *Arundel* answered, We will come upon the Scaffold; where after he had saluted every one of them severally, he began as follows:

'As I said, I thank my God heartily that he hath brought me into the light to dye, and not suffered me to dye in the dark Prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of Adversity, and a long Sickness; and I thank God that my Favour hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not.

'There are two main Points of Suspicion that his Majesty hath conceived against me, wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear and resolve you in:

'One is, That his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot with France, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereto. One Reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, That when I came back from *Guiana*, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*; which was because I would fain have made

'made my Peace before I came to Eng-
'land. Another Reason was, That upon
'on my Flight I did intend to fly to
'France for saving of my Life, ha-
'ving had some terror from above. A
'third Reason was, The French Agent's
'coming to me; and it was reported
'I had Commission from the King of
'France.

'But this I say, for a Man to call
'God to witness to a Falshood at any
'time is a grievous sin, and what shall
'he hope for at the Tribunal Day of
'Judgment? But to call God to wit-
'ness to a Falshood at the time of Death,
'is far more grievous and impious, and
'there is no hope for such an one. And
'what should I expect that am now go-
'ing to render an Account of my Faith?
'I do therefore call the Lord to wit-
'ness, as I hope to be saved, and as I
'hope to see him in his Kingdom, which
'will be within this quarter of this hour,
'I never had any Commission from the
'King of France, nor any Treaty with
'the French Agent, nor with any from
'the French King; neither knew I that
'there was an Agent, or what he was,
'till I met him in my Gallery at my
'Lodging unlook'd for. If I speak not
'true, O Lord, let me never come into
'thy Kingdom.

'The second Suspicion was, That his
'Majesty hath been informed, That I
'should speak dishonourably and dis-
'loyally of him. But my Accuser was
'a base Frenchman, a kind of a Chymi-
'cal Fellow, one whom I knew to be
'Perfidious; for being drawn into this
'Action at Winchester, in which my
'Hand was toucht, and he being sworn
'to secrecy over Night, reveal'd it in the
'Morning.

'But in this I speak now, What have
'I to do with Kings? I have nothing
'to do with them, neither do I fear them:
'I have now to do with God, therefore
'to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of
'the King were in vain. Therefore, as
'I hope to be saved at the last Day, I
'never spake dishonourably, disloyally,
'nor dishonestly of the King; neither to
'this Frenchman, nor to any other; nei-
'ther had I ever in all my Life a thought
'of ill of his Majesty. Therefore I can-
'not but think it strange, that this
'Frenchman being so base, so mean a Fel-
'low, should be so far credited; and so
'much for this Point. I have dealt tru-
'ly, and I hope I shall be believed. I
'confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did

'diflemble and fain: my self Sick at *Salu-
bury*, but I hope it was no sin. The
'Prophet *David* did make himself a Fool,
'and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his
'Beard, to escape the hands of his Ene-
'mies, and it was not imputed to him
'as sin; and I did it to prolong Time
'till his Majesty came, hoping for some
'Commeration from him.

'I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir *Lev-
is Stenckly*, and have received the Sa-
'crament this Morning of Mr. Dean,
'and I do also forgive all the World. But
'thus much I am bound in Charity to
'speak of this Man, that all Men may
'take good heed of him: Sir *Lewis Stenck-
ley*, my Kinsman and Keeper, hath af-
'firmed that I should tell him, that I
'did tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord
'Doncaster of my present Escape; but
'I protest before God, I never told *Stenck-
ley* any such thing, neither did I tell my
'Lord *Carew*, or my Lord *Doncaster*, of
'my pretended Escape. It was not like-
'ly that I should acquaint two Privy-
'Counsellors of my purpose; neither would
'I tell him, for he left me six, seven, eight,
'nine or ten days to go where I listed,
'while he rode about the Country.

'Again, he accused me, that I should
'tell him, That my Lord *Carew*, and my
'Lord *Doncaster* would meet me in
'France: which was never my speech or
'thought.

'Thirdly, He accused me, That I
'shew'd him a Letter, and that I should
'give him 10000 *l.* for my Escape: but
'cast my Soul into everlasting Fire if e-
'ver I made him offer of 10000 *l.* or
'1000 *l.* but merely I shew'd him a
'Letter, that if he would go with me,
'his Debts should be paid when he was
'gone; neither had I 1000 *l.* for if I
'had had so much, I could have done
'better with it, and made my Peace o-
'therwise.

'Fourthly, When I came to Sir *Ed-
ward Pelham*, who had been sometimes
'a follower of mine, who gave me good
'Entertainment; he gave out that I
'had receiv'd some dram of Poyson in
'Sir *Edward Pelham's* House: when I
'answered, that I feared no such thing;
'for I was well assured of them in the
'House. Now God forgive him, for I
'do, and desire God to forgive him: I
'will not only say God is the God of Re-
'venge, but I desire God to forgive him,
'as I hope to be forgiven.

Then

Then he looked over his Note of Re-
membrance; 'Well (saith he) thus far I
'have gone; now a little more, and I will
'have done by and by.

'It was told the King I was brought
'per force into England; and that I did
'not intend to come again: Whereas
'Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Tresham*,
'Mr. *Leak*, and divers others that knew
'how I was dealt withal, shall witness
'for me: For the Common Souldiers
'(which were 150) mutined, and sent
'for me to come into the Gun-Room
'to them, (for at that time they would
'not come to me) and there was I forc'd
'to take an Oath, that I would not come
'into England till they would have me,
'else they would cast me into the Sea
'and drown me; afterwards they entred
'my Cabin and set themselves against me.
'After I had taken this Oath, with Wine
'and other things I drew the chieftest
'of them to desist, and at length perswaded
'them to go into Ireland: Then would
'they have gone into the North parts of
'Ireland, but I told them they were *Red-
shanks*: yet at last with much ado I per-
'suaded them to go into the South parts;
'promising to get their Pardons: but was
'forc'd to give them 125 *l.* at *Kingsale* to
'bring them home, otherwise I had never
'got from them.

'There was a Report that I meant
'not to go to *Guiana* at all; and that
'I knew not of any Mine, nor intended
'any such matter, but only to get my
'Liberty, which I had not the wit to
'keep. But it was my full intent to
'go for Gold, for the benefit of his
'Majesty, and those that went with me,
'with the rest of my Countrymen: But
'he that knew the Head of the Mine,
'would not discover it when he saw my
'Son was slain, but made himself away.
'Then he turned to my Lord of *Arundel*
'and said, Being in the Gallery in
'my Ship at my Departure, Your Ho-
'nour took me by the hand, and said
'you would request me one thing, that
'was, That whether I made a good Voyage
'or bad, yet I should return again into Eng-
'land; when I made you a Promise, and
'gave you my Faith that I would: And
'to you did (answered my Lord) it is
'true, they were the last words I spake un-
'to you.

'Another Opinion was that I carried
'to Sea with me 16000 Pieces, and that
'was all the Voyage I intended, only to
'get Money into my Hands, and that
'I had weigh'd my Voyage before:

'whereas I protest I had but 100 Pound
'in all the World, whereof I gave 25
'Pounds to my Wife: The Reason of
'this Speech was this; there was entered
'20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound
'in the Surveyors Book; now I gave
'my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for
'divers Adventurers, but I protest I had
'not a Penny of Money more than 100
'Pound, as I hope to be saved.

'Another Slander was raised, that I
'would have gone away from them and
'left them at *Guiana*, but there were a
'great many of worthy Men that accom-
'panied me always, as my Serjeant Major
'*George Raleigh*, and divers others (which
'he then named) that knew my Intent
'was nothing false. And these be the Ma-
'terial Points I thought good to speak of;
'I am now at this instant to render my
'Account to God, and I protest as I shall
'appear before Him, this that I have spoken
'is true.

'I will speak but a word or two more, be-
'cause I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.
'There was a Report spread, that I
'should rejoyce at the Death of my Lord
'of *Essex*, and that I should take Tobac-
'co in his presence; when as I protest I
'shed Tears at his Death, though I was
'home of the contrary Faction; and at the
'time of his Death I was all the while in
'the Armory at the further end, where
'I could not see him; I was sorry that I
'was not with him, for I heard he had
'a desire to see me, and be reconciled to
'me. So that I protest I lamented his Death,
'and good cause had I, for it was the world
'for me as is proved, for after he was gone
'I was little beloved.

'And now I intreat you all to joyn
'with me in Prayer, that the great God
'of Heaven, whom I have grievously of-
'fended, being a Man full of all Vanity,
'and have lived a sinful Life, in all sin-
'ful Callings, having been a Souldier, a
'Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier,
'which are all places of Wickedness and
'Vice; that God (I say) would for-
'give me, and cast away my Sins from
'me, and that he would receive me into
'everlasting Life. So I take my leave
'of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that all
Men should depart the Scaffold, he pre-
pared himself for Death, giving away
his Hat and wrought Night-Cap, and
some Money to such as he knew that
stood near him: Taking his leave of the
Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen,
and

and among the rest taking his leave of the Lord of Arundel, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to defire the King, that no scandalous Writing to defame him might be published after his Death; saying further unto him, *I have a long Journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.*

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headman to shew him the Ax, which being not presently shewed him, he said, *I pray thee let me see it, Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?* And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and smiling spake to the Sheriff, saying, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all Diseases.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every side he prayed the Company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him.

And so being asked which way he would lay himself, on which side the Block, as he stretched himself along and laid his Head on the Block, he said, *So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then praying, after he had forgiven the Headman, having given him a Sign when he should do his Office, at two blows he lost both Head and Life, his Body never shrinking nor moving. His Head was shewed on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large effusion of Blood which proceeded from his Veins, amaz'd the Spectators, who conjectur'd he had stock enough left of Nature to have survived many years, though now near fourscore years old.

He behav'd himself at his Death with so High and so Religious a Resolution, as if a Christian had acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a Christian: And by the Magnanimity which was then conspicuous in him, he abundantly baffled their Calumnies who had accus'd him of Atheism.

Various were the Repentments of his Death, and several *Palquils* (as it always happens on such Occasions) were scatter'd abroad:

Of the Gallantry of his Behaviour on the Scaffold, these following Verses may give a Confirmation, and a Taste of the Poetry of those Times.

Upon Sir Walter Raleigh's Execution and Death.

*Great Heart! who taught thee to die?
Death yielding thee the Victory.
Where took'st thou leave of Life? If here,
How could'st thou be so far from Fear?
But sure thou dyed'st, and quitd'st the State
Of Fleish and Blood, before that Fate.
Life what a Miracle were wrought,
To triumph both in Fleish and Thought.
I saw in every Slander by
Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
Farewel; Truth shall this Story say,
We ag'd, Thou only liv'dst that Day.*

Or if the Reader pleases, he may take this following *Elegy*, composed on the same Subject, by a Sacred Wit of those times.

An Elegy on Sir W. R.

*I will not weep: for 'twere as great a sin
To shed a Tear for Thee, as to have been
An Actor in thy Death. Thy Life and Age
Was but a various Scene on Fortunes Stage;
With whom thou jugg'dst and strov'st, even
out of breath,
In thy long Toy, ne're master'd till thy Death;
And then, despite of Trains, and cruel Wit,
Thou didst at once subdue Malice, and it.
I dare not then so blast thy Memory,
As t' say I do lament or pity Thee.
Were I to choose a Subject to bestow
My Pity on, he should be one as lov'd
In Spirit as Desert: That durst not dye,
But rather were content by Slavery
To purchase Life: Or would I pity those
Thy most industrious and friendly Foes,
Who when they thought to make Thee Scandal
duals story,
Lent Thee a swifter Flight to Heav'n and
Glory.
They thought by cutting off some wish'd
Days
(Which thou could'st spare them) to eclipse
thy Praise;
Yet gave it brighter Foil, made thy ag'd
Fame
Appear more White and Fair, than Foul their
Shame.
And did promote an Execution,
Which, but for them, Nature and Age had
done.
Such worthless things as these are only born
To live on Pities Alms (too mean for Scorn.)
Thou dyd'st an env'ous Wonder, whose high
Fate
The World must still admire, scarce imitate.*

Thus

Thus died that Knight, who was Spain's Scourge and Terror, and Gondomar's Triumph, whom the whole Nation pitted, and several Princes interceded for; Queen Elizabeth's Favourite, and her Successors Sacrifice. A Person of so much Worth and so great Interest, that King James would not execute him without an Apology. One of such incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for Essex, was the Envy of Leicester, and Cecil's Rival; who grew jealous of his Excellent Parts, and was afraid of being supplanted by him. His Head was with on the Secretaries Shoulders, and his Life valued by some at a higher Rate than the Infanta of Spain, though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Body and Mind.

Authors are perplex under what To pick to place him, whether of Statesman, Seaman, Souldier, Chymist, or Chronologer; for in all these he did excel. He could make every thing he read or heard his own,

and his own he could easily improve to the greatest Advantage. He seem'd to be born to that only which he went about, so Dexterous was he in all his Undertakings, in Court, in Camp, by Sea, by Land, with Sword, with Pen. Witness in the last, his

*History of the World.
History of Guiana.*

His Remains.

Judicious and Select Essays and Observations on the first Invention of Shipping, the Misery of Invasive War, the Navy Royal and Sea-Service, with his Apology for his Sea-Voyage to Guiana.

Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Common-wealth; or Reasons for Foreign Wars answered.

An excellent Manuscript of the present State of Spain, with a most Accurate Account of his Catholick Majesties Power, and Riches; with the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom.

F I N I S.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and First Ages of the same,
from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

S. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.



GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which it self can onely comprehend, an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude wherof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness; and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is,

in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more than wonderful works, God (saith *Hugo) speaketh unto man: and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, those that live, *per Eccles. 8.* witness in themselves; the sensible in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, according to *S. Gregory, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, ad se. Deum esse colligere debet.* Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he *Psalm 145.* which made him, is God. This God all men behold *signatur.* (saith Job) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominum esse manifestum in creaturis, To discern him in manifestationem illius conspiciere in creaturis.* *per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia sicut generum est; nihil apparitio qualem generat.*

his Providence by his creatures. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, *Te habeo non habeo* his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape. And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am free agrees with the nature of God's simplicity, of which S. Augustine, *Ipse enim natura vel substantia, vel qualitas alio nomine appellandus est, id est, ipsum quod Deus est, corporalis videtur non potest*: That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever he be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chrysostom, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hieron, Augustine, Gregory the great, Eusebius, Ambrose, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of Authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbered Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Celsanus*, *Mundum universum nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*: The World universal is nothing else but God explicated. And the invisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are seen by the creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding than his own Will, no other matter than his own Power, no other Workman than his own Word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his wise Will disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectu* (that is) both perfwaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscitur, potest, sed vel ex verumque facta sunt, quaeque sunt gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose Authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

This work and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner exprest; I mean all those who are intitled by S. Augustine, *Summi Philosphi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercatorius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*. The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the Attributes of *Mens, Natura, Almus, Necessitas, Finitis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truly with S. Paul, casteth upon God all power; conferring also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundum*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heracitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to exprest God by (as in *Dædemonium*, and *Hic. 1.2.19.*) *In S. Paul it is used Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are created or produced out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter Jovanne, deinde in laevam caelum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitavit & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this fence: *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into grateful light, the admirable work which he had first thought.* *Pindarus* the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*. *Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; *Totum rerum natura, videlicet causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any foreign testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. Paul himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God reading vengeance to them that know him not, as in the Epistle to *Timo* he citeth *Ephemerides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Messenger*; and in the seventeenth of the *Alti*, *Aristotle*. For, Truth (saith S. Ambrose) by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunque dicitur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule: *Quæ sciri servantur, propheta non sunt; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of *In Principio*, *Gen. 1. 1.*

This visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullianus*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the Hebrews seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews* *Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal Nature was not, nor the next Parent or Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being: then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Laërtius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we feign double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Non impossibile est plus esse infinitum, quoniam alterum esse, si sit in altero finitum*: There cannot be more Infinities than one: for one of them would limit the other.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, *Gen. 2. 1.*

The Universal matter of the World (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of Heaven and Earth) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetics understand it; to which S. Augustine and *Isidore* seem to adhere, *Fecit mundum* (saith S. Augustine) *de materia informi; quam fecit de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the World of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exist without form. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolmen*, *Beda*, *Lycanus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirm, that it pleased God first of all to create the *Empyrean* Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with Angels. This *Empyrean* Heaven *Stenobius Engubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an Error, for which he is sharply charged by *Petrus*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of Angels, and just Souls, than in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My Soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with light*: and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it*. And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genesis* differeth not in opinion from *Kugbynius*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious Seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum supercellestem meo iudicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse*.

But as *Moses* forbore to speak of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then created to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of Egypt, according to his promise made to their fore-fathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this agreeable, and perceivable Universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any supercelestial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the World created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the Seat of Infinite Power, no more than Infinite Power can be limited: for his place is in Himself, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the love of God* (saith *Barnab*) *how large is the place of his possession: it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable*.

But leaving multiplicity of opinions, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words Heaven and Earth, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs superal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *Quod totius mundi semen fuerit*; Because it was the seed of the Universal: an Opinion of Ancient Philosophers long before.

§. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the Earth, is by *Moses* understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the Attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.

Moses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting Waters but in the third place) as comprehending Waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he names them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Mass, and (as *Basil* faith) *Preparare naturam aquae ad secundarium vitalem*. To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.

For under the word Heaven, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of Earth and Waters, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt feeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the beasts shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Ej*. Neither were the Waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one Gen. 1. 9.* place, and let the dry land appear: which proveth, that the dry Land was mixt and covered with the Waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the Waters were the Matter or Seed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. *Initio vis, Dominus, terram fundavit*; *Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: *Ps. 104.6.* And again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep* (meaning with Waters) *as with a garment*, saith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, That Water by condensation may become Earth, the same Reason teacheth us also, that Earth rarified may become Water: Water Air, Air Fire; and so on the contrary. *Deus igitur substantiam per aërem in aquam convertit; Deus turnebat substantiam per Fire in aërem*. For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Calum vero & terra in sua creatione rursus, Gal. 1. 2. fuerunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est*. And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine Translation simply, and as peculiar water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *A. Maim. Est autem Maim liquor generis; & hoc nomen propriè de naturarum pecuniarum, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit*, For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the Latins, wanting a voice to exprest it, call it in the Plural, *Aquas, Waters*.

This Mass, or indigested Matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without Form, that is, without the proper Form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Waters. *And the Earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any Plants, Fruits, or Flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested Matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did the Earth bud forth the Herb, which feedeth seed, and the fruitful Tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good; which Attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is to that which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera*: The Work of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Osiris*. *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos; of which *Ovid*, l. 1.

Ans.
Traff. 10
in Jobn
17. 25.

cies of that, which may be Enlivened by Light; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glass: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the *intentional Species* of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching its simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inhaleth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sun's creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the main part of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all created, confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land, and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun, although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, fell in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation: and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, day and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give Light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the Herb, &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferior World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be: which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that the pleased God to ask of *Job*, By what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth? we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the Treasure of God (saith *Eldras*): And those which inhabit the Heavens, do only know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cælis, nihil novum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heavens, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res vere sunt in mundo invisibiles, in mundo visibiles umbra rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World; in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth nearest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtle and pure; for howsoever, it is of all

things seen, the most beautiful, and of the sweetest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministereth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it dissipateth those dark thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the light thereof, our minds being informed of this visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis: Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa hoc facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sunt laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet: It is the Light (saith Saint Ambrose) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all. Of which, Ovid out of *Orpheus*:*

*Ille ego sum, cui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.*

The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the Worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux sancta*; and *Christ* our Saviour said to be that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that He is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Dens profectus non mens est, as verus ut si mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa quæ spiritus excitat; nec lumen, sed causa quæ lumen existit: God (saith *Hermes* in *Poemandra*) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.*

So then the *Mist* and *Chaos* being first created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickened; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, relieved their thinner parts into *Ayr*, which God illuminated: the Earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with waters (participating the same Divine virtue) brought forth for the bud of the herb that feedeth feed, &c. And for a mean and organ; by which this seed of Light to be might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those several species, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament; and whether there be any *Crystalline Heaven*, or any *Primum mobile*.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by refraction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But

But these waters, separate above this Extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansion* (for so *Vasubius*, *Paganus*, and *Justin* turn it) are not the *Crystalline Heavens* created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilus Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancy. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the *Ayr* above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakighe*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the Heaven and for *Ayr*, and more properly for the *Ayr* and *Æther*, than for the Heavens, as the best Hebræicks understand them, *Quo suprema ætremis ab infimis crassis diducta, interseclaque diftarent, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters*; and the waters above the firmament, expressed in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the *Ayr*, or in the uppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heaven is used for the Air, the Scriptures every where witness; as in the bleedings of *Joseph*, and in the 104. Psalm: * By these Springs shall the fount of the Heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heaven; and in Isaac's blessing to Jacob; God gave thee the river of the dew of Heaven; and in *Deuteronomy* the 17. But the land whither you go to possess it, it is a land that drinketh water of the rains of Heaven: And in *Job*, Who hath ingendered the frost of Heaven? And in *Saint Matthew*, Behold the Founts of Heaven, for they flow not. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word Heaven very oft used for Air, and taken also hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whose top may reach to Heaven*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: His own words be these: *Ex vocatur Deus firmamentum Cæli. Hoc appellatur aliis quidem proprie accommodatur, hinc autem vocatur ad similitudinem: And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the Starry Heaven) but to this (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) it is applied by similitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Air, and not the Heavens; the words of *Moses* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, make it manifest: For in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth Verse he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, *Air*. In these words, And let the Fowl fly upon earth in the open Firmament of Heaven. And what use there should be of this Ice, or Crystalline, or watery Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of Circle, whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities; and Faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called *Lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding*. Now that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it self so many hundred thousand Miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search*

Oromius; and of this watery Heaven, *Basilus Magnus*, in his *Hexæm.* fol. 40, 41, &c. and *Martin Bernadus*, in his second Book and sixth Chapter. For my self, I am persuaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens; are but the Clouds and waters engendered in the uppermost Air.

§. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the sum of the work in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The Creation of matter, The Forming of it, The Finishing of it.

To conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other Nature, or Being, but God's incomprehensible Eternity. First, he created the matter of all things; and in the first three days he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levity to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the Firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Air with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being; and the generations of the world are preferred.

§. X.

That Nature, is no Principium per se; nor Form, the giver of Being; and of our ignorance how second cause should have any proportion with their effects.

And for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every Creature, having no other self-ability, than a Clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, than such a one hath, who looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agentis omnia quicquid agunt*: For as the mind of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his Instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Stars, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by several Organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and every-where-preference (compelling, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: so all second and instrumental causes together with Nature

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men, but an idle voice, whereby we express fancies; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? That riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of man's affection, both the fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: For whatsoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath wishal an honest and openhearted loving truth; if Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries: then, I say, such a one, whose virtue and courage forbideth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deferring well and receiving ill, we always fairly charge Fortune withal. For whatsoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not just; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; shall never be made a Counsellor, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must qualify himself with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master chageth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches; but by such an obsequious slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions cristalline, have yet in all Ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Memander*, *Omnes insipientes, arrogantis & plausibus capiunt: Every fool is won with his own pride, and others flatterings applauds*: So as whoever will live altogether out of himself, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be all of these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper.

per by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a wordly wife man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but he that were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishop of that Age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Heretic raged:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgment) had followed the counsel of his Brother *Quintus*, *Potiusse integro cadavere sepeliri: in laqueo suo mori, potiusse integro cadavere sepeliri: He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an unruined and undiscovered body buried*; For, as *Petrarch* is in the same place noteth, *Quid stultum quoniam desperantem, (presertim de effluvio) liliis perperis implicari? What more foolish than for him that despairs (especially of the effluvio) to be entangled with endless contentions?* Whofoever therefore will bet for him *Madame's two marks to shoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must let on and take off a back of Iron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble; for as he nift desired to add sails to rowing Vessels, did either to proportion them as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all winds and storms, or else he sometime or other perished by his own invention: so that man which prizeth virtue for it self, and cannot endure to hoist and strike his sails, as the divers natures of calms and storms require, must cut his sails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of man hath found out: Let us resolve with *Saint Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord *Iesus Christ*, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1 Cor. 8. 6. 2. 6. c. 12. v. 6.

CHAP. II.

Of Man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

S. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which Man was first created.

Gen. 1. 26.
THe creation of all other Creatures being finished, the Heavens adorned, and the Earth replenished, God said, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeness*. Man is the last and most admirable of God's works to us known: *Legens mirabilem hominem, Man is the greatest wonder (which Plato out of *Mercurius*: Nature ardentissima artificem, The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as *saith Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortal, and spiritual; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because man was made Lord of the World, and of the Creatures therein.*

Sententia his animal, mentisq; capacis alie, Deceat addere, & quod dominari in cetera possit: Naturus homo est.

More holy than the rest, and understanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before.
So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, & late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion; as *S. Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, and some others; which *S. Ambrose* denieth to the woman in his words, *Ubi fuit Deus natus: ubi non fuit homo sensus; & quomodo ex Deo non omnia, ita ex uno homine non omnia esset super faciem totius terre: non igitur, sensum fecit, qui unitatis eius habere imaginem; That as God is one*

Sententia, quae per prius immortalis, anima, quae in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. lib. 1. 76.

ent, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamus in plurali numero; and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c.* Others therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul only: because as God is invisible, so the soul of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporeal, so is the soul of Man immortal and incorporeal; and as there is but one God which governeth the World, so but one soul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte: The soul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Aristotle**; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that Doctrine; which that it is otherwise than potentially true, all the Antiochians in the World shall never prove. These and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (saith *Tertullian*) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men resemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Mind there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet all these being of real differences, are but one Mind: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude divers; add again, they distinguish between *Imaginem Dei*, and *Imaginem Dei*; and spin into small threads with subtle distinctions, many times the plainness and fulfille of the Scriptures: their wis being like that strong water, that eateth thorough and dissolveth the purest Gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to be substantial, but not the similitude: *Sed in substantia nostra qualitates declarationum: A word declaring quality in the substance*. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, so the sinful soul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. *S. Augustine* also against *Adversus Manicheos* affirmeth, that by sin, the perfection of this Image is lost in man; and in his Retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But howsoever the School-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; sure I am, that *S. Paul* maketh the same sense of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we have borne the Image of the earthly, so shall we bear the Image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words Image and Similitude were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the Prophet, or *Apollonius*, ever conceived. Now as *S. Paul* useth the word (Image) for both: so *S. James* useth the word (Similitude) for both, in these words: *Therewith blest we God even the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God*. Howsoever therefore *S. Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegance in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Conferimus imaginem in eterni-*

1 Cor. 15. 49.

1 Tim. 3. 9.

1 Tim. 3. 9.

rate, *similitudinem in eternum inveniri; we confess that this Image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners*; that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similitudo non est, procul dubio nec imago est: As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image*. The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness*; which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us; and in the next Verse following, *God himself maketh it plain*; for there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used again by it self, *In the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him*. And this similitude *S. Paul*, *Calist.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on (saith he) the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him*. And in *Syriac* it is written, *He made them according to his image*. Now if we may believe *S. Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other School-men, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for *S. Paul* useth both the words directly in one fence, *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the*

Rom. 1. 23.

similitude of the image of a corruptible man. *Zanchius* laboureth to prove, that Man was formed *2 Cor. 8. 6.* after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla op. di. pars in homine, quae non fuerit huiusmodi imaginis participans: No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating God's image; for God said, Let us make man according to our own image*. But the soul alone is not man, but the Hypostasis or whole man compounded of body and soul. The body of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the idea, and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: so when God said, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the soul of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert (saith S. Augustine:) Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of man's body: Deus enim non est humane forme participans, neque corpus humane divine (saith *Philos*;) God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine*. The Hebrew word for image, is *Selem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *Is imagine petra factus homo; Man possess a way in a shadow*: Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the very essence and Majesty of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine understanding than these grose Heretics: *Ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura: The virtue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God than the figure*. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it self, and in a word Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us know of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness

perfectest? Certainly, not in Dominion, for the Devil is said to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Christ was not thereof. Neither be-
true and perfect Image of his Father. Neither be-
cause man hath an immortal soul, therein the cal-
culation of Memory, Understanding, and Will; for the
Devils are also immortal, and participate those facul-
ties, being called *Demour*, because *scienter* of know-
ledge and subtilty: Neither because we are reasonable
creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts:
For who have rebelled against God? Who have made
gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of
Owls, yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and plea-
sures, yet reasonable? Yet do I not condemn the
opinion of *S. Chrysostom* and *Ambrose*, as touching Do-
minion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some
sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such
as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Justice
and Piety; for God did not only make man a Ru-
ler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, a
Ruler and Governour (or of the Air) and over the Beasts
of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion o-
ver men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and
Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I ex-
clude Reason, as it is the ability of Understanding.
For I do not conceive, that *Irenaeus* did therefore call
Man, the image of God, because he was *animal ration-
abile*, nor only; but that he understood it better, with
Sybillæ, *Imago mea est homo, rationem habens*;
Man that is endued with right reason / *sicula ressembl-
ant* (that is) by right reason to know and confess
God his Creator, and the fame God to serve, love, and
obey: and therefore *S. Augustine* (who here calleth
nearer the Truth) *Feeli Deus benigne ad imaginem
et similitudinem suam in mente*; God made man in re-
spect of the intellectu after his own image and similitude;
And *Reyniers*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, scilicet est
ad imaginem Dei*; Man was made after the image of
God, in mind, or, in that he hath a mind.

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and eternal light illighted. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ*. The *soul* of the *soul*; or, with *S. Augustine*, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledge, *Quæ animam sapientia tanquam ducentur sequitur*. *Which* follows after the love of sapience as her guide (faith *Philos*) between which and reason; between which and the mind, called *anima*; and between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reason, is that faculty by which we live, and discourse; *Animus*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Animas corpus animæ, id est, vivificat*; or, *The soul is that which doth animate the body*; that is, *gives it life*: for death is the separation of body and soul: and the same strength (faith *Philos*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Animæ*, or mind, or, soul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Esprit* agreeeth, *Perspicacem animæ Mens*, or divine understanding; *Perspicacem animæ partem*. The preceiving part of the mind, or, The light by which the soul discerneth: *Dormientium mens, non animæ*; *Sopitis*; & in *sleep* it is this (mens), or, understanding; *la mens* that *sleep* it is this (mens), or, understanding, and not the mind or soul, which *refrigit*, underling which time it is but habitual in wile men, and in *mad mens* (mens) is extinguished, and not the *soul*; for mad men do live, though distracted.

Therefore this word being used oft for the Soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distracted mind, in stead of a broken understanding; which word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for Affection, as, I do this for my mind's sake: and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agree and possible, it is described to be, A pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large, thus, A part or parcel of the soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be diversified, as externally from that which is mortal. Hereof expresseth *Mercurius*; *Animæ est imago mentis, mens imago Dei*. *Dens mens præfens mens, anima corpori*: The *Soul* (meaning that which is *anima, anima corpori*) is the image of this understanding; or *Mens*; and this (*Mens*) or understanding is the image of God. *And this* (*Mens*) or understanding, this *Soul* is *Prefens* or *Ruler* over this understanding, this *Soul* is *Prefens* or *Ruler* over the body, understanding over the soul, and this *Soul* over the body.

This division and distinction out of the Platonick; and Peripateticke, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marfilus Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Souls Immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (faith he) *Ad facultatem intellectum exercendam, non eget Mens organo; tanquam intellectus, per quod intelligit, in quantumque ejus objecto in quod intuetur, & ex quo intelluctum concipiat. Hæc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu verum à sensibus perceptum simulachra ad phantasmata proleata*: To exercise the faculty of understanding, the mind of man (faith he) needs not an instrument, as a mean; by which it may understand: but it needs not an object, whereto to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasms, or carried to the phantasie. But in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the

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object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to be his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it is to followeth, that imagination or phantasy is self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; and as this is an *Organum*, so that. Of the question, How the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learned Diviner, I refer the Reader to M. D. *Billon*, late Bishop of Winchester, unto his *Book of Jacob*. *Howsoever* the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most mainly may we resemble our selves to God in *memory*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separated from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; for Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind of our souls, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, effect, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: *quia sua membris* are these, *Nos propterea Imago Dei est, quia sua membris Mens, Iteque iudicij et dilecti* (which also was the opinion of St. *Augustine*), *Id est quia potest membris, intelligere, ac diligere cum a quo fita est*, (that is) The Mind (or *Mens*) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Ezkiel*, *Homo uid Imaginem et Similitudinem Dei factus est Peccatorum vero Imaginis huius probitudo inveni deformatus, et intus in re reddidit, dum animam corruptam inconspicibilem affudit inmersit*: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but *Sin* had deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt and unprofitable

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blood-thirsty path is not, for God is Charity and Mercy it self; Falldown, cunning, practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be thort, 2 cor. 6. there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of God's goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and durefils pleasures of this Sragy-play World, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's Willdom, and the liberality of His Mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heaven; and thence bring knowledge and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-les Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creator, preserving undeknd and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousness, and Holiness, as Iohn 8, Paul. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S. Augustine, with whom S. Ambrose joyneth, that S. Ambrose by fin, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by fin than the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost, (for in doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or; the Image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural Image; and this manner of linitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

Job 10. 21. Job, that we might go the way from whence we shall not re-
 Job 17. 13. turn, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark;

Ecc. 12. 14. And then, I say, looking over late into the bottom of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Sun.*

But what examples have ever moved us? what persuasions reformed us? or what threatenings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies played before us, we hear what is promised and threatened: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and thence betraying lights, (with which we only feed) do neither look up towards term-less joys, nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira famas, nil denique morbi
 Egerunt, juvenes, qui mox famas, illicque periculi.
 Tentati: nihil meliores reddimus unquam,
 Sub vitis nullo caluparnum sine manentes.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
 What or if we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
 No time can our corrupted manners mend;
 In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, calling our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Fructus sperans qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur*; They hope in vain, *sith Bernard*, which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercy.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcass God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as love and fear him. *The Spirit of God (saith Eliphaz in Job) hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia (saith Rabanus) vixit et post-*

*peris sensus carnis, se foris potentes Dnum, vel manibus corporis, se limo formisse corpus humanum, vel facibus aut labiis suis inspirasse in sacrum formatum, ut vivere possit & spiritum vite habere: Nam & Prophetia canit, Manus tue fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est, iuxta consuetudinem, quod solent homines operari) loquutus est: In which sentence (saith he) the beggariness of carnal sense is to be avoided, but perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith, Thy hands have made me, spake this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custom which men use in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corpore legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnal sense? For this breath was infused into man, both life and Soul, and therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call *Animam*, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat; Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding, saith Job; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to Ecclesiastes: And dust shall return to the Earth, Ecc. 12. out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God, that gave it. Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the Soul; as when Stephen cried unto God: Domine, respice spiritum meum; Lord, Jesus receive my spirit: and in S. Johns, And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soul left his body dead. And that the immortal Soul of man differeth from the souls of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and the Earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beast of the Earth, &c. But of man it is written, Let us make man in our own Image, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, Gen. 2. 7. as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life, so shall they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into Man, shall, according to Ecclesiastes, return again to God that gave it.*

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the last, and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate, and serve his Creator, after whose Image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other Gods Creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (saith Gregory Nazianzen) *Homo est utriusque nature vinculum, Man is the bond and chain which*

stric together both Natures: and because in the little World, frame of man's body there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of

all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmus*, or the little World. *Dem igitur hominem factum, velut atomum quendam mundum, in brevi magnam, et in exiguo totum, in tenui statum; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another little World: the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust, was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which Ovid:*

Quid. Mt. Inde genus durum sumus, experientique laborum, I. 1. Et documenta damus: quæ finis origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
 enduring pain and care,
 Approving, that our bodies of
 a stony nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the insolved warmth which the Earth hath in it self, which, stirred up by the heat of the Sun, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oyl, or Balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns or overlathows it, to the grass, which covereth the upper face and Skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring; which, either in a very short time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind; to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always present with God; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, *In Angelis depræbensa est iustitia, Bebold, He found folly in his Angels*, saith Job;) yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Universal (man being the measure of all things. *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith Aristotle and Pythagoras) that the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of man the seven Planets; Whereof, our infancy is compared to the Moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mars*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the fourth to the days of Love, Desire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and Victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Ju-*

pter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding: the last and seventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when Time hath made unforcible to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, then to hold the riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours, and to all persons. For this side of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen; springeth no more; we neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

*Redditur arboribus flores reuertentibus ætas,
 Ergo non homini, quod fuit ætæ, redit.*

To which I give this fence.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
 By Winter envious,
 The Spring-time bounteous
 Covers again from shame and cold:
 But never man repair'd again
 His youth and beauty lost,
 Though Art, and care, and cost,
 Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

*Sæles occidere & redire possunt:
 Nobis enim semel occidit brevis lux,
 Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The Sun may set and rise:
 But we contrariwise
 Sleep after our short light
 Once everlasting night.

For if there were any baying place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academick*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the lap and joyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferred, doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is always either increasing toward ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing toward rottenness and dissolution.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

THESE be the mysteries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his Creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a natural celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. God made man in the beginning, (saith Siracides) and left him in the hands of his own counsel. Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas Beasts, and all other Creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (saith Lucilius), and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof of which forever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should futrely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Alepleus Atbeniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, That men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those *divines* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were signified Deceivers; by

Lions, Oppressors and Cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also S. Matthew *Mat. 23. 15.* telleth to false Prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: by the Images of itones and Rocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which S. John Baptist *Mat. 23. 15.* O ye generation of Vipers, &c.

§. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse; With whom, so will is to make, saith Beda.* Neither did God rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for *My Father worketh to this day (saith Christ), and I work;* but God rested (that is) he created no new Species or kinds of Creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living Creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth Creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his Works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose full purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of man's heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all Creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man Noah and his Family, with those Creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

CONCERNING the first Habitation of man, we read, that the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, Gen. 2. 6. Of this feat and place of Paradise, all Ages have held dispute; and the Opinions and Judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of Genesis, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial Paradise, without all regard of the World's Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respectue and precise. Others, bybging themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first Interpreta-

tion; or, trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things to observe Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of Paradise) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum auctoritate perfusi, transmissimus: We pass over many gross errors, by the authority of great men led and persuaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I myself dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided

ded by truth: for they were men; Et *humani est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himself; GOD hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli usquam dedit omnia Deus; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* Saint Paul confessed that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledged thus much, That neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, feeling knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Jude) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur, (saith Jude) But where is wisdom found? and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Laud of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excusable in particular, especially in those whereupon our salvation depended not.

§. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

NOW touching Paradise, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a Paradise, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mythical, and allegorical? as *Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers *Pison, Gehon, Hiddekel, and Perath, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge*, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the four Rivers, were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyl, Wine, Milk, and Honey.* This Allegorical understanding of Paradise by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Siculus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his Fifth Book, fol. 338. the last Edition.

S. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set Paradise in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, & in *uigro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our Souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the place or Garden of Paradise, was meant the Soul or Mind; by Adam, Mens, or, Understanding; by Eve, the Sense; by the Serpent, Delectation; by the Tree of good and evil, Sapience; and by the reit of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinth.* c. 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial Paradise; the one into which S. Paul was wrapt the other, into which Adam was put by God. *Aug. Chrysostomus* was of opinion, that a Paradise had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the Earth: the same being not only defaced, but withal the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth: To which opinion, *Valdianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the Earth, Gen. 1. 10.* of which he gives this judgment. *Hec ipso etiam quod dicit, Replete terram, dominavit antiveris animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (us tum erat) fructibus constare, sedem & bntum illum Adæ, & posteritatis future fuisse: These words (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Univer-*

sal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was), was the garden and seat of Adam, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts*, Cap. 17. *Apollolus ex uno jano pagine omne genus humanum idem fadum docet, ut habitantem super universum faciem terra: ita igitur terra Paradysus ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that Paradise. Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Gorgius* Beatus differeth not much from this Opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden: which place *Gorgius* findeth near the River of *Acesius*, in the Confinnes of *India.**

Aerullian, Bonaventura, and Durandus, make *Paradysum* under the Equinoctial; and *Pollitius*, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*; or rather *Origen* theirs; who would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air. *Strabus, and Rabanus*, were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen, and Philo*: So was our Venerable *Beda*, *ed. in* and *Peter Comestor*, and *Moses Barcepha* the Syrian, *Gen.* translated by *Mafius*. But as *Hippolytus* says of *Phil.* *Pet. Comest.* *Judeus*, that he wondered, *Quomodo genio offatus, l. 1. cap. 3.* *rebat cum Angelis he was blown up into this errors: lo can di 2. p. 2.*

I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so greedily and blindly wandered; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the Points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea, or Canaan.*

Novianus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was then for Paradise; and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, That the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers of *Ganger, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward in the Country of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the Earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made:* and howsoever the vulgar Translation, called *Jerom's* Translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradysum colopasis a principio; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For, what sense hath this Translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of Paradise) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure, or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradysum Edenis*, *The Paradise of Eden*; and so doth the Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertility of

Secondly,

Gen. 3: 2-4. *Origen in his* *Heb. Confrat.* *He says on the* *signification* *of the* *Garden of Eden* *a Chetivim.* *Be* *Genesis* *affirmeth,* *that the* *Hebrew* *word* *(Be, signifieth* *(with* *as well* *as* *in)* *and* *to the* *Text* *beareth* *this* *fence;* *That* *God* *planted* *a* *Garden* *with* *Pleasure* *(that* *is* *to* *say,* *full* *of* *pleasure.* *But* *Be* *Genesis* *followeth* *this* *constriction,* *only* *to the* *end* *to* *find* *Paradise* *upon* *the* *River* *of* *Ajaces:* *for* *there* *he* *hath* *heard* *of the* *Indian* *Fig-tree* *in* *great* *abundance,* *which* *he* *supposeth* *to be* *the* *Tree* *of* *knowledge* *of* *good* *and* *evil,* *and* *would* *there-*

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Country, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or give place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis*, (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? which left any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worth, these are *Peter Comestor's* own words. *Eft autem locum amantissimum, longo terra & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretum, addo elevatum, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Barc. converted by Masius.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore posuimus regione, a quo hae nostrae exierunt, quae fieri ut illuc per precipitum delabantur sicut tanto cum impetu quantum verbis exprime non possit: quod impetu impulsuque fluvii Oceano rados raptim, unde rursus profusum continuant in hoc a nobis tanto orbe: which thus he saith: Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, that *Paradise* is set in a Region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these Rivers fall down with such a head-long violence, as words cannot express: and with that force so impelled and swift, they are carried under the deep Ocean Sea and do again rise and buoy up in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephraim*, which is this: *Ephraim dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita posuim esse, ut totam terrarum orbem ab omni circumdaret Regione, non aliter atque Luna orbis Lunam cingit:* (which is, That *Paradise* doth compass or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean, as it encirclet the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the Moon doth embrace the Moon. To the end therefore that their ridiculous explications and Opinions do not bring question unto Truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melastibon* says) in parte Terrae meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be niled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* build their dwellings after the Flood, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own fore-fathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displacing to understand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several Opinions before remembered, by the Truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture,*

and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightful Garden.

S. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of *Paradise*, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

And first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chyamenis*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Flood withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed;) yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and feat had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 80 years after the Flood, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses*, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it self were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remain the same Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are free to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it self.

For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River *Gen. 2. 10* to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads: Now, whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Iude*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it self, or to *Paradise*; yet the division, and branching of those Rivers, must be in the North, or South side of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such decaying by the Flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered, as future ages knew it not, so is there no probability that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as *asaford*) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what defect of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is not high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by defect from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Flood of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are moit enrag'd) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, until the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to dry up the abundant flume and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick vapours, and unwholesome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore disperse the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Floods there could be none, when the waters were equal

equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Galls, to receive a Flood, or any defcent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as *asaford*: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet calm; than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Jofeph* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seib*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were set up above 1426 years before the Flood, counting *Seib* to be an hundred years old at the Erection of them; and *Jofeph* himself to have lived forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, although there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seib*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is also written that *Benigius* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yes, the ruins thereof, *Antius* (who commented upon that invented fragment of faith, were to be seen in his days, who lived in the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maxima & ingenua monumenta fundamenta videntur, et vocatur ab incolis regimini, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt. The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of *Cain*, as both our Strangers and Merchants report.* It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the City of *Typpa* was built before the Flood, over which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religions, was found graven upon certain Altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruins of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Antius*, might be seen, though founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first City of the world, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

Gen. 4. 17.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that the waters of the Flood were bound by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountain. And *Mafius Damascenus*, speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Eft supra Minyadum excelsum Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo conjungentes multus, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatus. And upon Minyad there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is said, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now, though it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Mafius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterward, and ever since, known by the same names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark rested: but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Flood; on which the *Thaluditis* report, that many Giants lived themselves also; but, as *Antius* saith, without all Authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decrea-

fed, by this, that when *Noah* sent out the Dove the second time, he returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth, which he had plucked, and which (until the Trees were discovered) the found not: for otherwise the might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium, Olive raptum, or decerpum, a leaf plucked, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off.* By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

S. V. I.

That *Paradise* was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

His conceit of *Aug. Chyamenis* being answered, who only giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Nicodemus*, *Vadimon*, *Goripus*, *Beemus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this Universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadimon* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multi- ply, Fill the Earth, and subdue it. Rule over every Creature, &c.* with this of the *Apis*, *And hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam's* Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dress and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Universal; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into to *Paradise* after *Adam's* expulsion, if the Universal had been *Paradise*? for then mult *Adam* have been chased all out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should believe with *Metedorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, That in so large a field, as the Universal, there should grow but one Thistle. *Nicodemus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates*, (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.*

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsely taken for *Ganges*, and *Gebon* falsely for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Hirva* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The Seventy write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and

and the mistakings of *Noisimage*, *Groopie*, and *Vadimianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyriacus*, and *Abraham*. That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Flood, yet *Adam's* shin-bones must have contained a thousand fathoms, and much more, if he had footed the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make *Paradise* as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus de cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barbech* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East; but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Sirabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Kuperus*, in his Geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Diag. Jell. Sec.

Jap. Mart. ad. Gen. Aug.

True it is, that these Philosophers darst not fear of the Aetereages (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one only powerful God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gave this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Ensebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of Mount *Atlas* (called *Acrabon*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, are called *Machobis* (by reason of their so many years) are called *Machobis* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore* and others, in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preferred till the last Judgment: which *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr* also believe. But this opinion was of all *Catholic Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Council* damned; in which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Elias, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, ut in Paradiso alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or else where, it is uncertain*. But *Barbech* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen

to precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean; and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject: of whose arguments I will repeat the few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are already against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventor.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swift winds, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a Basis and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the Sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortify the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupa*, or over-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrusio* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego haec apud Basilium & Ambrusium in eorum scriptis, quae nunc extant, nullum me legere memini*: But I do not remember (saith he) that I ever read those things either in *Basil* or *Ambrusio*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his Wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subjected to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *Saint Paul*) but all shall be changed: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was cast to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the Earth, saving eight persons: and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* his own opinion, who feared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Air, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men also believe; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to overwhelm it:) this is also contrary to the express letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diffinition, teacheth us, that the waters over-flooded all the mountains under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we as well give credit to *Mafius Damascenus*, and the *Thalmodists*, who affirm, that there were of the Giants that saved themselves on the Mountain *Ararat*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the School-men are) full of diffinition, saith; That the

Cito. Sema. 10.

1 cor. 15: 50.

1 pet. 2: 20.

Gen. 7: 19.

Exod. 12: 21.

the Waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and as *Jordan*; and as the Flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifyeth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that *Paradise* was so seated as *Beda* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *Ephraim* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, than to resolve, by their diffinitions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Athos*, and *Atilas*, over-reach and surmount all Winds and Clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both Springs and Fruits; and the *Pagan* Priests, sacrificing on these Mountain-tops, do not find the Albes (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor theae wash off by Rains, when they return: yet experience hath relieved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self Hills the Air is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the Body of a Bird, having therein no feeling of her Wings, for any feasible refinance of Air to mount her self by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat *Paradise* under the *Aequinoctial*: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climates.

THose which come nearer unto reason find *Paradise* under the *Aequinoctial* Line, as *Tertullian*, *Basiliensis*, and *Durandus*; judging, that there would be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of Soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diffemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sun; but this is (*nunc causa pro causa*) for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* under it, (*Ganges* being one of the four Rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of diffemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctial*, did so much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countries which were situated directly under it, were of a diffemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Avicenna*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and nearest to the Line it self. For hereof Experience hath informed reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all living Creatures, wherewith he hath filled the World, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by trial and the witnesses of Mens travels, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the Earth made in vain, or as a fruitless

lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith *Isaiah*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it as in vain, he formed it to be inhabited*. Now we find that these hottest Regions of the World seated under the *Aequinoctial* Line, or near it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Eastern Wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brisa*, that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right Beams of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or diffemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the Earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, near the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper, only there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barred from this Air and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts: without Trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of Soils we find also in all other parts of the World: but (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountains and little Brooks, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately Trees casting shade, so many forts of delicate Fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with Blossom and Fruit, both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the Boughs and Branches are never undolched and left naked, their Sap creepeth not under Ground into the Root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despite her withered Husband *Verumnus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitae*, *Vitae* Countries: for nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other Fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that before that *Eden* in *Coele Syria*, there is a Country in *Babylon*, once of this name, as is proved out of *Isaiah* 37. and *Ezekiel* 27.

THEse opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary Worlds, nor under *Terrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers as well Ancient as Modern.

Besides, we find that the *Affryans*, *Babelomans*, *Medes* and *Perfians*, (*Cyrus* only and few other excepted) fought to extinguish the *Ethiops*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turk* hath fought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memory of those people; which he hath subjected and interhalled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other

Isaiah 37.
v. 12.Cap. 27.
v. 23.Cap. 1.
v. 1.

Strabo.

Ezek. 27.
v. 23.

the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this Region was *Mofes* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Deferta*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are exprest to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deferta*. But because *Eden* is by *Mofes* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the Rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbouring Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isaiah* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabshakeh*. *How the Gods of the Nations delivered them, whence my Fathers have destroyed, as Golan and Haran and Refph, and the children of Eden, which were as Tisbath* and in *Ezekiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrrians*: *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Alfur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembereth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapitanian*: the second part is that Valley called *Amos*, otherwise *Corvallis*, or the Tract of *Canneh*, where *Affria* is joyned to *Arabia the Deferta*, and where *Ptolomy* placeth the City of *Aueria*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenie*, or *Calefrya*, otherwise *Vallis cava*, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Amilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Cale* in Greek is *Cava* in Latin. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradise*, the *Tews* believed this *Calefrya* to be the fame which *Mofes* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beraludis*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden of Paradise*: though to give *Beraludis* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saying, that he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether misunderstood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gihon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, which (as *Mofes* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the *Deferta*, where he wrote after he had passed the red Sea; we must consider, where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Isaiah*) *Golan, Haran, and Refph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were as *Tisbath*. Also *Ezekiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Alfur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezekiel*) *the Mart of the people for many Isles*. And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Perfians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them unto *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Alleppe*, from whence they imbark them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Iffcus*, now *Lazazco*. *Ezekiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the

only Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what Commodities every Country yielded: and having counted the several People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. They were thy Merchants (saith the Prophet) in all sorts of things, in garments of blue silk, and of bordered works, fine linen, coral and pearl: and afterwards (speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Ramoth*, and in what kinds they traded, he hath these words. The Merchants of *Sheba* and *Ramoth* were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs, with the chief of all fairs, and with all precious stones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which *Perfia* and *Arabia Felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Ramoth* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perfian Gulf*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gums, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded, and (withal) having trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of Spices, and plenty of Gold. The better to convey these Commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebas* or *Arabians* entered by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonosor*, now called *Balfara*) thence sent up all these rich Merchandises by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three days journey of *Alleppe*, and then over Land they pass to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezekiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper Commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of *Perfia*, which bordered them. *S. Hierome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Selenicia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Selenicus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieronymus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I mean on the East-side of *Tygris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Pliny* placeth the *Schenis* upon *Euphrates*, where the course of the border of *Arabia the Deferta*, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Defert of *Palmyra*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenia*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Tisbath*, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Fords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeeth with the description of the *Schenia* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleucia & Babyloniam civibus iter est per Scheniam*. The Merchants which travel from *Syria* to *Selenicia* and *Babyloniam* take their way by the *Schenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran* do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel* (as they of *Haran*, and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, the Merchants of *Sheba*, *Alfur*, and *Chilmad* were thy Merchants. Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charrs*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word (of *Mesopotamia*) importing a Country between

between

two Rivers: for *Mefor* in Greek, is *medius* in Latin, and *Potamus*, *fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it self, which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia* giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Calafrya*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenites*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*; and were in Ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Babylon*, and the North part of the *Deferts*, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmyra*, which lieth between *Syria*, and *Arabia the Deferta*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferently) to *Charran*, and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together. They of *Haran*, and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, &c. But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Selenicia*: for *Selenicia* was anciently called *Chalane* (witness *Apian*) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*: the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalane*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Selenicia*, and almost the next unto it (as) *Tisbe* and *Canne*, the one a little to the West of *Selenicia*, and the other opposite unto it: where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many Ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Tisbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Judg. 1.

Act. 7. 2.

Lucas. 1. 1.

Gen. 22. 12.

Now of the other City joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, or *Charran*, *Saint Hierome* on the Judges speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumque revertentur, percutiamus ad Charran, una est in medio itinere contra Nimroem, undecimo die: When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nimrod) the eleventh day.*

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the High-Priest:) *Le Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran*. But the seat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craffus* the Roman, who for his insatiable greediness, was called *Gargus avaritia*; the Gulf of *Aueria*. Whereof *Lucan*:

Affricis Latro maculavit sanguine Carras.

With Roman blood thy *Affryan* Carre he did fill.

But this City *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifest by *Mofes* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*: *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne*, in the Land of *Sinar*, or *Shinar*: where *Mofes* sheweth the first compilation of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract afterward called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it self, *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Sinar*, *Edem* sunt (saith *Comfitor*.) Three names of one Country: Which Region of *Babylonia*, took name of the Tower *Babel*, and the Tow-

er of the confusion of Tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which Plain *Babylon* was built (as *Joseph* aforesaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Mofes* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezekiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants which traded with the *Tyrrians*: and *Isaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Jerusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Father had destroyed) nameth the Children of *Eden*, which were at *Tisbath*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it self lieth, it is necessary to describe those other Countries which *Ezekiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembered, as, those of *Sheba* and *Ramoth*. It is written in *Genesis* thus: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cush, &c. And the Sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila, and Sabah, and Ramoth, &c. And the Sons of Ramoth were Sheba, &c.* And anon after, *Cush begat Nimrod*: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the Son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth: who inhabited that part in *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Ramoth* or *Regna* took that part adjoining to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and *Perfian Gulf* (called afterwards *Ramoth* and *Sheba*, by the Father, and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (saith *Ezekiel*) the Merchants of *Ramoth* and *Sheba* were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices and all precious Stones, and Gold. So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Country, which pareth *Arabia Deferta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which joyneth to the Sea, where *Tygris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part and confining Country, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best Myrrh and Frankincense is gathered: which People have an interchange or trade with *Eden*, lying on the East-side of the *Perfian Gulf*. By this it appears who were the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elava*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatics, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Egypt* these, *In Perfice ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi vintur signatur: in alia vero clari & perulici Lappi*. *Erafthones* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Perfian Gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other very clear and shining Stones*. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Ramoth*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (Samed,) and *Sheba* with (Schin:) but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are diverse. For *Seba* is that which bordereth the *Perfian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Psalms* expounded *Rege Arabum & Sabae*, hath in the Hebrew this sense, *Rege Sheba & Sabae*.

The *Shebas*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Seba*, towards the Sea-coast and upon it, past up the Country, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being

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being joyned in one main stream, and so through the Region of Eden, which Tygris boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the Cities of *Charraz*, and *Chamuel*, border Eden on the West and North-west: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chimad* on the North-east: *Chimad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean Paraphrast*, which Country, by the Geographers is called *Comitena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the Hebrews also often use.

Thus much of those Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edemites*, inhabiting *Tellassar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Tellassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyris*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly destroyed.

For it appeareth both in *Ezay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabshake*, the while the Army of *Affria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the Cities of *Golan*, *Elraz*, *Riseph*, and the *Edemites* at *Tellassar*, had refuted the *Affrians*: though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed as *Golan*, and *Elraz*, *Riseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Tellassar*? But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Ezar-Haddon* held *Affria*, and *Meredach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabshake* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning), while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angel of God destroyed: the King of *Babel* sent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Affrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, *Ezar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambassadors sent by *Meredach*, *Hezekias* shewed all his Treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the supulsion of war increasing between *Babylon* and *Affria*, the *Edemites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Affria*, were employed to bear off the incursions of the *Affrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Tellassar*: and the very word (*Tellassar*) faith *Jehus*, signifying as much as a Bulwark against the *Affrians*. This place *Hieroglomitans* takes for *Rekem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Tellassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprise of *Perfus*) calleth *Thibinis*: in stead of *Tellassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Book: It is seated in an Island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unfaultable Rock, in so much as the Emperor *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the *Affrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edemites* of the Country adjoining were ledged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Terridata*, having *Riseph* (which he calleth *Riseph*) on the left hand; and *Camech*, (which he calleth *Thibie-Came*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the City of *Mann-Came*, upon *Tygris*; and all these feated together, as *Ezay* and *Ezechiel* have fortified them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Assuria*), and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominions.

Affria & *Mesopotamia* in *Babylonia* names transferred (faith *Abeger*) *Affria* and *Mesopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, It appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Harar* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Camech* and *Riseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaveras nasam JETHROAN* Draw down in *Eden*, all *Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eastward*: that is (faith he in his Annotations) *Tullius* nescit arbitror in *Eden*, *Regione Orientali*, in finibus *Arabie* & *Mesopotamie*; *He* commanded Trees to grow in *Eden*, an Eastern Region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

§. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden, and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seems by the two Epistles of the *Nestorian* Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latin*. By these Epistles (I say) it seems we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at least, *Tyris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles faith, is commonly called *Gozaria* (as it were, The Island, by an eminency.) It hath (faith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doublet) remain to this day; though in the rest of the Region so-called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing Kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Hafan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mofal* or *Mofel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appear out of *Masius*) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, that *Mofal* or *Mofel* by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in these words, *Justa autem Tygrin, Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Turorum montem, que nunc Mesfeldicitur: magna sane, &c.* (that is) By *Tygris* are these Cities, *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mofel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mofel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta*, (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Mofal* (or *Mofel*) is in the Confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affria*, seated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian* Christians in their former Epistle, call it *Assur* in these words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis que sunt cum Civitate Mofel* (hoc est) *Assur*, in vicina *Nineve*; Of all the Cities and Towns which are about the City of *Mofal* (that is) *Assur* in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Assur*, after the Dial of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat near the end of our purpose. For the Isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the braid of *Tygris*,

Tygris, is but twelve miles from *Mofal* and that ancient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Tygris*; *Phisphras*, and *Simeon Stylites*, *Nisula*, and *John Lam*, *Mofal*, others *Mofel* (though it be not the same with *Mofal*) is set but a little higher upon the same River of *Tygris*, near *Mofal* to that we are like to find this Isle of *Eden* hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mofal*, maketh it to be below *Hafan-Cepha*, which is upon the same River of *Tygris*.

The other difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the *Nestorian* in both their Epistles, speak not of any Isle in *Tygris*, called the Isle of *Eden*, but of an Isle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but also *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Archeus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Archeus*, Disciple of *Galileus*, otherwise by *Pharaz* and *Athenus* called *Jiri*, who lived in Egypt in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the same being made *Laine* out of the Greek by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written, in *Archeus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phoenicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Archeus*. For *Archeus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, calling the land of *Chus* *Archeus*, after the *Archeus*, and *Sepragunt*. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions (faith *Archeus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perfa*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them travest *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (faith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also *Strabo*, de *Archiebus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amas*'s time, though he spake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Celo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyed together, and afterward separate) are two of those four heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddikel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddikel*, *Tygris* omnes exponunt; And all men understand *Hiddikel* by *Tygris* (faith *Vatablus*). And be-

cause that which I have said of the Isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have here-under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorian*, as *Masius* (ad verbum) hath converted them into *Latin*. The occasion of those Letters or Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, *Perfa*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Mary*'s time they had fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, by *Mofel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election, as themselves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like debt, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forbidden to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held, the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Government more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle: *Veneris nos acceptissimus, nos prolatissimus ipsum; sed subis convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis que sunt circum civitatem Mofel* (hoc est) *Assur* in vicina *Nineve*, ex *Babylonia*, ex *Charran*, ex *Archiebus*, ex *Isphal* que est in medio *Tygris*, fluminis Eden, &c. i. e. But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mofel* (or *Assur*) neighboring upon *Nineve*; and out of *Babylonia*, *Carra*, *Archiebus*, and out of the Island which lieth in the middle of *Tygris*, a River, of *Eden*, or rather out of the Isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the River *Tygris*. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Nos superius apud nos Metropolitanis, quorum est ordinare Catholicum: sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Archiebus, Episcopus Salmastis, Episcopus Adarbigem; ex de viginti convenimus in Isphal, que est intra Tygrin flumen, Eden scilicet compatiens iater nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of *Archiebus*, the Bishop of *Salmastis*, and the Bishop of *Adarbigem*: but lo, we assembled presently in the Island of *Eden*, which is in *Tygris*, and agreed between our selves, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the State of the Church may be in those parts (faith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Affria*, which he calleth *Nestorian*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Coptes*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, auditis illius morte, contrivisse aliebus tumultuarius in illam quam modo dixi Tygrin Isphal, que duodecim circiter possunt militibus stipari* *Mofal* *posui, decem fere milibus passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undique cincta, & a paucis alibi quam* *Christi*

Christians hominibus habuissint which is, *Now bearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosul, containing very near ten miles in compass, and every where inhabited with a small, inhabited by few other men than Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of Eden by the name of *Geferia*, *Insula Tygris*, *sive Geferia*. Furthermore, describing the City of *Habban-Cephra*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra predictam Tygris*, *Insulam*, *rapi aspectu impeditam*; Above the afore-said Island of Tygris, being situated on a steep Rock. Of this Island of *Geferia*, *Androm Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geferia on Geseff est au milieu de la Riviere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*. *Geferia* or *Geseff* is in the middle of Tygris, the Isle the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the ancient name of Eden liveth, and that of Eden which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert where *Moser* wrote, and that Eden which bordereth *Carraa* according to *Eusebius*, and that Eden which is seated according to the Assertion of the said Prophet, and joined with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Carnab*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affrica*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Affricans*, whose displacement Seneca-ber vaunted of (as above written) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth Tygris, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

§. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

BUT it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: *The Latine Translation*, faith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum*, *qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita*: *Que verba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explanatione, si ita reddatur*: *Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium*; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into four heads*: Which words (faith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: *And a River was going forth of Eden* (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard*; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The Tygrine differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis*: *And a River went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place. *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis*: *And a River went out of the place of pleasure*: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and thence, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden itself.

And for the word (River) for Rivers, it is usual among the Hebrews: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruit-*

ful Tree, &c. Here the Hebrew useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree*, for *Herbs and Trees*; and again, *We eat of the fruit of the Tree*, in stead of (*Trees*): And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God*; *In media ligni Paradisi*. In the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (*Trees*). And of this opinion is *David Kimchi* and *Fabstius*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrews do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *numquamque illorum*, and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as *A River* (for *Rivers*) went out of *Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection. That *Moser* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries, and so we may take the word (River) Verbe the Tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward; there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Counties (to wit, to *Affrica*) were up Tygris.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddkel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or walleth the whole Region of *Affrica* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Affrica*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nabar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into Tygris under *Aparnia*; whence riseth the name of *Pasi-Tygris*, as it were *Pisi-Tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas*; for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) also *Acracanna*, *quasi Rausius*, by reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddkel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddkel*, properly so called (that is, into Tygris) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up Tygris into *Affrica*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddkel* or Tygris, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddkel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called per excellentiam, being of the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Ortis*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that Tygris and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moser* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddkel* is Tygris. For *Hiddkel* goeth (faith *Moser* Eastward towards *Affir*, as we find, that Tygris is the River of *Affrica* proprie dicta, whose chief City was *Ninurub*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: *That out of that Land* (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Ninurub* went into *Affir*, and builded *Ninurub*, which was the chief City of *Affrica*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aqua* (faith

(faith *Quintus Curtius*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur*; *sex fons nascitur fons*; *si ex flumine, vel ex lacu prima nascitur*, &c. If the beginning of the Water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the Head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new Banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main Stream, called the Head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soil, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty; as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, not the same venue to any Flax thereon growing, that they had before time the Flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be supposed no such flourishing Country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self, for the life of *Eden* be twelve Miles or thereabout from *Ninurub*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Oris Ninus sita erat, Hec regio, omnium qua nos vidimus, optima est*, &c. Where *Euphrates* runneth out into Tygris, not far from the place where *Ninus* is seated; This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent. And he addeth afterward, *Cereus autem fructu procedendo adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non feru decuma reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is so fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold*: the Leaves of Wheat and Barley being almost four fingers broad: *As for the height of Millet and Sefam, they are even in length like unto Trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Country of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Country Palm-trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing Fruit: out of which they make both Meats, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this Palm-tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Sirabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth Bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; of which the People make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vinegar. But *Athenius* the *Eremita* findeth a fifth Commodity, not inferior to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same Tree there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which People make their Garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the Cordage for their Ships; and that this is true, *Athenius* in the life of *Athenius* the *Eremita* confesseth, saying, *Tha be recitavit a Garment made thereof from the Eremita himself, which he brought with him out of this Region*. So therefore those Trees, which the *East-Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yieldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (faith *Sirabo*) *passim per omnem regionem Palmae sua sponte nascentes. There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord*. Of this

place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report, *Eunius a parte Lova, Arabia adram fertilitate nobilis, regio compassis interfert inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jactans tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a passu repellit pecora distantur, ne satietas peramas*, (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of Arabia* (famous for plenty of sweet Odors) there lieth a Champaign Country placed between Tygris and Euphrates, and so fruitful and fat a Soil, that they are said to drive their Cattle from the Pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. *Bi in anno legetes Babyloniam fecit*. The Babylonians cut their Corn twice a year (faith *Niger*). And as Countries generally are more fruitful to the Southward, than in the North: parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Sirabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be these in the *Latin*, *Tota enim hec regio frugibus & arboribus abundans manjuctis, utemque semper virentibus*: This Region aboundeth with pleasant Fruits, and Trees always green: which winneth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Suns neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of nature in a perpetual activity. In brief so great is the fertility of the Ground, that the People are constrained to twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first forty years, could not make out kind of Wheat bear Seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those Fields are altogether without Weeds (faith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that Soil, That the second year of the very Stubble (or rather falling down of the Seed, again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, *Ubertatis tanta sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitubili faceret*.

Plin. nat. hist. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah.

AFTER the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimony of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of Tygris, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise Men, it is strange to me, seeing necessity is self (Tygris and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or Tygris, or both be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which River or Rivers *Moser* winneth afterward; divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the World, than when we find both these (namely) Tygris and *Euphrates* in *Affrica* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Rivers as far distant, as any of fame known or discovered in the World: the Scriptures making it to plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability resembling truth, which when Men (who study to be singular) find out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the World matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformity of Mens minds to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pifon*) seemeth to have grown out of the not distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, which adjoineth to *Babylonia*, afterwards known by the name of *Sufiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India* from *Havilah* the Son of *Jethan*, the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth down the generation of *Noah* and his Sons after the Flood. For the Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabrah*, and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Jethan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoining had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous River of the East *India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pifon*, which River is said by *Moses* to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those four Rivers, named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was next great and famous River after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable Man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads: seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris*; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Ganges*, which lie between those two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little less than forty degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the Story of *Alexander* shall find, that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himself and the greatest part of his Army, and in failing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof to great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beside this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Sinathus*, *Acetius*, *Adri*, (otherwise *Hircus*) *Hippalus*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their Children and Companions, which being all incorporate and made one Stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaya* velleth the Ocean Sea.

But because *Pifon*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be joyed with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian* Ocean. And as for

Parath and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordian Mountains*, so as *Ganges* who only travellet in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Asiatica* and *Aegypt*, never saw the Land of *Eden*, or joyed themselves in one Channel, either with themselves, or with either of the others, and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the River *Pifon*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the same which by joining it self with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pif-tigris*, or *Pif-tigris* of *Pifon* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the Son of *Cush* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called by *Havilah* the Son of *Jethan*, who inhabited with his Brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* hath also Gold, *Beldium*, and the *Oxnyx* Stone. This *Beldium* is a Tree, of the bigness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain gumme, sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also *Beldium*. The *Hebrews* take the Load-stone for *Beldium*. *Bernaldus* affirmeth, that *Beld* in *Hebrew* signifieth Pearl: so doth *Eugubius*; and *Hieronymus* calls it *Olivaster*: be it what it will, a Tree bearing Gumme, or Pearl: *Havilah*, or *Sufiana*, hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Sufiana* or *Havilah* stretcheth it self toward the North, as far as the *Altars* of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all that Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perfian* Gulf, on the East side thereof: from which *East* side had the *Sabeans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre*, according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Sirabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Danubius*, the *Rabins* take it for *Nilus*, *Aven-Ezra* (saith *Hephias*) out of *Rebbi Sadaia* translateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*, but *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia* the less, between it and *Tigris*. Now *Pifon* which runneth through *Havilah* or *Sufiana*, doth to this day retain some sign of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embrace each other under the City of *Amamia*, there do they agree of a joint and compounded name, and are called *Pif-tigris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great Antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it self, which dwelleth so near these Rivers, is by some Writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Posellus*, by *Cassellius*, of *Baldace*: by *Baris*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boghedra*, by *Andrew* *Tener*; and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Pifon*, *Ptolemy* indeed, with many others, give the name of *Basillus*, or *Regius*; and *Gehon* they term *Mehar-jares* and *Masius*, and *Basar-jares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Sirabo* and *Pliny* called *Pix-jares*: by *Junius*, *Puck-perath*, out of the *Hebrew*, (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrew* *Parath*, (saith *Dr. Montanus*) *Pagninus*, *Parath*: *Josephus*, *Phorab*: *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Amianus*, *Claudianus*: *Gisflanus* and *Colmatius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affrians* know it by the name of *Amalebar*, or *Nabor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Fra*.

The

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Digitis*, and *Digitah*, *Sellax*, and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the Inhabitants *Tiger*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) stream into four branches, two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pifon* and *Gehon*. The reason why these two Rivers joined in one (below *Amamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pif-tigris*, and the memory names of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the Channel of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Cheladan*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Perfian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pifon* doth.

This error, that *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Japhys*, (whose Fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of Weeds) and other Men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa*, to compass *Aethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adjoining to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is fallily interpreted *Aethiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon Men the transportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport Men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the Son of *Ham* first fate down with his Sons, *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabrah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compasseth; and the Land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the Sons of *Jethan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the Sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Charivil* was first *Chusia* of *Cush*; then *Chusis*, *Susis*, and *Sufiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Deserts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possess all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldaean* *Paraphrast* converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not mean *Indus*, for *Saul* upon the red Sea, to *Havilah* in the East *India*; for *Saul* was no such Traveller or Conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* walked of: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possess that neck of Country, between the *Perfian* Sea, and the red Sea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Aegypt* and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia Felix* towards the South; and they spread themselves with the *Madianites* and *Edumians*, from the East part, or back side of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*.

§. XIV.

Of the River *Gehon* and the Land of *Cush*: and of the ill translating of the *Aethiopia* for *Cush*. 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOW, as *Havilah* in the East *India* drew *Pifon* far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Aethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Aethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* followed, *Gehon* consequently was effectuated for *Nilus*. But *Aethiopia* are, as much, as black or burnt Faces, whose proper Country is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Aegypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Aethiopia*, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* Stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Aegypt*: all which *Aethiopia* are very near, or else directly under the *Equinoctial* line, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring *Terride* *Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualify in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Aethiopia*'s, the East, and the West: and this division he indeth in *Sirabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chusis* *Aethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chusis* and the Land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petrea*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Aethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the Land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habituavit Ismael ab Hae* Gen. 25. 18. *vilah usque Sur, quae respicit Aegyptum introituum Affricae*: *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah* into *Sur*, that is towards *Aegypt*, as thou goest toward *Affrica*; The same sufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River which watereth *India*, and not *Aethiopia*. But this place of Scripture *Habituavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense. *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Affrica*, or the Country bordering *Affrica*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Aegypt*, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of *Aegypt* and *Affrica*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zoarab* the *Chusites*, which others call *Tharabath*, brought an Army of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Juda*. Which Army came not out of *Aethiopia* beyond *Aegypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having fo mighty a King as the King of *Aegypt*, between *Palastina* and *Aethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Army, he in following his victory took some of the Cities of King *Zoarab* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a City of the *Aethiopia*ns, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the Scripture disproving Gen. 10. 11. *And Abraham departed thence toward the South Country, and dwelt between Cadath and Sur, and journeyed in Gerar*: Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their Feet after they passed the red Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the Story of *Isaac* it is written, *Wherefore Isaac went to Abi-* Gen. 27. 8. *elech*

Gen. 26. 1. *melech, and the Philistines unto Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Ethiopiens*. And lastly, *Moses* himself, where he describeth the Bounds of the *Canaanites* *way from Sydon*, as *thus cometh to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the Frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howsoever *Perrus* doth with an honest excuse false his Translation of *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*, and *Josephus* did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West *Ethiopia*, they are both found elsewhere. For *Pliny* in his fifth Book and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homers* for an Author, of these two *Ethiopia's*. But the East *Ethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Athiopes*, under *Ptolemy*; And the West *Ethiopia* is that which joyneth it self with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are these *Ethiopiens*, called *Perotti*, *Darantes*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbeth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the *Deserts* thereof, faith *Pliny* out of *Homers*, *Aegyptus*, and *Juba*, which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Ptolemy* John, and the *Troglodytes*) lie due East and West. But as for *Chus*, and the Region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Josephus* was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharaoh*, in the Wars against the *Ethiopiens*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Ethiopia*), he transporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Perrus* confessed, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* copy, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of c. 2. v. 18. the Prophet *Jeremie*. And what hast thou now to do in the way of *Egypt*, to drink the water of *Nilus*? Quid vis in via *Egypti*, ut bibas aquam *Gehon*? to this faith *Perrus*, *profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quae significat nigrum & turbidum*; Truly (faith *Perrus*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Sichor*, which signifieth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. *Moses* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latin* call a *Madianite*, and not *Ethiopiens*, as (with *Josephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Country of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that *Moses* fled from *Pharaoh*, into the land of *Madian*, and sat down by a Well, &c. and again, in the third of *Exodus*; When *Moses* kept the sheep of *Jethro* his Father-in-law, Priest of *Madian*, &c. Indeed, the three four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusely together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one general word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in Gen. 27. v. 25. 27. & 28. that *Joseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaohs* Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal note (to avoid this con-

founding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Madianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any Mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and he in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joseph*: for their Camels were laden with Spices, and Balm, and Myrrh, which are the trades of *Arabia* Gen. 37. 25. *Salix*, from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the World is served with Myrrh and Frankincense; and their Spices they received from the East side of the *Arabian Gulf*, as afore said. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That *Potiphar* v. 1. bought *Joseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldeans* bought *Joseph* in the same place calleth *Arabs*. *Paraphrasis* in the same place manifest, it is written Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of *Judges*. That when *Israel* had sown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, v. 3. and they of the East, were *Arabians* of the Desert; v. 33 where before in the buying of *Joseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confounded, here the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending c. 7. both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called *Ismaelites*; and neither *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedon* desired, that every Man would give him the golden Earrings, which they had taken, after the Victory against *Zabab* and *Zalmuna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 17000 Shekles of Gold, it is written: For they had golden ear-rings, because they were v. 8. *Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Ms. n. ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; His hand (faith God of *Israel*) shall be against all Men, and every mans hand against him. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schemite*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Adar*, and the *Deserts* of *Sur* and *Pharan* (faith *Josephus*) use Poison upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Towards the South-east are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*; and beyond them, towards the *Deserts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill Translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Jehoram*, the Spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine the *Ethiopiens*; so *Jeremie* reads it; the *Geneva* Translation hath it, which were besides the *Philistines*. Now, how far it is off between the *Philistines*, and the *Negros* or the *Ethiopiens*, every Man that looketh in a Map, may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, do mix and joyn with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about two and thirty, or three and thirty Degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Deserts* of *Sur*, and *Pharan*: are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Jehoram*, the Spirits of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine and border upon the *Chusites*, who indeed are their next Neighbours. * Nulla superest dubitatio, quin *Ethiopia* in sacris & sanctis literis sit *Arabia* propria. There remaineth no doubt *Egypt* in (faith *Seneca*) but *Ethiopia* in the Scriptures, is Gen. c. 2. taken for that Country, which joyneth to *Arabia*.

Now may we think it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living Man so well, and therefore would

would never have named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many Miracles. Besides the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Ismaelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought that he had desired them: for they had lived there all the days of their Lives and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (faith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Olives instead of Golden Apples. v. 4. 1. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Egypt*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Ismaelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Ethiopiens*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little Kings, or Regals, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Calephians*, with the *Mogogians*, *Tubathians*, and others their adherents; and chiefly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast (as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Am*, *Tarsus*, and many others); yea, *Hierusalem* itself was withheld from *Israel* (from the days of *Moses* even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jehusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty is, that it doth not appear, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia*: the fony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desert* it was that *Maz. Broadus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*, for I find none such in *Verum natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the *Desert*.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: so here to find them else where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterranean* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small stream, rising between it and the Red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty English Miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near Neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children never rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself with his Sons first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*;) *Ramath* and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia Felix*. *Nimrod* built himself in the belt of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region

had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself, and his Brother *Mezraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in process of time, and as their People increased, they drew themselves more Weltherly towards the Red or *Arabian Sea*: from whence *Mezraim* past over into *Egypt*, in which *Traet* the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the fony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus* *Ethiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose that *Brute*, or whoever else that first peopled this *Iland*, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and calling the *Iland* after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*; and when afterwards in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Hierodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of some River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort relieve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the *Sassans* which came out of that were) of a great part of the World. For (though the *Babylonian* Empire, which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalde*, yet we find, that his Successors within a few years after commanded all the whole World in effect; and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chus*. For of this *Tower* of *Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*; and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Chus* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soil and Territory by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think that *Chus* or any of his could in haste creep through those desert Regions, which the length of 130 years after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Briar, Reed and Tree to joyn themselves (as it were) into one main Body and Forest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall find, that every Family sealed themselves as near together as possible they could; and though necessity enforced them, after they grew full of People, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort, and succour one another by River, the Fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, late down in the very consequence of all those Rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest Troops of *Noahs* Children repaired, and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from

thence had they again their increase. The First Father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Havilah* place himself upon *Pisgittis*: *Raamah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the same River, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: *Chus* himself upon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they always fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Ninive*, *Chavran*, *Reseph*, *Cameth*, *Urin* *Chaldan*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded upon these navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

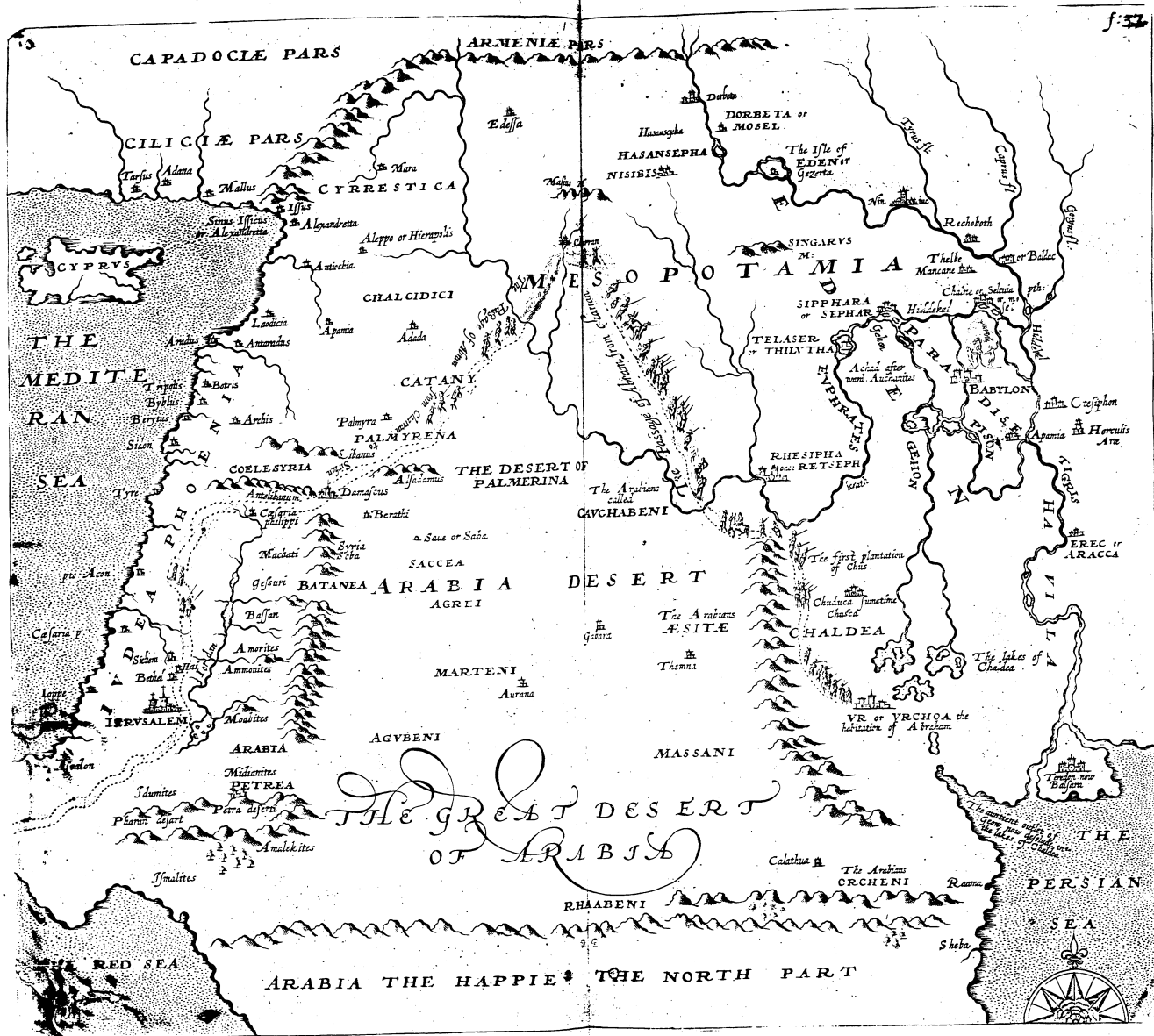
§. XV.

A Conclusion by way of repetition of some things spoken of before.

BUT now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterwards called *Ayam suviarum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 Degrees from the *Equinoctial*, and 55 from the North Pole: in which Climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyl, Grain of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said Soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of Man. For whereinsoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this Tree alone giveth unto Man whatsoever his Life begetteth at Nature's hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet lay down by those pleasures and benefits the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous Diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Worms, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no comparison between the one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God, (for mays ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely think that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living Men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the universal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, of Knowledge, Plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The sum of all this is, That whereas the eyes of Men in this Scripture have been dim-lighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known World: some, above the middle Region of the Air: some, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Air, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was; and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking ways apart do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seats of *Chus* and his Sons then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pisgittis* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and Experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned cannot be divided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility, and this River is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tigris* and *Ganges* above four thousand Miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the Cape of Good Hope, and falleth into the *Mediterranean* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the Gulf of *Perse*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth South: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three Degrees the one from the other. In this last following I have added a *Geographical Description* of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reason I look for, that my labours may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reprinted by a better.



CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that Man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to Death.

FOR eating the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradise, in *exilium vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, saith Beda. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World an imaginary Doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the Hebrews) hath a plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, The Tree of Lives, because the Fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of Man; and not only (but for Adam's transgression) had prolonged his own days, but also given a durable continuance to all Posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his Creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as Enoch was. And as before the Flood, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after, the Flood of two hundred years and upwards even to five hundred: so if Adam had not disobeyed God's first and chief Commandment, the lives of Men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first Age, as many learned Men have conceived. Chrysostom, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were of belief, that (but for Adam's Fall and transgression) Adam and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained mankind; or else, that Millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of Chrysostom must be understood of immortality of Bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or Species this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a mere Allegory, taking their strength out of Solomon, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also Christ is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place St. Augustine's answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial Paradise, so there was a celestial. For although *Ager* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old,

and New Testament, yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of Abraham, were mere foolishness. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden: which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by Gods commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the Fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, Hesiodus, Homer, Ovid, and others steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise, they took the Plat-form of the Orchard of *Alecinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar*, and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortality; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the Gods.

§. II.

Of Becanus his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica.

NOW for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, some Men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, whereto *Goropius* much marvaileth. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any Man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other Men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part and fol. 49.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, the Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acetes*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies-in, or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a Fruit of the bigness of a *Platanus* great Pease, or (as *Pliny*, reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a Tree *sempervirens*, always pluming itself; that it spreadeth itself so far abroad, as that a Troop of Horsemen may hide themselves under it. *Sirabo* saith, that it hath Branches bending downwards, and Leaves no less than a Shield. *Aristobolus* affirmeth that fifty Horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Oncosorius* raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (saith

207. f. 1.
2. l. 1.
174.

174.

Lib. 1.
cap. 20.

(with *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bigness, which also *Pliny* and *Oenophrastus* confirm: to the trunk of which these Authors give such a magnitude as I thame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and let it by the River *Acefont*. But many parts of the World have them, and my self have been twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist Grounds, and in this manner. After they are first root up some twenty or thirty foot in length, (some more, some less, according to the Soil) they spread a very large top, having no Bough nor Twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches there issueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward like a cord or lew; and within a few Months reacheth the ground; which in too sooner toucheth but it taketh Root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper Root, this cord maketh it self a Tree exceeding haphily. From the utmost Boughs of these young Trees there fall again the like cords, which in one Year and less (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also Trees of the bigness of the netherpart of a Lance, and as straight as Art or Nature can make any thing, calling such a shade, and making such a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the World can do. Now one of these Trees considered with all his young ones may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four thousand Horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidad*. The cords which fall down over the Banks into the Sea, shooting alway downward to find root under water, are in those Seas of the *Indies*, where *Oysters* breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the Sea, I have seen five hundred *Oysters* hanging in a heap thereon; whereas the report came, that *Oysters* grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any such huge Leaves, or any such delicate Fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles, together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meat and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is debriefed to be.

Secondly, this Tree having so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other Tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stem, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and therefore all but of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated in *medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plural number, (that is) in the midst of the Trees. But his third argument

Gen. 3. 7. (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephaz*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them Breaches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it self was a Fig-Tree, or that a Fig-Tree grew near it: because *Adam* being naked, would not run up and down the Garden to seek out Leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it self; and these Leaves of all other were most commodious, by reason of their largeness, which *Pliny* avoweth in these words; *Latitudo foliorum Felis effigiem Amantia habet*, The breadth of the Leaves hath the shape of an A-

mazonian Shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Ducit Amazoniūd lunatis agmina pelvis
Pemphileia furens.

Virgil
l. 4. 494

The Amazons with Crescent-formed Shield
Pemphileia leads into the Field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threateth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech. *Quis erit san impudenter oblitus, si hoc a nobis de finibus ex amicus fortissimus cum Mosis narratione comparat, audiat dicere aliam arborum inveniri posse, qua cum illa magis quadret: Who will be so impudently oblitus, if he compare these things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to avow, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith. But for my self, because I neither find this Tree, forcing in body, in largeness of Leaves, nor in Fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth never brought forth any of these Trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind: only thereby, and by the ease Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleased God to make trial of his Obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum purā ac simpliciter Obedientie bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.**

August. de Civit. Dei
l. 13. 62

§. III.

Of *Becanus* his not unworthy allegorizing of the Story of his Ficus Indica.

BUT in this I must do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it self to be true. The effects whereof, because his Discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in the fewest words. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man, grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the Earth, which all the rest of *Adam's* Posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastening themselves to this corrupt World. The exceeding unbraggingness of this Tree he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of Man, through which the Sun of Justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climb the Tree of the Cross for our enlightening and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large Leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little Vertue, and unperceived Knowledge among so large Vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this Fruit exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate; so are the delights and pleasures of the World, most pleasing while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrows and repentances. That the Leaves are so exceeding large, the Fruit (for such Leaves) exceeding little; in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares

cares and great labours of worldly Men, their sollicitude, their outward shews, and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the Fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigness of the smallest Pease; glory, to all the World apparent; goodness, to all the World invisible. And furthermore, as the Leaves, Body, and Boughs of this Tree, by so much exceed all other Plants, as the greatest Men of Power and worldly ability surpass the meanest: so is the little Fruit of such Men, and such Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Brier, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing fateliness and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, fought for Leaves to cover himself withal, this may serve to put us in mind of his and our sins, as often as we put on our Garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal Bodies: to pamper and maintain which we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this World.

§. IV.

Of the name of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil: with some other notes touching the Story of *Adam's* sin.

NOW, as touching the sense of this Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and what operation the Fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the Tree it self, *Moses Bar-Cephaz* an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment, That the Fruit of this Tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth, *Arbor scientie boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali ab evenit, The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (that is) the experience of Good and Evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew Phrase) by the Workmanship of Gods own Hand, in greater perfection than ever any Man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed all Men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the Breath or Spirit of God, he could not (for their respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods Commandment was the fearfullest evil, and the observation of his Precepts the happiest good. But as Men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himself another error than he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the Glais of his own guilty Soul, he beheld therein the horror of Gods Judgments, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be exprest. He then saw him-

self naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods Grace and former Felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledge, and not because the Fruit thereof had any such operation, by any self-quality or effect: for the same Phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledge, because of the event (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of Contentment therefore called *Efke*, and the Well of Harred *Sinath*, because the Herdmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heap of Stones, called the Heap of *Wines*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the Stones bare witness, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the Houe of God *Behel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, c. 16. 14. *Provenit & videtur.*

Num. 24. 19.
Gen. 26. 20, 21.

Gen. 31. 49.
Gen. 28. 19.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (as all his issues do) into the mileries and sorrows incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the Fruit forbidden, he was transported and blown forward by the gentle wind of pleasing persuasions unaware; his progression being strengthened by the subtle arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poyson Mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the false ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

But what means did the Devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtlety present him, as first and aplest to work this mischief? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adam's* hearkening to the voice of his Wife, contrary to the express commandment of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the Woman being given to Man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy Wife, &c. (saith God himself) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the Woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all Beasts, unto whom the Devil entered and periwaded.

Gen. 3. 17.

Secondly, What was the motive of her disobedience: even a desire to know what was notwithstanding her knowledge, an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the Man to yield to her persuasions? even the same cause which hath moved all Men since to the like consent, namely an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Salomon* the Son of *David*, Gods chosen Servant, and himself a Man endued with the greatest Wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the persuasion and for the love they bare to a Woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other Men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the persuasions of their Wives, or other beloved Darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

C H A P. V.

Of divers memorable things between the Fall of Adam, and the Flood of Noah.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cain's sin: and of his going out from God.

THE same pride and ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (envious of the acceptance of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Man-slayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural Murder, although is pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cried out that his Punishment was greater than he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (where-with the Sons of Adam, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all mankind, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, *The earth also was corrupt before God: for it is written, The earth was filled with violence: and anon after God himself made the cause known unto Noah, saying, An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or from the earth: Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of Men only, but in all sorts of injustice and oppression.* After this murder of Abel, Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, towards the east-side of Eden: in which words, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense; God being wholly in all parts of the World. *Totus in celo, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed urumque simul.* God (saith S. Augustine) is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by interchanged times; but all at once; and that this is true, David witnesseth. *If I be in heaven (saith David) thou art there, if in hell, thou art there also: but what is meant thereby? Exit à facie Dei* (saith Chrysostom) Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, (that is) he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

§. II.

Of Cain's dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

THIS word Nod or Naid S. Hierome and many others understand to signify wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith Junius; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Country, and so doth Iosephus. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a Vagabond or wanderer in his Cogitations, than any thing else, and that his Thoughts and Conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me.* Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwelt) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those People Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling-place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, Moses teacheth in what

part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by Moses, that after Cain departed from the preference or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-born, Enoch; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Oryllus* saith, that Cain and Abel were Figures of Christ and of the Jews; and that as Cain, after that he had slain Abel unjustly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the World: so the Jews, after they had Crucified the Son of God, became Runnegrates: and it is true, that the Jews had never since any certain Estate, Commonwealth, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, Junius taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in Ireland) upon White-meat without Tilling of the Ground, are called by the Greeks *Nomades*, and by the Latins *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern Tartarians, the Germans, and Nomadians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and the Northern Irish: yea such were the Inhabitants of Italy it self, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that Name) taught them the Husbandry of Tillage used at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Affrica, called by *Ptoleme*, *Calecia*, which also might be derived of *Carena*, the Country of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is written, *Gen. 2. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the east-side of the garden of Eden he let the Cherubim:* which sheweth that the entry into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text: *Cain also in the same Region fought his dwelling-place.* Now, if the word Nod or Naid do signify *progreſſus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of Cain, than till he built the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which he included either for his own defence, or (as Iosephus writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for mine own opinion I am resolved with the *Septuaginta*, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word [Vagabond] which Cain useth of himself, it seemeth by the perforce of the same Verse, that [Vagabond] is therein understood for such an one as travellet in fear of revengement: *for whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me;* or else [Vagabond] is taken for a Man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City *Henoch*, were the first Society and civil Assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these People (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in the memory of Noah and his Sons; so

that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of Natures, some virtuously, some impudently disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those People, which delighted in Cruelty and Oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least; and the place it self where *Henoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the Foundation of *Teppe* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the Borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Sagadiana*, and *Babrya*, and of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfy our selves, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names and Nations there remain any print or footsteps to Posterity.

In * *Pliny*, P. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochians* described, though diversly written, as in *Pliny* sometimes *Henochi*, in *Mela* *Enochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Henochi*, *Henochi*, all which inhabit upon the Sea in *Lucan* *Enochi*, all which inhabit upon the Sea in *Enochius*, but yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to *Moses's* words) Eastward from Eden. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise with a borrow, or addition, at other times without borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, with a borrow, or addition, at other times without borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh he writeth the word [East] simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of *Shinar*, but in this of Cain he addeth the word [towards] as, in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South, of the East.

But as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of *Henoch*, the City of Cain, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the fame was re-peopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochians* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoining, were not the first of that name, after the Sons of Noah began to fill the World again: because, had this *Henoch* the City of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Henochi*; *Ptolomy* *Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fifty Mile Eastward he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these again he discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took their beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of *Paropamisus*, between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Babrya* on the North side; and these *Henochians* are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

And although we cannot be assured, that these *Henochi* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noah's* Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable, than that of *Amnius* the Fryar, who lets

Henoch in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moses's* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochians*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with divers Mountains about *Babrya* and *Sagadiana* of the same name. Only the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word *Henoch* (which signifieth Carts or Coach-Men, make these Nations to have sprung from the *Waggoners* of *Callos* and *Polax* (to wit) *Amphibius* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Tesin* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Tesin* with other *Grecians* ranged the coasts of *Asia*, the less, in an open Boat or kind of small Gallies, of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no Man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poetical; and withal that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being four and fifty, there was no place and less use of Coach-Horses or Waggoners.

§. III.

Of Moses his omitting sundry things concerning Cain's generation.

BUT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, How it was possible for Cain (having no other assistance than his Son *Henoch*) to perform such a Work as the Building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many Hands, and to great a Mass of all Sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his Divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which waited by the least account 1656. Years in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may every Man borrow of his own weakest Reason. That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of Mens Lives, so long a measure, as 800. and 900. years, that in such a space Cain had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of Cain's Life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of his illnes *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of Cain, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required to be understood: which advice seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable Men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like Nature. For in making but a difference between the Birth of Abel, and Oblation of Cain, he spake it in this sort, *Eni autem post dies multos, or a fine diurnum* (that is) in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of Cain, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

Chap. V.

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that he built the Temple of *Hierusalem*; yet it is well known of *Salomon*; that he employed in that work 150000. Labourers: for this Phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, The King invaded; when he caused an Invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a Building. And therefore seeing we find, that *Moses* had no regard to the Ages, to the Birth, or to the Death of any of *Cain's* issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *Cain* also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare *Hethoch*, and he built a City, and called the name of the City after the name of his Son *Hethoch*: And to *Hethoch* was born *Irad*, and *Irad* begat *Mehusael*, and *Mehusael* begat *Methusael*, and *Methusael* *Lamech*.

C. 6. v. 4. *Now of Seth, Moser* written for otherwise, and in this manner. *Seth lived 107 Years, and begat Enoch, and Seth loved after he begat Enoch 807 Years, and begat Sons and Daughters: so as after the days of Seth were 912 Years, and he died: as for the Years and times of the wicked they were not numbered in libro viteminis, faith Cyril.* But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom *Christ* defended, as touching his Manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moser* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate Generation (as afore said.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moser* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

¶ I. *Adam.*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 2. Cain. | 2. Seth. |
| 3. Henoch. | 3. Enosh. |
| 4. Irad. | 4. Cainan. |
| 5. Mahusael. | 5. Mahaleel. |
| 6. Mathusael. | 6. Jared. |
| 7. Lamech, who by Ada had | 7. Henoch. |
| 8. Jubal and Tubal, and by Silla | 8. Mathusalem. |
| Tubalcain, and Norma. | 9. Lamech, and |
| | 10. Noah. |

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention : but *Tefelus* giveth unto *Lamech* threefold and seventeen Sons and Daughters, by his two Wives *Adah*, and *Silla*: and to these three Sons of *Lamech*, *Mofes* ascribeth the invention of Pallorage, of Mufick, and the working in Metal; for it leemeth that *Tubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those Beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Drowes : *Tubal* invented Mufick, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brass and Iron : the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts men, and Musicians. And in the illues of *Sab* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy : the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

Gen. 4, 20,
31, 22.

6. EV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Sodom Scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the Patriarchs begat their Children to so diverse ages, as *Adam* begat *Set* at seventy years, *Methuselah* and *Enoch* at threescore and five years, whereas *Tared* begat no way of his until he was 162. Years old: *Methuselah* begat at 187, *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. Years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Tared*, *Methuselah*, or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat Children before he was threescore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Majesty* did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs; but he drew down the line of Noab from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noab* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors whether they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that *Hemuch* was not the eldest of *Tared*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Methusalem*, nor *Noab* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noab* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Tephir*, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were referred to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find *Mahalehel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threecore and ten Years who was the first Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methusalem* began *Lamech* in the 137th Year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Majesty* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noab* as a forefaid. Of this St. *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20. and 21. Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the Children of the promise after him; so doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of *Christ*, not by the eldest Sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in *Estates*, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the *Evangelist* nameth *Jesse*, and not *Jehoiachin*, though *Jehoiachin* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Elsau* the elder; neither is *Christ* derived from any of the three eldest *Ziurachi*, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and so from *David* a younger Son of *Jehoiachin*; and lastly we find, that the Kingdom in self of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

§. V.

*Of the long Lives of the Patriarchs : and some of late me-
mory.*

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of Years between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well near seen a thousand Years, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-ages, seeing that soon after the Flood Men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They

Selin. Poly-
hist. c. 3.
Macrob.
Satyr. l. 1.
c. 8.
Plin. l. 7.
c. 48.

They that have heretofore referred that those Years were but Lunar Years, (to wit) of a Month or thereabouts, or *Egyptian Years*, are easily confuted: For whereas *Senh* begat *Enph* in the Year of his Life 109, if those Years be taken but for Months, then had *Senh* lived but eight Years and four Months, then had *Enph* been but eight Months and one Month when he begat *Enph*: and if the figure of *Enph* have the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enph* at that time have been but six Years and forty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were two ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at 6. 7. or 8. Years, agreeth with the short lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the Constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the Workman of Gods Hands, and begotten and born in the first Youth of the World, had length of Days and ability of Body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunar Years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred Years, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd Years, which were not only less by far than the *Patriarchs* lived after the Flood, but short of many *Mens* lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some, a hundred Years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written Gen. 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an Old Man, and of great Years; all which (if the former account were of Lunar Years) makes but seventeen and an half of our Years.

And Man seek for a cause of this long life
 in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first
 Man, created in highest perfection, should also
 beget Children of equal strength or little differing;
 For of the first and purest Seed there must of necessity
 spring up the fairest and fruitfuller Plants. Se-
 condly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt,
 which yielded her increase, and brought forth Fruit
 and food for Man, without any such mixture of
 harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God
 for the cruelty of Mans Heart brought on it and
 mankind: Neither had the waters of the Flood
 infused such an impurity, as thereby the Natural
 and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and
 Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and
 a harmful change. And as all things under the Sun
 have one time of strength, and then Age and Weak-
 ness, a Youth and Senility, and then Age and Deformi-
 ty: so time it self (under that decay and wither) hath
 whole winters, and such a long and lively Ver-
 tue of Nature worn out, that little Vertue of Nature
 in Man, and Beasts, and Plants, yea the Heavens
 themselves being of a moist pure and cleansed ma-
 ter shall wax old as a Garment; and then much
 more the Power generative in inferior Creatures,
 who by the ordinance of God receive operative
 Vertue from the superiour.

But besides the Old Age of the World, how far doth our Education and implicitly of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milk of a strange Dog; an unnatural curiosity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurfes, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender Years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we went from her root, and replant her Branches, while shepher self hath not yet any Root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-side Seeds (for the most part) in their growing-up wither in

the Bud, and wax old even in their Infancy: But above all things the exceeding Luxurionfnefs of this gluttonous Age, wherein we prels Nature with overweighty Burdens, and finding her ftrength defective, we take the work out of her Hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ftrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Luxurionfnefs* hath thefe elegant Verfes:

—O prodiga vera

Luxuriet, nunquam parvo contenta paratu:
Et quæstorum terra pelagq; Ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mense,
Disce quam parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhæque bitum: sed gurgite paræ
Pisa redit: satis est populis fluviusq; Ceresq;

O waffull Riot, never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:
Vain glory of a Table sumptuous;
Learn with how little Life may be preserved.
In Gold and Myrrh they need not to carouse,
But with the Brook the peoples thirst is served:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not served.

The *Ægyptians* affirm, that the longest time of Mans life is a hundred Years, because the Heart in a perfect Body waxeth and growth to strength fifty Years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenet* findeth in his Philosophy, that the Life of Man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty Years, and *Berghus* to a hundred and seventeen Years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveh, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eight *Regnum of Italy*, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) four and fifty persons of an hundred Years of Age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten; two of an hundred and five and twenty; four, of an hundred and thirty; as many that were a hundred and five and thirty, or a hundred and seven and thirty Years old; and last of all, three Men of an hundred and forty; and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Son.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Ejlaans* gave them long account of many Years: fo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Peris*, *Magicians* and *Indian* Brachmans. The Greeks are full of *Humor*, that *Nefor* lived three Ages, and *Tarfirus fix*, *Sigilla* three hundred Years, *Eudymon* of the left *Ale*, little *lefs* is *Alfo* of *Malimolia* of *Xumidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Ibyria*. Among the Kings of *Aradua* many lived three hundred Years (saith *Ephorus*) *Hellenicus* affirmeth of the *Epietans*, that fome of them live full two hundred Years: and fo doth *Diadorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*; and that thefe reports are not fabulous; *Josephus* bringeth many witnefs with himfelf, as *Marethos*, *Berofus*, *Molochus*, *Ejlaus*, *Hieronymus* *Egyptinus*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Antonieus Fume* an *Hiftorian* of good reputation reporteth, that in the Year 1570. there was an *Indian* prefented to *Solyman*, *General* of the *Turki* Army, who had out-lived three hundred Years. I my felf knew the old Countefs of *Defmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Mufcovy* who lived in the Year 1589. and many Years fince, who was married in *Edmore* the Fourth's time, and held her joyour from all the Earls of *Defmond* fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Mufcovy* can witnefs. *Srovæzus* *Cigæna*, out of *Torquemada* *Maffius*, and the like Authors, telleth of fome that have not only far

exceeded the Term prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of Life, if we note but the difference between the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Blood fix pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthful Life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Air, and temperate use of Diet, Pleasure, and Rest: for those which are built of rotten Timber, or mouldering Stone, cannot stand long upright, on Air we feed always and in every instant, and on Meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good Constitution, a pure Air, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only Friends and Companions of a long Life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their Knowledge by Tradition: and that Enoch writ before the Flood.

A fourth Scruple hath been made, How the certain Knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written, and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the universal flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest Treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by Heart and Tradition from wife Men to Posterity equally zealous. *Ex animo in animam sine literis, medio intercedente verbo; From mind to mind without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Eldras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal

Secretiorum & verum legis enarrationem, a more secret and true explanation of the Law, which (saith he) out of the fame Authors, he delivered by mouth to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called secretiora, to the rude multitude, were no other quam dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas, than to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast pearls before swine. In succeeding times this Understanding and Wisdom began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other Creatures; and to be taught only to such, as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Jews was an Imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but finally.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law received by Tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptum* in Latine, and a receiving in English. And this Custom was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our an-

cient Britains, and of later times by the *Irish*. *Chorici* called *Rymers*. If then such as would learn wisdom in the use of Reason, will not acknowledge, that the Story of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by Inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, than any or all the Testimonies which prophane Antiquity had preserved and left to their Successors: which their wife Men (as they seem them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his Children and Successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself Two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less than Five hundred years: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old; from whence this Knowledge by an eadie and ordinary way, might come to *Isaac*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionable, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time, (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these Prophecies of *Enoch* Saint *Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix* in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba*: (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seen and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation and story of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letters, had not the Spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazens*, (with others) cite them in their Writings: although *Medius*, for an Argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that *Pope Gelasius* amongst the other Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jews. But I rather think with *Pererius* that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occasion upon the Antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the Body of *Moses*, to frame and add the greatest Arguments against their own. One of the greatest Arguments against these Books, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will let this Opinion of St. *Augustine*, *Scriptis quidem novissima divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam negare non possumus: Tunc Enoch the seventh from Adam did write divers divine things: we cannot deny.* Now his Writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the Antiquity, and of fables of Giants supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found among those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian* *) who yet affirmeth that this

this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely that *Enoch* wrote the Prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity I know not, whether by the Jews *Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but man's conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and dispositions of the Stars; and afterwards to some of his Sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this Book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*: it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof than Self-authority.

§. VII.

Of the Men of Renown before the Flood.

NOW let us consider the Relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cain's* Children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whole time men began to profess Religion, and to offer Sacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* instructed his Children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publicly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord, and thereby were the Sons of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Tared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their own births, the births of their Sons, the length of their Lives, and Deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, that he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away. By that, that he walked with God, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*, *Noah* was a just and upright man in his time, and *Noah* walked with God. The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo: Henoch pleased God.* And although *Athen-Ezra* and others understand this place, *Enoch placuit Deo* [scilicet, mortuus est, God took him away (that is) he died, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech unto this day, to say, God took him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the Piety of *Henoch* and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word [death] which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, *And he died*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing*, or *he was not seen*. *Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the Hebrews) *quia Deus eum transiit*; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away. In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which Saint *Paul*

promifeth when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die; but all shall be changed*; I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech* remembering (as of the rest) the times of their Birth and Death: saying that *Lamech* prophesied of his Son *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our Works, and sorrow of our Hands; as touching the Earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, than of any of the rest of *Adam's* Children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten Generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright Man in his time; and feared God.

But of the War, Peace, Government, and Policy of these strong and mighty Men, so able both in Body and Wit, there is no memory remaining: whole Stories if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long Lives of Men (who to their strength of Body and natural Wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same add of Wisdom and Undertakings? Likely it is, that their Works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old Age of the World, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Apocryphus*, *Vita brevis, Ars longa, Tempus precipue, (which is) Life is short, Art is long, and Time is heading.* And that those people of the first Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*, *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But these Men of Renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of Body and cruelty of Mind) trusted so much to their own Abilities; as they forgot altogether the Piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil. And this Wickedness was not only found in the lilles of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the Children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other Men loving themselves and the World only.

That these Sons of God were Angels, which be- ing taken with the Beauty of Women accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* misled by *Josephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former Opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large Answers and very needles: the Question being uncapable of dispute, especially since St. *Chrysostome* and St. *Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly Men were honoured with the Title of God's Children, it doth every where appear in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) beheld the face of God, (that is) always attend his Commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnes to imagin.

§. VIII.

You fear to eat the Flesh of Swine, I find it sweet.
You worship Dogs, to beat them I think meet,
When they my store devour.

And in this manner Juvenal:

Sat. 15.
2. 9.

*Porcum aut capre nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O Juncas quibus, quibus hoc nascuntur in hortu
Nominata?*

The Egyptians think it fit to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onions, which they serve with
holy rite:

O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of Gods in every Garden growing.

§ IV.

That from the Reliques of Ancient Records among the
Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were
invented: and that the first Jupiter was Cain, Vul-
can, Tubalcain, &c.

BUT in so great a confusion of Vanities, where
among the Heathens themselves there is no
agreement or certainty, it was hard to find out
from what example the beginnings of their Inven-
tions were borrowed, or after what ancient Pattern
they erected their buildings, were it not certain,
that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age,
and of whatsoever was done therein: partly from
some Inscriptions upon Stone or Metal remaining
after the Flood; and partly from *Mazraam* the
Son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*
and the *Cham* of his Father *Noah*. For all that the
Egyptians write of their ancient Kings and date
of Times cannot be feigned. And though other
Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters*
also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the
rest which *S. Augustine* out of *Varro*, *Diadorus Sicu*
many Prophane Historians; *Cicero*, *Diadorus Sicu*
lus, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to
wit the Phœnicians; Phrygians, Carians, Greeks,
and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the Son of *Adam*
or *Nathan*; as (some very learned Men conceive) and *Adam*
reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam*
for the first *Saturn*: of *Cities*; and the first City
invented the founding of *Cities*; and the first City
of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called
Enoch, of whom were the *Enochs* before remem-
bered. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato*
in *Protagoras*, which also *Higium* in his 275. Chapter
confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were
founded by diverse Men, *Tanen primam latissimam a*
prima & antiquissimam Jove adificatam; ut the first
and largest was built by the first and most ancient *Jupi-*
ter, seated in the East parts, or in India, according
to that of *Moses*: *And Cain dwelt towards the East*
to that of *Adam*, &c. where also the *Enochs* were
side of *Eden*, &c. where also the *Enochs* were
found after the Flood. And therefore was *Jupiter*
by the Athenians called *Polem*, a Founder of Cities,
(by *Phormion* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Jupiter*
of *Heracles* there were in many places Altars and
Temples erected. And that there were Cities
built before the Flood. *Plato* also witnesseth, as
may be gathered in this his affirming, that soon af-
ter Mankind began to increase, they built many
Cities; which as his meaning he delivereth in plain
terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he saith,
that Cities were built an exceeding space of time
before the Destruction by the great Flood.

This first *Jupiter*, of the *Ethiicks* was then the
same *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his
own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done)
inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* pla-
ceth the City *Henochia*. And besides this City built
Henoch, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six
others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tche*, *Tefas*, *Sale*, and *Ge-*
bat: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now
as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also
the *Ethiicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: so were
Tubal, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (Inventors of Paltor-
rage, Smiths-craft, and Mufick) the same, which
were called by the ancient Prophane writers *Mer-*
curius, *Vulcan* and *Apollō*; and as there is a likeli-
hood of name between the name of *Noema* or *Nae-*
math, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signify *Venus*, or
beautiful *Vulpius*, or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vul-*
cain is said to be *Venus*, the Lady of Pleasure and
Beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Sa-*
turn, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*, *Eoa Rhea*, and *Noema*
or *Nae-math* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the
dividing of the World between the three Brethren
the Sons of *Saturn* arise, from the true Story of the
dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren
the Sons of *Noah*: so also was the Fiction of those
Golden Apples kept by a Dragon taken from the
Serpent, which tempted *Eve*: so was *Paradise* it
self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made
the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Prophecies, that
Cain should break the Serpents Head, and con-
quer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables
of *Heracles* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and
descending into Hell, and captivating *Caribæus*: so
out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God was bor-
rowed the conversion of their *Heracles* (the Inventors
of Religion and such Arts as the life of Man had
profit by) into Scars and Heavenly Signs, and (with-
al) that leaving of the World, and Ascension of
Afræa; of which *Ovid*,

Ovid. l. 1.
4. 17.

Ultima calescit terras Afræa reliquit.

Afræa last of Heavenly Wights the Earth did
leave.

For although thereby the *Ethiicks* would under-
stand Justice it self to have failed, as it is a virtue
abstract, and may be considered without a Person;
yet as it is usual among the ancient Poets to de-
scribe Vertues and Vices by the Persons of Men
and Women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*,
and Piety of Men by like Vertues and Vices; and there-
fore by Justice and *Afræa*, *Enoch*: the Justice and
Piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner expre-
ssed, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was said
to be a just Man; and *Noah* walked with God, and
of *Enoch* it is written, that he walked with God, and
he was no more seen: for God took him away.

From this Story also of the first Age, and from
that part where *Moses* remembereth the Giants be-
gotten by the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty
Men, and Men of Renown) did they tell those
wonderous great acts of their ancient Kings, and
powerful Giants; and again their War undertaken
against the Gods, from the building of the Tower
of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *S. Augustine* ter-
meth him. Which War of their Giants *Cornelius*
Sextus thus describeth:

*Tenaxire (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, capivique Jovis transferre Gigantes:
Imperium, & viles leges imponere calo.*

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong
down

And robbing Jove of his Imperial Crown,
On conquered Heavens to lay their proud Com-
mand.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to
raise the Building of *Babel* to that height, as God
neither by drawing Waters from the Deep, nor
by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them
under the moisture of a second Flood, but that by
this Building (if they had been herein victorious)
they would have given the Law to Heaven it self.
Also the making of Leagues, Peace and Coven-
ants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirm-
ed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth
and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was as it
seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, Exod. 24. Who
when he read the Book of the Covenant sprinkled
the People with Blood.

We find also many Remembrances of *Seth*, the
paternal Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Ame-*
nophis, the same King of *Egypt*, which reigned at
such time as *Moses* carried thence the Children of
Israel, (as of late some learned Men mistaking his
time supposed) called his Son and Successor *Seth*, of
Seth, and of the same *Seth* (as many Men of good
judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*
called *Sambes*, whereof there were many very fa-
mous. But heretofore we saw that the Egyptians wor-
shipped *Seth*, as their most ancient Parent, and of
the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called
a principal Province *Sethiæica*. We also find in
Bithynia the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same
Name elsewhere. And sure from the Egyptians
did the *Græcians* borrow this kind of Theology,
though they seemed to acknowledge any Antiqui-
ty preceding their own; and that they might not
seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same
Names to their own Idols which the Egyptians
did to theirs.

§ V.

Of the three chieft *Jupiters*; and the strange Story
of the third.

BUT of all those Armies of *Jupiters* remembered
by the Ancients, *Cæsar* waketh but three, be-
cause those were of most Fame: which other *Wri-*
ters have also done, who fought out, and labour-
ed in their Originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Æther* and
Diæa, so called, because the one had reference to his
celestiall conditions (for *Æther* is as much as shi-
ning or pure Fire) the other discovered his natural
Vertues, which days and times make more perfect,
and are the witnesses of Mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Calvus* or
Heaven, for the same former respect; and this
Jupiter was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athen*.

The third, of whom all the *Græcians* Fables were
devised, was of *Greece* (now *Conditio*) the Son of
Saturn and *Ops*. The Name derived from the Latin
is taken of *Jovis Pater*, from the Greek word
Zens, it signifieth Life, but somewhat brained,

Bocæus in his Genealogy of the Gods conceiveth,
that his Name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the
Planet; but whether that *Star* had such a Name,
before the fame was given to Men, I know not.
Jupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, ho-
nest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and
faithful, (that is) giving these Inclinations. And
therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these
Conditions, might be called there after *Jupiters*;
but howsoever they were, or were not, with
those Vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all
Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and
Surnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles
of Honour and Reputation in the World, (how-
soever deserved) as the worthiest, that ever
were acquired by their well-deservings. *Jovis*
omnes Reges vocantur antiqui; The Ancients
called all Kings Jupiters; as *Titæus* in his *Varia*
Historia confirmeth: *Reges olim Jovis vocantur*
omnes: In old time all Nations called their Kings
Jupiters. But where this last and most remem-
bered *Jupiter* was born it is uncertain. Some there
are that make him of *Gret*: others, that he was
but foster child by his Mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to Na-
to-
his Uncle: because it was conditioned between
Saturn and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger
Brother, and reigning (for his own Life) by
Titan's permission, he should put to death all his
male Children, lest the *Titans* might be inter-
rupted by any of them in their Succession; which
Agreement because *Saturn* performed in his first-
born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own
Children: Herof *Lycaëron*, thus turned into
Latin;

*Haud sic pinguis,
Crudus Iphicetrum quod sic ipse filius.*

Saturn to be the fatter is not known;
By being the Grave and Burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*;
Sibylla also witnesseth in thele,

*Conceptis verbis; Titan jurare coegit
Saturnum, de se natum ne matris illum,
Quo possim regnare semel post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturn* swear,
No Son to nourish; which by reigning might
Usurp the Right of *Titan's* lawful Heir.

But *Ops*, the Mother of *Jupiter*, being deliver-
ed at once both of *Jupiter* and *Titan*, conveyed
Jupiter (first called *Lycaëron*) into *Gret*, as he
did afterwards his two Brothers, *Nepewes* and *Plu-*
to: where he was brought up in *Conditio*, the chief
City of that Island, by *Crisis* the King, or by the
Cæcetes, a People and Nation therof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thrace*, and a
Thracian: others call him an *Arcadian*: others
make him of *Æthiopia*. The like Contentions is
found among the *Greeks* touching his Education
and first Forbearing: Some affirm, that he was fed
by Hoof-bees: in Remembrance whereof he changed
their black Coats and Skins into yellow; a Re-
ward well fitting such a God: others, that he was
nourished by Bears: others, by Goats; and of all
these the idle *Greeks* have many pretty Tales. But
in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturn*
had broken his Faith, he set on him, and took
him and his Wife Prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again
rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdoms in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great Honor, and for his many Vertues the Name of *Jupiter* was given him; yet, after he was once fettered and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to *Paleardize* and *Adultery*, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such, as do ascribe the Actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the Sin of *Sodomy* with *Ganymede* and others; and did not only begin with Incest, marrying his own Sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful Women born in his time, within the Limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest Fame, *Niohe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmene* the Wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Peleus*, *Sarpidon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Tegyus* he had *Tegyus*, of whom the Mountain *Tegyus* took Name, with another Son called *Saturn*, of whom *Savona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Caster* & *Pollex*, *Helen* & *Cythemestra*: by *Danae* *Perseus*: by *Jordan* *Daedalus*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Endelus*) *Brismariti*: by *Progenia* he had *Abdulus* the Father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the Daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Country took Name, for so the *Greeks* afterward called *Africa*. He ravished *Agnes*, the Daughter of *Alopus*, and carried her into the Island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Agina*, on whom he begat *Acacus*: by *Torabias* he had *Archeblaus* and *Carbun*: by *Ora Calaxus* he had also *Dardanus* by *Elitira*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward him and *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, *on Thalia*, and *on Garamantis Elharba*. He had besides these (if they be not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilemus*, Inventors of Bakers Craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be Father to all these, who were born in Ages so far differing. And of these his several Ravishments, Betrayings, stealing away of Mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his Transformations into flowers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts, and of him, and by him (in effect) all that Rabble of Grecian Forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Book de *natura Deorum* affirm, that he deserved nothing less. And in his Oration pro *domina sua* reproareth *Clodius* for his Incest, by the Name of *Jupiter*. His Burial was in *Cree*. (saith *Lucian*) *Jupiter* non solum natus est & sepulchrum Jovis testatur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt. The *Cretians* or *Candians* do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they shew his Grave and Sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Tajus*. This *Callimachus* in his Hymns also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretians* ever Lyars were; they care not what they say:

For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'st alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of Report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the Original of these Gods was from the Western parts of *Africa*, for there among the *Almida* reigned one *Craneus* (which significth Heaven) called so for his great skill in *Astronomy*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the People, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives, forty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Tera* he had seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers Name the *Titanes*. Of *Tita* likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was stiled Heaven. But of all the Children of *Tera*, her Daughter *Baia* (which Name soundeth as Queen in *English*, she is by the Latine Translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in Vertue as in Years, was by general consent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to Husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardsness of these Children moved her Brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the Succession: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Pae*. The Iols of this Child caused his Sister to break her own Neck; and the Iols of both her Children made the Mother to play many mad Pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the People, before whom she is said to have vanished away. Ere she died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) signified unto her in a Dream, that he should be the providence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their Names, and that their Death should be revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the People did so call those two Planets, and withal held her self as a Goddess, and termed her the great Mother, which Name they had formerly given to her, for her Motherly care in cherishing her Brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of *Craneus* divided the Kingdom. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his Name; a just and wise Prince, deeply skilful in *Astronomy*, and for Invention of the *Sphere* said to have imported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Hegeus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his Contemplations, and his Name is honour of him, imposed by the People upon the Morning Star. The seven Daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or Registered among the Worthies, brought forth Children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven Stars called *Pleiades* took Name. *Saturn* the Brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africa* and *Italy*. *Jupiter* another of the Sons of *Craneus*, reigned in *Cree*; who had ten Sons which he called *Cretes*; he called that Island after his Wives Name *Tera*, in which Iste he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Libyans* tell the Tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His Sister *Rhea* was married

married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africa*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter, called *Minerva*, near to the River *Tricon*, who thereupon was called *Triconia*. He also begat on *Amalthea* a Son called *Bacchus*, whom he cauled secretly for fear of his life to be brought up at *Nysa*, an Island in the River *Tricon*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain Nymphs. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in form of a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentiful Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these news, she fled from her Husband to her Brother *Saturn*, who not only entertained her as a Sister, but took her to Wife, and at her instigation made War upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him fly into *Cree*. The *Cretes*, *Jupiter*'s Children before-mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was new named *Cree* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (Women as may seem being very gracious in those times) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young Man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting Trees, and many things else commodious for Mankind, before the flight of his Mother in Law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titanes*, he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons* living not far from *Nysa*, added great Forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entered into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the Men, and *Minerva* the Women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* Prisoners, returned to *Nysa*, where pardoning the Prisoners, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaved himself so well, that he won the love of all the People by whom he passed; inasmuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous Government, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revols. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he won a Battel of *Saturn*, before the very Walls. After which *Saturn* with his Wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Town on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But

they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This Child *Bacchus* took with him in a great expedition that he made into the East Countries; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governor of the Country; but appointed unto him as an Over-seeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilst *Bacchus* traveled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of Man; the *Titanes* had found out his Father *Hammon* in *Cree*, and began to War upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his Sister *Minerva*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as Gods, joyning all their Forces, went into *Cree*, overthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, took, and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn* succeeding them, reigned Lord above over all the World, having none of the *Titanes* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Libyan* Gods, and the *Egyptian* Fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the Wars of the Giants in the one story, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the Rarities of *Ipsi*, and the Cymbals of *Baia*, with many petty circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right Persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phanicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more Allegorical, by giving to *Orus* or Heaven for Daughters, *Fate* and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogy he adds *Elum* or the *Sun*, as Father of *Orus*; and among the Children of *Orus*, *Iapetus*, *Basilus*, and *Dagon*, (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving wishal to *Orus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Cree*. The Pedigree of them is this.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned Men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Gracians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Justin Martyr*, *Clement*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eufronius*, *Peuce*, *Pelliss*, *Dantes*, and others. For *Clement* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and Properties. *Bonus, justus, sanctus, scilicet possident, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, always doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity. *Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipse solus, He is the only King of all kings;* and with *Pindarus* the Poet; *Dis unus, Pater, creator summus, aique optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita prebet, One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith Anstethen) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known, Nisi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habet, Save only in that everlasting Country, whose Image thou hast none at all. Hercof also Xenophanes Colophonius. Unus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among Gods and Men most powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and Xenophon, Deus qui omnia quærit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potentissimus, quod omnibus pater: quod autem forma sit, nemini pater, nisi ipse sit, qui luce sua omnia perstruat, God who seeketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illumineth all things with his own light. Finally, Plato saith, Totius rerum nature causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animarum sollicitator, assiduum mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehensus, æque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis, God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the Soul, the eternal preserver of living Creatures, the continual framer of his World, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is. Therefore was it said by *S. Hierome*, Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvatis libros, necesse est ut in ea reperias aliquam partem vestrum Dei, ut apud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the Books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in Plato, God the Creator of the World: in Zeno Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c. And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was Man of solid Understanding or excellent Judgment: never any Man whose Mind the art of Education hath not benuded; whose Eyes a foolish Superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are fober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistible necessity, one True God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; who no Man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expressed, than that *Egyptian Hermes*, howsoever it failed afterward in his Posterity: all being at length*

by devilish policy of the *Egyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who invented new Gods, and those innumerable, best forcing (as the Devil perwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fitteth to keep in awe and order their common People.

§. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

BUT all these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal Men are as less mortal than themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into every Mans Chimney, which the lack of fowel flarveth, Water quencheth, and want of Air suffoceth: Jupiter is no more vested with *Jupiter's* jealousies; Death hath perwaded him to Chastity, and her to Patience; and that Time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of Stone and durable Marble. The Houses and sumptuous Buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth; nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thracia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great *God Pan* hath broken his Pipes; *Apollo's* Priests are become speechless; and the Trade of Riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling Mens Fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and cozening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the fame was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the Hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubœan* Pirates: Secondly, by the *Phœgians* utterly sack: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captains of the *Phœnicians*: Sixthly, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was again gloriously rebuilt, and reformed till such time as *Julian* the *Apostate* felt thither to know the success of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven; and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten down and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julian's* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Hierusalem*: for while they were buied to lay the Foundations, their Buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruins, and others slain, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *An. MDC. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the Nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Alipius* and the Ruler of the Province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* buied in the reedifying of this

this Temple, flaming balls of fire issuing near the Foundation, and oft consuming the Workmen, made the Enterprise frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOW the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open Stage of this World (as in those days) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of Men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into Faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Image of glory, the all-commanding Image of bright God. He tells them that Truth is the Goddess of Dangers and Oppressions; that Chastity is the Enemy of Nature: and lastly, that as all Verne (in general) is without taste: so Pleasure fatisfies and delighteth every Sense; for true Wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the ob-

taining of Power to oppress, and of Riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-palician* find in his Pupils any remorse, any fear or feeling of Gods future Judgment, he perwades them that God hath to great need of Mens Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timefall return towards God, by laying those great blocks of ragged Poverty, and despicable Contempt in the narrow passage leading to his Divine Presence. But as the Mind of Man hath two Ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold Vanties; the other desolate and overgrown with Grafts, by which enter our Charitable Thoughts and Divine Contemplations: so hath that of Death a double and twofold opening: worldly Misery passing by the one, worldly Prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our Cruelties, Covetousness, Licentiousness, Injustice, and Oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious Enemy was ever most diligent: so he is now more laborious than ever: the long Day of Mankind drawing fast towards an Evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's Flood.

§. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and some human Testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's Flood.

OF this Destruction is pleased God to give warning unto Noah: who (saith *Josphus*) fearing to perish among the self-seekers amon suis, in aliena regionem migravit: He departed with his Children, and travelled into another Region. And of these Giants, from whom Noah withdrew himself, *Berjus* writeth in this manner: That they exceeded in all sorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedness, and that they were contemptors of Religions & Decorum: contemptors of Religion and of the Gods: among which mighty Men (saith *Berjus*) unus erat qui Decorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat Noah. There was one more wise and reverentior the Gods than the rest, whose name was Noah: who with his three Sons *Sem*, *Japheth*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the Wife of Noah (namely *Tiza* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noela*) preferred themselves in the Ark. This Ark God commanded Noah to prepare: And God said unto Noah, make thee an Ark of pine-trees: thou shalt make cubits in the Ark, and shalt pitch it within, and without pitch. For God made Noah to know that an end of all Flesh was at hand, and that the Graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already fissioned in the Clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living Creatures, which breathed in the Air: Noah and his Family excepted.

But this universal Grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for Divine Testimonies do not perwade all natural Men to those things, to which their own Reason cannot

reach: dum involuta in obscuris veritate latent; whilst the truth lieth wrapped up in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the Universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this Flood of Noah fell but on some particular Places and Kingdoms: moved so to think, because in elder Ages there have been many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hercof *Nicolaus Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josphus*, *Est super Maryadam excessus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multo confusio: semper effe deluvii tempore liberatus, & quendam simul an Arca decessum in hunc vertice habisse, lignorumque reliquias cuncto tempore conservatas, qui fortasse sit fuit, ad quo etiam Moses Judæorum Legislator scribit: thus far this Author. There is (saith he) above *Maryada* (or the Country of *Marya*) an exceeding high Mountain in Armenia, called *Baris*: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Ark, and rested upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which Moses the Law-giver of the Jews maketh mention. And of this opinion were the *Thalmdists* (saith *Anthon*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount *Sion*.*

But *Berjus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoever he have been since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famolam, quæ*

H

De Oracul.
fol. 94.

Puerum finds the word [*Paradisi*] to have no affinity with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the Hebrew word *Nahab*, which signifieth *Angustari* or *Divination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leaf before cited.

Ephra. in
Anac.

Joseph calls the Ark *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew *Aron*; but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebes*, that *Aron* signifieth properly the Ark of the Sanctuary, but *Thebes* such a Vessel as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters.

Gen. 6. 4.

Lastly, this Ark of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship in this, That it had a Cover and Roof, with a Cleft in the midst thereof, and the Sides declining like the Roof of an House, to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his Children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noyسمen of the many Beasts, which filled the other Rooms and Parts of the Ark.

Of what Wood the Ark was built it is uncertain. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once and in this place only used is diversely understood; and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Genevra* Translation calls it *Pine-tree*, the *Rabbinæ* Cypres, the Seventy square *Timber*, the *Latin* smooth *Timber*. Others will have it *Cypres-trees*, as dedicated to the Dead, because *Cypres* is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt it the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of *Timber*, *Noah* obeyed the Voice of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the Wood, having the Promise of God, and his Grace and Mercy for his defence.

V. 18.
Psal. l. 16.
Eccl. 40.

For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant. *Play* affirmeth, That in *Egypt* it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the Worms eat not; and he avoweth that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollon*, Cedar Beams, laid in the time of the Foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was above 1883. Years after: proving thereby, that this kind of Wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easy to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet favour, lasting also better than any other Wood, and because near the place where the Ark rested, there are found great fots of these Cedar-trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the Ark might be of that Wood: which hath besides the other Commodities the greatest length of *Timber*, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. *Perrineus* conceiveth that the Ark had divers fots of *Timber*, and that the Bottom had of one sort, the Deck and Partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for *Timber* in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins, thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several fots of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living Creatures, according to the Numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North-star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Valley of *Sodom* and *Go-*

Perrineus.

morra, now the dead Sea or *Asphaltus*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*, and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

THE Ark according to Gods Commandment had of length three hundred Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion it had fix parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *S. Augustine*, *Proculadado figura est peregrina*. *De Civit.* *nautis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei*, (hoc est) *Eccliesie*. *Dei*, l. 19. *que fit salua per lignum, in quo pendit Mediator Dei*. *et hominum, homo Christus Jesus*: nam & mensura ipse longitudo, altitudo, latitudoque epus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines pronuntiatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (saith he) it is a Figure of the City of God, travelling in this World as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of *Mani* Body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was measured, it hath been a disputed Question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one Foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the Elbow to the point of the middle Finger. The second (the Palm Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common Cubit three Inches. The fourth is the Sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these fots, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of Mens Statuta, the alteration made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of Bodies: so is the common Cubit, from the sharp of the Elbow to the point of the middle Finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

S. Augustine considering the many fots of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their Food and Water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Ark had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost fix of the common. For measuring the Ark by the vulgar Cubit did not exceed the capacity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Prolemy Philopater*. But *S. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) charged his Judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all fots of Creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of Fishes into the Ark, because they were kept living (saith *S. Augustine*) in their own Element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca qua possent in aquis vivere; non salum merfa sicut pisces, verum supernatantes, sicut multa alie.* It was not needful to conserve those Creatures in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not only Fishes, which can live under Water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them: And again, *Terra non aqua, maledicta, quia Adam* non

De Civit.
Dei, l. 19.
c. 26.Atheniensis
significat
Piscem in
vitis De
mariti.Aug. de
Civit. Dei.
l. 1. c. 27.Arab. hij.
India.Deut. 3. 11.
1 Sam.
17. 4.

non hujus, sed illius fructum vestitum comedit. It was the Earth, and not the Waters, which God cursed: for of the forbidden Fruits of the Earth, and not of the Sea, *Adam* eat; so 25 *S. Augustine* gathereth hereupon, (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.

And if we look with the Eyes of Judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of Men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, find many impossibilities in this Work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seem differing and of several kinds, were not then in *verum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that Age, or else it was not needful to preserve them: seeing they might be generated again by others, as the Mules, the Hyzards, and the like: the one begotten by *Alies* and *Mares*, the other by *Foxes* and *Wolves*. And whereas by discovery of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds differing in Colour or Stature from those of these Northern parts, it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which wear Red and Pyed Skins, or Feathers, are differing from those that are left painted, and were plain Ruffet or Black: they are much mistaken that so think. And for my own Opinion I find no difference, but only in Magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and even those Dogs which are become wild in *Hispagnia*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to *Wolves*, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red Feathers in the drow'd and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his Feathers mixt with Black and Carnation, in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog Fish of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if Colour or Magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negro's*, which we call the Black moors, non animalia rationalia, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, than the People of this part of the World. We also see it daily that the Natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Grapes may be made good Fruit by often Grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a Year or two to common Cucumbers by being set in a barren Soil: Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced: The Ark, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we add but half a Foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a Foot and a half of Giantly Stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600 Foot in length, and 100 Foot in breadth, and 60 Foot deep.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the Scripture, the Stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Oz King of Bajan* had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54 Cubits of the common, which make 8 Cubits: and *Goliath*, who had the length of 6 Cubits and a handfull, (which makes nine Foot and a handfull, a proportion credible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, they had been 54 Foot in height and

upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the Head of *Goliath* been nine Foot long, and far weightier and bigger than *David's* Body, who carried it away.

Again if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth and three of height) have reached the length of 27 Foot upright, and so much their Priests have ascended by Steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment given in these words: *Thui Ezed.* *Thui not go up with steps unto mine altar, that thy flame be not discovered thereon;* and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high which make four Foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one Foot and a half, according to the Measure of Giantly Stature; which Measure (doubles) might give much the more capacity to the Ark, although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose Lives cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those Dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one Foot and a half of our now usual Measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large Bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures, to be saved (that is) seven of the clean, two of the unclean (with necessary Food) might have place in the Ark, *Barns* hath very learnedly declared: the brief sum of whole Discourse to that purpose is this: The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the Product by the height of thirty Cubits, increaseth the whole Concavity to have been 450000. Now whereas the Posts, Walls, and other Partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the Roof which (the Perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500 cubical Cubes, was a sufficient recompence: (if therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct Species of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100 several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in biggness are no way answerable to them, and for Meat to sustain them all. For there are three fots of Beasts, whose Bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by laying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Bees, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on Vegetables, others on Fleish. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on Vegetables: of which number, only three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entered into the Ark, namely three couples for Breed, and one odd one for Sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there were in the Ark one and twenty great Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as 91 Bees; yet for a supplement (left perhaps

perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued, as 120 Bees. Of the latter sort, feeding on Vegetables, were in the Ark six and twenty kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as four-score Sheep. Of those which devour Flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to three-score and four Wolves. All these 280 Beasts might be kept in one Story or Room of the Ark in the several Cabins; their Meat in a second; the Birds and their Provision in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his Family, and all their necessities.

§. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East Indies, and Scythia.

†. I.

A Preterition of some Questions left material: with a Note of the use of this Question, to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHAT time Noah took to build the Ark, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the Commandment from God 100 Years before the Waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, *S. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversy: or whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, or other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Aligators*) the Sea-Cows or Sea-Horses, were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-Pool might be made as well within the Ark, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to confider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried Vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfy my self and others in, is in what part of the World the Ark rested after the Flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the Terrestrial Paradise, and the resting of the Ark) do only and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Flood; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

†. II.

A Proposal of the common Opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the Ark rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of Noah travelled to their first Settlement and Plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of my humour or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my self on the Original and first Truth, which is the Word of God, and after that upon Reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depend-

ing. For whereas it is written, that the Ark stayed *Gn. 8. 4.* upon one of the mountains of *Ararat*, which the *Chaldean* Paraphrast hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the Hills *Gardai* or *Gardies* in Armenia the greater: (as the words *Gardai* and *Kardu* seem to be one and the same) of which Opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Bari*, being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Amnius* (citing this place out of *Tophius*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Orcia*, and to say that the Ark (of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Orcia*. But I do not find any such Mountain in being, as this *Orcia*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Tophius*. *Strabo* remembereth a Promontory in *Armenia Felix*, of that name, and *Ptolemy* finds a Mart-Town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Orcia*, *Pinetus Aegle*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Orcia* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Amnius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian Mountains. *Berosus* calleth those Mountains of Armenia *Cordias*, and *Curtius* *Cordai*: *Ptolemy* *Gordai* and *Gordies*: of which the Country next adjoining is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Nyniada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Myliada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia*, *Aras*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*, for which *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, they will needeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cordai* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordies* or *Gordies*. The Mountains are feated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thapsius*: whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75 Degrees of Longitude, and 41 and 42 Degrees of Latitude. One of the Mountains *Gordies* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the Armenian signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Tophius*; which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah's* coming down with his Children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any Hill, from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Tophius* *Armenia* (*Kubari*). That the place is to be read, he conjectureth, because *Tophius*, l. 1. c. 4. says, the place is called *Armenia* (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanius*, l. 1. c. 1. calls it *Aloes*: which word in the Armenian and Egyptian Tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubar* is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latin *Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Alt.* 6. 9. they that belonged to the Synagogue of the Egyptians are called *Libertini*, for *Lubar* Tem. Yet this Opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoining.

†. III.

The first Argument against the common Opinion. They that say: is build Babel, would have come faster, had they come from so near a place as Armenia.

BUT there are many Arguments to persuade me, that the Ark of *Noah* did not rest itself in any part of Armenia, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Bari*, nor any one of the *Gordies* Mountains.

For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. Year, or in the Year 131. after the Flood, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Cush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the Ark had first found Land in Armenia, it is very incredible, that the Children of *Noah* which came into that Valley could have spent so many Years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by easy Journeys have been past over in 20. days; and to halten and help which Passage the Navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burden: so as where the Defeat on the one side refitted their Expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the Foot of them, where the Ark of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second Flood (according to the Opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it foundeth ill to the Ear of Reason, that they would have spent many Years in that low and overflowen Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Rivers which intermix in it: for the Effects witnessed their Afflictions, compels it: for the Effects witnessed their Afflictions, and the Works, which they undertook, their Unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, their Unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, they began to provide themselves of a Defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World founded after the Flood, about 131. Years, or (as others suppose) ten Years later: though (for my self) I rather think, that they undertook that Work in two respects, first, to make themselves famous, To get us a Name (saith the Text): Secondly, thereby to usurp Dominion over the rest.

†. IV.

The second Argument, That the Eastern People were most ancient in Popularity, and in all Humane Glory.

FOR a second Argument: The Civility, Magnificence and multitude of People (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for Armenia, and for *Noah's* taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily persuade us, that those Sun-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this Report, that the East Indians (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of Battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes us now to understand, That the place of *Philoftratus* in *Asia Apollonia* *Tianah*, l. 2. c. 14. is no Fable, though express'd in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wise Men which dwell between *Typhis* and *Bat-Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into *Bat-Ganges*: that they but drive away their Enemies with

Thunders and Lightning: thus from *Typhis*. By which words there is to be seen, that *Typhis* the Egyptian and *Chabris*, saying their Forces were defeated there; and that this *Shinar*, they drive away his Golden Shield. For the Invention of Letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*; because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the People (then rude and Savage) had reason to give him the Honour, from whom they received the Benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no less ancient than *Sirib* or *Hemah* were: for they are said to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembered) long before the Flood. But from the Eastern World it was that *John Coltenberg* a German, brought the Device of Printing: by whom *Comrad* being instructed, brought the Practice thereof to Rome: and after that, *Michael Grefen* a Frenchman bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithstanding that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the Chinese had Letters long before either the Egyptians or Phoenicians; and also the Art of Printing; when as the Greeks had neither any civil Knowledge, or any Letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred Years since discovered those Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich Trades therein: for the Chinese account all other Nations but Salvages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this Argument, the Conquest and Story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and Sumptruous in that little Kingdom of *Persia*, which lay by side to the East India, than in all his other Travels and Undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time Learning and Greatness had not travelled so far to the West as Rome: *Alexander* esteeming of Italy but as a barbarous Country, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his Eye, and the Fame of the East pierced his Ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall find that those Nations have sent out, and not received, less Knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civil, the farther West the more salvage. And of the life of *Japan* (now *Zipangari*) *Venetus* maketh this Report. *Incola religiosus, literis, & sapientia sunt aditissimi, & veritatis indagatores accurati, nihil illis frequentius orationis, quam (more nostro) facris in delubris exercens: summi consensum Principum, summi Deum adorant.* The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to Religion, Letters, and Philosophy: and most diligent searchers out of Truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than Prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The Antiquity, Magnificence, Civility, Riches, sumptuous Buildings, and Policy in Government, is reported to be such by those who have been employed into those parts; as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

†. V.

The third Argument, From the wonderful Resilience which *Semiramis* found in the East Indies.

BUT for a third Argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the Invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what Age she lived, and how soon

soon after the World new birth the gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cassius* reporteth) of more than three Millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyneth also 500000, *Horse*, and 100000. *Waggons*: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Country after the Flood. Now as touching the time wherein the lived: All *Historians* consent, that she was the Wife of *Nimrod*; and the most approved Writers agree, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two Defecats call between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Army was composed. Let us then see with whom the encountered in that War with this her powerful Army: even with her own, conducted by *Staurabates* King of *India* beyond *India*; of whose multitudes this is the Witness of *Diodorus Siculus*. *Staurabates*, *quis majoribus quam que erat Semiramis capitis*. *Staurabates* gathering together greater Troops than those of *Semiramis*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a Colony sent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurabates* must have been made of Stone, or somewhat else by Miracle. For as the Numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from to great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israhel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many Bodies of Men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*; if the Colonies sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65 Years time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which 30 Years to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Ham*, *Sabirah*, *Rasmah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30 Years to *Rasmah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five Years to his five elder Brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30 Years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons, and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all 125 Years, there will then remain six Years to have been spent in travelling from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinar* in the Year after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinar* in the Year 101: and the Confusion to have been at *Peleg's* Birth, these Men do all by Miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of Time, and build *Nimrod's* Tower in the Air; and not on those low marshy Grounds (which require found Foundations) in the Plains of *Shinar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a Day, there could be no confusion in that Year 101. or at *Peleg's* Birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regal Authority in the 131. Year after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the Work of *Babel* lasted forty Years (according to *Glycas*) *hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incessant laborantibus: Men labouring in vain 40. Years to finish it*. By which Account it falls out, that it was 170 Years after the Flood, ere a Colony were sent into *East India*; which granted (the one

being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed, that *Staurabates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in Numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the World, gathered the most of Nations into one Body.

† VI.

The fourth Argument from divers Considerations in the Person of Noah.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who had lived therein the long time of 600. Years, was all that space 130. Years after the Flood without any certain Habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with Reason, that *Nimrod* was but the Conductor of those People, by *Noah* defined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the Earth and the Western World; (which Travels *Noah* put over to young and able Bodies) and that *Noah* himself then covered with many Years planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came down out of the Ark from the Waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whole *Babylonia* was to dress and manure the Earth, and not to range over so many parts of the World, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Felix*, where he should (if the Tradition be found) have left certain Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other Companies; and built Cities after the Names of *Noah* and *Negla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Son *Cham* the Saturn of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the People and Subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the Story) had patience for three Years; but then finding no amendment, they say, he banished him out of *Italy*. These be but the Fancies of *Berosus* *Antiquus*, a plain imitation of the Grecian Fables. For let every reasonable Man conceive, what it was to travel far in such a Forest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Flood the same lay waste and over-grown for 130. or 140. Years, and wherein there could hardly be found either Path or Passage through which Men were able to creep, for Woods, Busses and Briars that in those Years were grown up.

And there are so many Reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his Passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a Man revered both for his Authority, Knowledge, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his Children and Lises to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous Work of *Babel*. Rather by his Presence and prevalent Perfections he would have bound their hands from so vain Labours, and by the Authority which he received even from God himself, he would have held them in that awful subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personal Commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal Authority over his Children and People. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of Mankind was by themselves purchased through Cruelty and Disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up Building against his Almighty Power, was as much as in their lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharp affliction.

affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far. With as *Poliphilus*, but rather, that he kept those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest Part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nimrod* and *Calpini* take the Testimony of *Melchior* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the People after their entrance (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Saphene*, and *Tollan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Tollan* of *Sem*, and *Saphene* of *Japhet*. This Opinion cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a Work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Tollan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East *India*. The rest of *Sem's* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adjoining to *India*, and held also a part of *Chaldaea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Urr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Tollan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the Hebrews; or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all Mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his Age and wearisome experience of the World) withdrawn himself, and retired apiece with his best beloved giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and Heavenly things, after he had directed his Children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile soil, where he planted his Vineyard, and dress the Earth; after which, and his thanks-giving to God by sacrifice; he is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so far away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their Enemies and Borderers.

† VII.

Of the senseless Opinion of *Annius* the Commentator upon *Berosus*: that the Ark rested upon *Montes Calpini* in *Armenia*, and yet upon *Gordiz*, which are three hundred Miles distant also in *Armenia*, and yet in *Syria*.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of *Frier Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Berosus*, and others, laboureth marvelously to prove, that the Ark of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Calpini*; which Mountains separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And because all his Authors speak of the Mountains *Gordiz*, he hath no other shift to unite these Opinions, but by uniting those far distant Mountains together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those Men with error which have carefully overseen, printed, and published *Ptolemy's* Geography, in which they are altogether delivered: for that last edition of *Mercator's*, sets these Hills five Degrees (which makes three hundred English Miles) atunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies

of *Ptolemy* and others, we shall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withal: for in those the Mountains *Calpini* stand seven Degrees to the East of the *Gordiz*, which make 120 Miles. And for those Authors by whose Authority *Annius* strengtheneth himself, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgement upon them in the like dispute. *Aberrant vero omnes, non neglegentia, sed reprobis suis ignorantia. They have all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdoms*. But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* stood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the Scythians; and to prove the same he citeth *Marcus Terentius Caro*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Nimrod*, the Earth was overflowed with Waters, & in *Syria* *Saga* renatum *Cato* de mortale genus, and that in *Syria* *Saga* the stock of mortal Men was renewed. The same Author also teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembered (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalion's* flood) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his vestigia Janum cum Dyrum & Gallis Progenitoribus Umbrosum: From these Scythians, he saith, that Janus came with Dyrum and with the Galli the Progenitors of the Umbri*: And again, *Equidem principibus originis semper Scythia tribuimus, Certainly, the prime antiquity of off-spring is, always given to the Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Syria*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of Asia under tribute till *Nimrod's* time. Also *Pliny* calleth the *Umbri* which long time inhabited *Italy*, *Gent antiquissima, a quibus omnes Nationes, who descended of these Scythians*: Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the Ark rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, taketh Name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Syria* Mankind was restored after the great Flood, 250 Years before *Nimrod*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Syria* *Saga* renatum mortale genus, in *Syria* *Saga* Mankind was restored; he therefore in the Proem of his Commentary upon *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *hominibus in Syria saluatis*. For *Syria* *Saga* or *Saca* is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Paropamisus*, on which, or near which it is most probable that the Ark first took ground; and from thence East parts (according to *Israhel*) *Moses* came all those Companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best Authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name as *Syria* *Rege eorum*, from *Scythia* their King. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falsehood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words. *Falsum lanis Scythia*, The *Scythians* false; and his Interpreter in this Table of that Work giveth this Title to that very Chapter. *Scythiarum origo & successus, fabula: The original and success of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great disproof thereof, since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Syria* *Saga*, or *Saca*, and sets them in 130 Degrees of Longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Hecataeus*)

...datus) call all the *Seythians* *Sace*, which *Pithy* con-
firmeth: for in respect that the *Sace* (saith *Pithy*)
L. 6. c. 17. are the next *Seythians* to the *Perfians*, therefore they
give all the rest that Name. Now that any Nation
in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perfians*, there is
no Man believeth. But this supposed *Seythia* *Araxes* in
Armenia lyeth in 88 Degrees of Longitude (that
is 42 Degrees distant from the *Sace*) and the Country
about *Araxes* *Ptolomy* calleth *Colchene* and *Sedone-*
sene and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Seythi-*
ans: and yet all those which are or were reputed
Seythian, either within *Immus* or without, of the
number of 100 several Nations are by *Ptolomy* pre-
cisely set down.

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great Part of those North-East Regions, and searched their Antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imau*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountains is also beyond our Po' pole.) *Scythia intra imau montem ea est, que proprio vocabulo Gallia hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu armatae Africae: ab Oriente Imau monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Sacae, Sogdiani, Margiani, quae ipsa Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeat;* & *parce ipsius maris hinc usque ad Euxinum effluunt:* *Scythia* without these Mountains is that part of the World which in their own speech is at this time called *Scythia*, and the same is boundeth in by the *Imau* Mountains, (or of *Asia*) on the West; *Sacæ* by *Sarmatia* *Africa*, (or of *Africa*) on the East; *Imau Mountains* on the North by unknown Lands: on the South by the *Sacæ* (which are the *Sacæ*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the Mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan Sea*, and by the Mouth of the same Sea as far as the Mouth of *Rha*.

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia* *Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmacia* (*que magna* *Latine* *regio est*; & *qua innumeræ* *Nationes* *confluxerunt*) *Asiæ* is a great *Regio*, comprehending innumerable *Nations*, (also *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, dth offensively warrant us that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he differeth *Sarmatia* is left from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Columbia*, *Thracia*, *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right Hand of *sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but two West bound of *Scythia*.

And for Paulus Venetus, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarorum*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow Friar Joſeph Plancarius (cited by *Venetus* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haydrusus* an *Armenian* born, of the blood of thoſe Kings. (though afterward a Monk) yet acknowledge himſelf for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races gathered: though he write many ſtory of a large, denominated by *Nicolaus Scalmus*, and (by the commandment of Pope Clement the Fifth) in the Year 1307 publiſhed.

Neither does *Muthias* at *Micbon* (a *Canon* of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Africa*, find *America* any way within the compals of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no Man (whose *travels* are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he berueth that ancient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains *Rhiphaei* and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Rivers of *Tanaïs* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by an answerable experience, that there are no fountains in *verum natura*; and (indeed) that the Heads and Fountains of those famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Melcovia* known to every

Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low woody, and marlly Grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Dan*, ariseth to the South of the City of *Tula*, some twenty English Miles, out of a Lake called *Janawolow* in the great Wood *Oghienitzki* or *Tepphanowits*. *Volga*, which *Prokopy* calls *Rhe*, and the Tartars call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Podkorski*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Europe, the *Don* and the *Volga*. The River of the European *Sarmatia*. In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Rutilians, Lithuanians, Mucovians, and those adjoining, bounded on the West by the River of *Vistla*, the name perchance misprinted *Vistula* for *Vijula*, a River which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East Border he nameth *Tanais* or *Dan*. *Sarmatia Aplica* he cutteth from Europe by the fame River of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to withhold it from stretching farther East: this *Asiatic Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which the *Prokopy* calleth *Scythia intra Imum montem*, *Scyth* is within the Mountain Imans. And the fame *Mathias* *Baruch* former affirms, that the *Scythians* (which the *Frier Amius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aplica* it self above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words. *Conflat eam esse gentem novam, & adventivam*

partibus orientis, (*partibus orientis*) *paucis plus obsequiis*, (*paucis plus obsequiis*) *tracens amnis asia* *Sea ma i m* (*scilicet*) *ius*. I am inclined to think that he, speaking of the Scythian Nation, meant that it is a late-planted Nation, come from the Coast of the East; *ius* whence they entered into Asia. *Sea* new signifies a little more than three hundred Years; *ius* i.e. *ius* (indeed) before that time the *Guthi* or *Pandei* inhabited *armenia* *Armenia*. And this *M. thus* lived in the Year 1515. and this his description of *armenia* was painted at *Augusta* in the Year 1506 as *Bucholzerus* in his *Choro-graphia* witnesseth. Now these *cythians* (faith he) came from the East; for, in the East it was that the *rkof Noab* resided; and the *Scythe* Sea were those People which lived at the North Foot of those Mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with the great *Imani*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia* and *Scybia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*; but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East foot of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Araxes*) between *Taurus* and *Taurus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Araxes*, or *Scythia* *Araxes* which *Armenia* placeth in *armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of Europe?

†. VIII.

*The fifth Argument, The Vine must grow natural
near the place where the Ark rested.*

TO this if we add the consideration of this part of the Text, *Tha: Nsah planted a Vine* yard, we shall find that the Fruit of the Vine of Raisin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Art* was supposed to be for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italy* and *France* and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: y^e

Sig. Har-
berstein;

Craton
calch
this Riv
wisam,
Niger, Dr
vama,
Pon. Ind
Vijala, c
Plix. Vi
fillas.

e- *Servins*
 ht *Acid.*
 ea *Entropi*
 at

at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy* there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpi*, near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drank Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabit that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Strabo* from elsewhere into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* travelled not to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation there 'of is remembered, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his Children : and the first thing he did was to till the Ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his Sacrifice and thanks-giving to God; and wheresoever the Vine was sowed, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth now appear that he travelled far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a Wanderer.

† IX

Answer to an Objection out of the words of the Text
The Lord scattered them from thence upon the
face of the whole Earth.

And that all the Children of *Noah* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appear, saying that it may be inferred out of these words [*from thence*] because it is written: *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered the people that dwelt there, and the Tower which they had builded (to wit) *Tower* that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sibylla* (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together in *Shinar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum* (some edificaverunt altissimam, quasi per eam celum efficerent); Certain of them built a most high Tower, if they meant thereby to have builded the *Heaven*.

†. X.

An answer to the Objection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of Hills there.

But before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what Reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the Ark of Noah was taken by the waters on the Mountains of Armenia. For the Text hath only these words: The Ark came on (or upon) the Mountains of Ararat or Armenia: the marginal note of the Geneva, the Chaldee Paraphrast call it *Kardu*; of which the highest is the Name of *Lubar*. *Idit* Epiphanius. Now Ararat (which the *Spiragiden* do not convert all, but keep the same word) is taken to be the Mountain of Armenia, because Armenia it had anciently that name: so as first out of the north and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceed all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark first came thereon.

But these Suppositions have no foundation, neither is *Ararat* alone, neither any part, or any of those Mountains of stature to many other Mountains of the World.

yet it does not follow, that the Ark itself, on the high-
 ly difficult Mountain of *Ararat*, was left on; for the
 Plate of *Ararat* was discovered, before *Noah* came
 out of the Ark. Now if there were any agreement
 among Writers of this *Ararat*; and that they
 did not differ altogether therein, we might
 give more credit to the conceit. For in the books
 of the *Sibylls*, it is written, that the Mountains of
Ararat are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was suppos'd
 that the Ark floated after the Flood. And the
 better to particularize the place and fear of the
 Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and
 not *Armenia*, they are placed where the City of
Calene was afterward built. Likewise in the famous
 description the maketh mention of *Marjyas*, a River
 which runneth through Part of *Phrygia*; and af-
 terward joyneth it self with the River *Mäander*
 which is far from the Gordian Mountains in
Armenia. We may also find a great milti-
 tude in *Jofephus*, (though out of *Berosus*, who is
 in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Jo-
 sephus* lets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*,
 toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that
 in the Province of *Coron* by others *Karac*, and
Arnos, is called by reason that the *Nar* or
 from thence no defecent, nor ill-taste, the peo-
 ple vaunt that they had the best of water, re-
 ceiv'd from pieces of *Naxos*. But *Parthia* touch-
 eth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordered
Adiabene, the Province of *Alyria*: so that all
Armenia was a part of *Alyria* is between *Parthia* and
Armenia. Now whereas the discovery of the
 Mountains *Gordius* was first borrowed out of
Berosus by *Jofephus*; yet the Text which *Jofephus*
 citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words
 of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and down
 in these days, fet out by *Aquinas*. For *Berosus* citeth
 by *Jofephus* hath these words: *Fertur et naviga-
 bujus pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiarum super
 quos vice Amalei loci bujus homines sui Silem
 (which is) It is reported also that a part of his Ship
 yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordian Moun-
 tains; and that divers do scape from it in
 Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, it
 is itself instead of an Amulet. But Ammii his Edition
 of the fragment of *Berosus* useful these words.
 Nave abat aquis in Gordia Montis vertice quovis, capi-
 aduc dicunt aliqui pars esse, et homines ex illa bitumen
 tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem: For the
 whole Ark being lifted up by the Waters, refled on
 part of the Gordian Mountains, of which it is report-
 ed that some parts remain, and that men do carry
 of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice thereby. So as
 these two Texts (besides the difference of words,
 the name is diversly written). The Ancient *Bero-*
 writes *Cordias* with a *c*, as the Fragment *Cordi-*
 with a *G*: *z* which is the Bitumen is used
 a Prefervative against Poylon or Inchantment
 the other in Sacrifice; And if it be said that they
 agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither
 of them, of certain knowledge, nor from a
 approved Author: for one of them useth a
 and *feritur* [the other *dicunt*] the one that *is*
 is reported: the other, that *it is said*; and both
 by Hearsay, and therefore of no authority nor
 credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Histori-
 as wise men neither report after it, nor give cred-
 to any thing they receive from it.*

Furthermore, these Mountains which *Armeny* calls *Gordisei*, are not those Mountains which he himself giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth Mountains of *Armenia Moscovici*. These be his o words : *Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Mosce appellantur, qui protendantur usq ad superjacentem par*

Parti

Pontus Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Mofchici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the hill which is called Paryardes; which Mountains Pliny calleth Paryardes; and both which lie to the North of Gordias or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the Gordian Mountains in 39. and a half: from the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkey, do still remain Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountains of Gordias, otherwith Baris Kardu or Labar, (which Pliny calleth Tyrgidian) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

† XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

For the best Cosmographers with others, that have seen the Mountains of Armenia, find them far inferior, and under-let to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elsewhere: as the Mountain Aibor between Macedonia and Thracia, which Pliny calls Olympus, now called Lucas, (saith Casalsus) is far surpassing any Mountain that ever hath been seen in Armenia: for it calleth shade three hundred Furlongs; which is seven and thirty Miles and upwards: of which Plutarch. Athos admirat laeva Lemnia bovis, Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos. Also the Mount of Olympus in Thessalia, is said to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of Amandus in Mysia, not far from Ida, whence the River Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a far more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seen from Constantinople. There are also in Mauritania near the Sea, the famous Mountains of Atlas, of which Herodotus. Extat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis effunditur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint: Upon this Coast there is a Mountain called Atlas, whose height is said to be such as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may believe Aristotle, then are all these inferior to Caucasus, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height. Caucasus Mons omnium maximus, qui sitivum ad erum sunt, acmine atque latitudine, cuius iuga a Sole radiantur usque ad continem ab ortu: & sternum ab occasu. Caucasus (saith Aristotle) is the greatest Mountain both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lighted by the Sun-beams, usque ad continem (which is, saith Macrobius) between the first crowing after Midnight and the break of Day: Others affirm that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either: for the highest Mountain of the World known, is that of Teneriff in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Suns company at any such late hours. Besides, these Mountains which Aristotle calleth Caucasus, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucasus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Libania, from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the River of Phasis riseth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those

hills which funder Colchis from Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea two Degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trapezunda) howsoever Mercator bring it from Paryardes.

† XII.

Of divers incongruities, if in this Story we should take Ararat for Armenia.

So as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain Ararat was: for the books of the Sibyls set it in Phrygia; and Baris in Armenia: and as for Berosus's authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that Baris was the highest hill, and therefore most likely that the Ark grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many hills which exceed all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in Armenia, or in *verum natura*, as Baris: for Baris (saith Hierome) signifieth high Towers: and so may all high hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of Baris to the hills of Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) than to any hills of Armenia. For those of Caucasus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains Gordias stand: for Pliny distinguisheth the Mountains of Armenia from the Gordian, and calleth those of Armenia Mofchici and Paryardes, as afore said. Now Paryardes is seated near the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West-side riseth Euphrates, and out of the East-side Araxes: and the Mountains Mofchici are those hills which disjoin Colchis, Iberia, and Libania (now the Country of the Georgians) from Armenia.

† XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvel that the same ledge of hills running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.

Lastly, we must blow up this Mountain Ararat: it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of Armenia; or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (with all) set it East from Shinar: or else we shall wound the truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand that Ararat (named by Moses) is not any one Hill, lo called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountains which divide Italy from France, is called the Alps: or any one among those which part France from Spain is the Pyrenian; but as these being continuations of the Pyrenian; as in divers Countries: so many Hills keep one name in divers Countries: for all that long ledge of Mountains, which Pliny calleth by one name Taurus, and Pliny both Taurus, Niphates, Caucasus, Coronus, Saripsis, until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great Immau, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains.

Pliny it is his definition of Lycia, l. 5. c. 27.

Mountains of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabouts they seem to arise. So all these Mountains of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coronus, Capis, Mofchici, Amasani, Hemochi, Scythici, (thus diversly called by Pliny and others) Pliny calleth by one name Caucasus, lying between the Seas Caspian and Euxinus: as all those Mountains which cut afunder Armenia, even from the new Kingdom of Graxado, to the Stright of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these Mountains of Ararat run East and West: so do those marvellous Mountains of Immau stretch themselves North and South: and being of like extent, well near, are called by the name of Immau, and Moses Pliny calleth these former Hills Taurus, and Moses the Hills of Ararat. The reason of several names given by Pliny was thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and disfigure; as Armenia, Melopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persia, Parthia, Carmania, Aria, Bactriana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paropamisus: having all these Kingdoms either on the North or South-side of them. For all the Mountains of Asia (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) Taurus, Immau, and Caucasus; and they receive other Titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which funder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the less on the North-side, are called Taurus; and those Mountains which part it from Carmania (a Province of Syria) are called Amanus: the Mountains called Taurus running East and West, as Immau doth North and South. Through Tauru to the River of Euphrates forceth her passage, leaving the name of Amanus to the Mountains on her West-bank; and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of Taurus, (as in Pliny's three Tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates: (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound Armenia from Melopotamia: and after the River of Tigris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, until they separate Assyria and Media; but then they call themselves Costrus, though between the upper and nether Media, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media, they are not found, but run through the Eastern Media by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves Orontes, and towards the East-part Coronus; out of the Southern-part whereof the River of Bagyrus riseth, which divideth the ancient Persia from Carmania; and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they give to the Persians and Hyrcanians their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of Saripsis, out of which riseth the River Margus, afterward yielding her self to Oxus: (now Asia) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the Title of Paropamisus, and lastly of Caucasus, even where the famous River of Indus with his principal Companions Hydaspes and Zerandrus spring forth, and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called Immau, of Scythia, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37 Degrees of Latitude, and in 140 of Longitude, of the which the West-parts are now called Delamager, and the rest Nigracus; and these Mountains in this place only are properly called Caucasus (saith Pliny) that is, between Paropamisus and Immau: and improperly, between the two Seas of Caspian and Persia.

† XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South-side of the Mountains Caucasus, and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the Soil.

NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River Janus, and the Mountain Nyseus (so called of Bacchus Nyseus or Nax) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the World did Coropis Becanus conceive that the Ark of Noah grounded after the Flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoprobica* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical Opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth; that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36 Degrees of Septentrional Latitude are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in Judea, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana, and under these Mountains; Strabo affirmeth that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of Palestine, where the Searchers of the Land by Moses direction found Bunches of equal bigness at Eshcol.

Nam. 13. 24

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, Currius witteetheth. For in Margiana, near the Mountain of Meros, did Alexander feast himself and his Army ten days together, finding therein the most delicate Wine of all other.

† XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief Points.

AND therefore to conclude this Opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse Armenia: yea, and Armenia it self sometime is known by the name of Ararat. But as Pliny giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from Cilicia to Paropamisus and Caucasus, the name of Taurus: and as the Hills of France and Germany are called the Alps: and all between France and Spain the Pyrenies: and in America the continuation of Hills for 3000 Miles together, the Andes: so was Ararat the general name which Moses gave them; the diversity of Appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entrench by Gibraltar, the Mediterranean and inland Sea; and yet where it waltheth the Coasts of Caribage, and over again it is called Tyrrhenum: between Italy and Greece, Ionian: from Venice to Durazzo Adriaticum: between Athens and Asia Aegaeum: between Sefus and Abydos Hellespont: and afterward Pontus, Propontis, and Bosporus. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland called Ducale-domyum: and on this side, the Brittan Sea: to the East, the Germane and Ballick, and then the Frozen.

For a final end of this Question we must appeal to that Judge which cannot err, even to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction

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than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plain, (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our selves any new or strange expolition; and (withal) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the Testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as S. Augustine hath taught us touching the Gospel of Christ Jesus (which is) *Neque aliter accipias, quod (narrantibus discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legitur, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexeris. That no Man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel, (the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very Hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own Body, setting it down.*

Gen. 2. 11. The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these: *And as they went from the East they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and there they abode,*

Gen. 2. 12. which proveth without controversy, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinar*; and therefore the Ark of *Noah* rested and took Land to the Eastward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places whereof *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, he always precisely nameth toward what Quarters of the World the same were seated: as where he teacheth the Plantation of *Josiah*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cain's* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And*

Gen. 4. 16. *Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden:* And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from

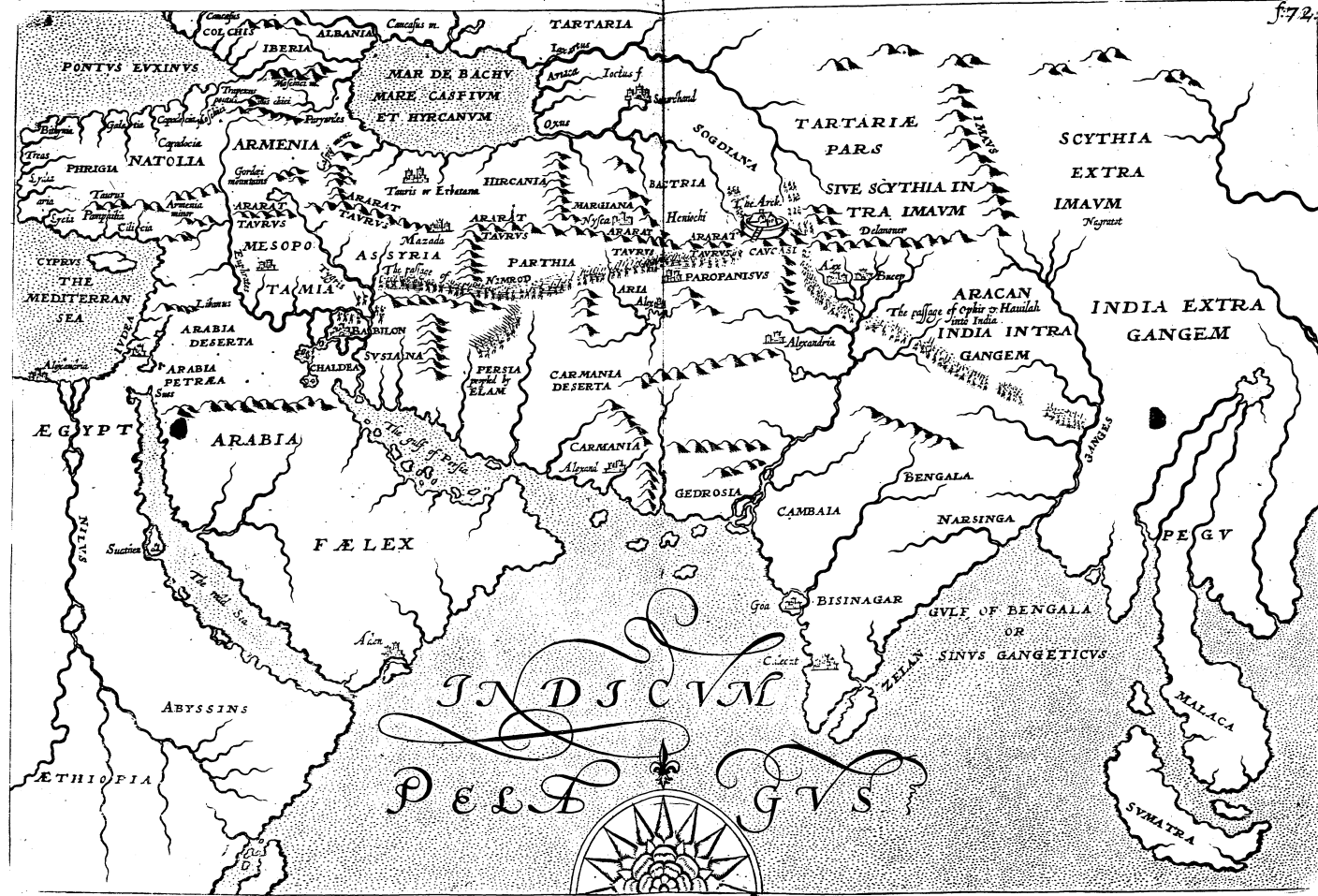
Gen. 12. 8. *Sechem*, he useth these words: *Afterwards removing thence into a mountain Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: having Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East:* and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written:

Ex. 38. 5. *And Abraham went forth journeying towards the South: also when Ezekiel prophesied of Gog and Magog, he sheweth that these Nations of Togarma were of the North Quarters: and of the Queen of Saba it is written, That she came from the South to visit*

Math. 2. 42. *Salomon:* And the *Magi* (or wise men) came out of the East to offer presents unto Christ. And that all Regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the Compas and Quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Judea*, *Saba* South from *Jerusalem*; and the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Caldeyrians*, the *Tubians* and *Magezians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palastina*: and so of the rest.

But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the East, nor so near unto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it self; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose Hands the Holy Ghost directed) that he erred into *caelo*, and that he knew

not East from West. For the Body of *Armenia* standeth in forty three Degrees Septentrional, and the North-part thereof in forty five; and those *Gordian* Mountains, whereon it was supposed that the Ark rested, stand in forty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinar* are situated in thirty five, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between East and West) the *Gordian* Mountains stand in 75 Degrees, and the Valley of *Shinar* in 79 and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinar* North-west, ninety five Degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compas. But *Gregory* and *Hieronymus* warn us, *In scripturis ne minima differentia amittenda sit: nam singuli sermones, syllaba, apostrophus & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus.* In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every Speech, Syllable, Note, or Accent, and Point in Divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the Children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little Authority) who also speak by hearsay and by report, *Ut fertur, & no dicunt*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinar* lieth West from the place where the Ark of *Noah* rested after the Flood; and therefore it first found Ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first Civil, which had *Noah* himself for an Instructor: and directly East from *Shinar* in the same Degree of 35 are the greatest Grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which overtopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other Opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my self, I build on his words who in plain terms hath told us, that the Sons of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark rest on those Eastern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountains of the North-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm East where *Noah* rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the Ground, and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua (Id est Adamath) (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est.* The Study of Husbandry pleased *Noah* (saith the excellent learned Man *Arian Montanus*) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that *Noah* excelled all Men: and therefore was he called in his own Language, a Man exercised in the Earth. Which also sheweth that he was no wanderer: and that he troubled not himself with the contentions, beginning again in the World, and among Men, but staid in his destined places, and in that part of the World, where he was first delivered out of the Prison of the Ark, whereto God had committed him to preserve him and Mankind.



C H A P. VIII.

Of the first Planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the Earth was re-peopled.

§. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder than Japhet.

OF these Sons of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a Question made. *S. Augustine* esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japhet for the youngest: and herein the Opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in Years, but in Vertue, as by the examples of *Henech*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the Controversie: The *Latin* Translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these words: *Unto Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and elder Brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and Brother of Japhet, the eldest Son were children born.* So the transposition of the word [elder] made this difference. For if the word [elder] had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for Japhet, as it is by these Translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods Blessings are not tied to first and last in Blood, but to the eldest in Piety, yet the Arguments are stronger for Japhet than for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any Man of Judgment should make valuation of conjectural Arguments, or Mens Opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the five hundredth Year of his Life, begat the first of his three Sons, *Shem, Ham, and Japhet*: and in the six hundredth Year (to wit) the hundredth Year following, came the general Flood; two Years after which Shem begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the Year 602. of Noah's Life, and in the Year of Shem's Life one hundred: so as Shem was but 100 Years old, two Years after the Flood: and Noah begat his first-born being 500 Years old; and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then been a hundred Years old at the Flood, and in the six hundredth Year of Noah's Life, and not two Years after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembered hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him (to wit) Ham; of necessity the first place doth belong to Japhet.* This younger son so converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *Filius minimus, his youngest Son*; but *S. Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second Brother, and Japhet the youngest Son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the preeminency of his Birth, as *Esaie* and *Reuben* did. *Perrinus* conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest; but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative Degree. It is true that Shem

himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, Shem is accounted before Japhet: in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the Issue by Shem, and reciteth the Children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his Election and Benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew Nation, *Abraham*, the Prophets, *David*, and Christ our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar, *Paginus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this Conversion, *Shem frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tremellius*, *Shem frater Japhet major*; or with *Perrinus*, *Shem frater Japhet ille major*: inferring that Shem was the great and famous Brother of Japhet, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that Japhet was the eldest. For where *Perrinus* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, that Shem's age at the time of the Flood did not agree with his elderhip (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that Shem was an hundred years old, and begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood; and again in the 12th Verse, *So Shela lived after he begat Ebor, four hundred and three years, &c.* So as the number of two Years, of three Years, of five Years, and afterward of two Years were always precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all Reason are to be presumed, touching the first Planting of the World, as that all Histories must yield to Moses: that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the known great Lords of the first Ages were of the Issue of Ham.

BUT let us go unto the Worlds Plantation after the Flood, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many Nations have suppled or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approached the Bonds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the Sons and Issues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the World was also peopled. And if any Prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures are. For so far as the Story of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the Truth and Antiquity of the Books of God find no Companions equal, either in Age or Authority. All Record, Memory, and Testimony of Antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the

August. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 3.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 11. 24.

Gen. 11.

knowledge of Men, the fame hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which this writeth *Ephraim* in the *Prose* of his Chronology. *Moses is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan War; and far before Hercules, Musaeus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Callio, Pollux, Ascalaphus, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, the rest of the Gods of the Nations; their Ceremonies, or Holy Rites, or Prophecies; and before all the dead of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Towers of their Divinity.*

Cicero de nat. Dierum, l. 3.

For of the three *Jupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the Son of *Aether*, whose three Sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athenis*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King; and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the Children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*. *Educius Moses* populum *Regis ex Aegyptio novissimo tempore Cecrops Atheniensis* Regis; *Moses* brought the Children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*, in the last days of *Cecrops* King of the Athenians, faith *Strabo*; and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the City itself, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversely proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand by alleging many Authorities, in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

De Civitate Dei, l. 12. c. 11.

The Sons of Japhet were	{	Gomer.	{	The Sons of Gomer were	{	<i>Ashkenaz.</i> <i>Ephath.</i> <i>Togorma.</i>
				The Sons of	{	<i>Elipha.</i> <i>Tarfhis.</i> <i>Kuim</i> <i>Dadanim.</i>

First, we are to consider that the World after the Flood was not planted by Imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* Wings, to fly from *Shinar* to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these Children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the World before the Flood, to which he disposed his Children after it, and sent them not as Discoverers, or at all adventure, but assigned and allotted to every Son and their Illes, their proper Parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorify their own Nations; *Let us* build herein upon the Scriptures themselves, and after them upon Reason and Nature. First, therefore we must call to mind and consider, what manner of Face the Earth every where had in the 130. Year after the great Inundation, and by comparing those fruitless Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our selves thereby, what wonderful Defarts, what impassable fastnesses of Woods, Reeds, Bryars and rotten Grafs, what Lakes, and standing Pools, and what Marshes, Fens, and Bogs, all the Face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pestered withal. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the Year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty Years these our Grounds would all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods or with other offensive Thickets and Buhments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reeds, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitful Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having

withal the start of 130. Years, to raise themselves without contrivance.

This being considered, it will appear, that all these People which came into *Shinar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength took the Dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People disperse themselves into the Regions adjoining to the said Valley of *Shinar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, and from the Borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possessed; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his inheritance on the fuddain, but by time and Degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true Inceffor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) hereafter at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the Death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*; and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those People by *Nimrod* commanded inhabited for many Years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed the great Masters of Nations, (as far as we can know) were, in that Age of the Illes of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking less effect, until divers Years were consumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the People, and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Aegypt* for many descents together.

§. 111.

Of the Illes of the Gentiles in Japhet's portion: of Berofus his too speedy leaving Gomer the Son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhet's Sons Tubal in Spain: and of the Antiquity of longinque Navigation.

TO begin therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Illes of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to *Japhet's* Sons as to the rest which came into birth (as if the division were made at *Phaet's* birth) in the Year of the World 1357. or 1738. and (by that account) in the Year after the Flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Illes of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe* with all the Illes adjoining, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the *Sea Hellespont* and *Aegeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is (in effect) surrounded with Water, having that it is fastened to *Asia* by the North; for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and South-West, the Ocean to the West, and *British*, *Germane* and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-East, and North-West. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Illes lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Illes of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Cret* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Cerfeia*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Illes of *Brittain* and *Zeland*, with their young ones adjacent.

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This partition and portion of *Japhet*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great; and whereto that blessing of God by *Noah*. *Dilecti Dei Japheth*, *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) *Japheth*, and let him dwell in the *Tentis* of Shem. For though *Japhet* here useth the word [*allicius*] and not *dilectus*; and the *Gentius* persuade; yet the *Septuagint* have dilated or amplified; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a Blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not only an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of God's Church. But to come to *Japhet's* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Amnius*, whose Authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth Year of *Nimrod's* Reign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted Italy: which also *Faustulus* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo Nimrod's*, &c. In the tenth Year of *Nimrod's* Reign, *Gomer* called *Gallus* planted a Colony in that Land afterwards called Italy: and in the twelfth Year of the same *Nimrod's* reign *Tubal* planted himself in *Asturia* in Spain (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140. and in the 142. Years after the Flood, according to *Berosus*. For before the confusion of Tongues the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinar*. Let us therefore consider with Reason, what time the building such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Faustulus* himself out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth, *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*, to the height and magnitude of the Mountains. Sure that both this City and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witness. But the Lord came down to see the City and Tower, which the Sons of Men builded. Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a work, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal Flood covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; Let us build us a City and a Tower (saith *Nimrod*) whose top may reach unto the Heaven: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the World: as by the great ruin which these waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of *Babylon* in these Words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial Foundation, for so high a raised Building on a marshy Ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Gensis* giveth forty Years. For it seemeth, that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted

Gen. 9. 27.

Fast. Crenel.

Gen. 11. 11.

that till such time as this Confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) the Nations did not disperse themselves; for from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one another's speech. Now to think that this work in the newness of the World (wanting all Instruments and Materials) could be performed in ten Years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same Year could creep through 3000. Miles of Defart, with Women, Children, and Cattle: let those light believers, that neither they themselves to the Scripture, nor to Reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 120. Years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. Years, it were more foolishest and maddest itself, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the Flood was from the Flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this Building there; had but 131. Years; and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping Hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that work 400. Years (or but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of Materials and Carriages: This work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few Years remembered. And for conclusion, let all Men of judgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of Men, with their Wives and Children, and Cattle, to travel 3000. Miles through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Work of 100. Years than of 100. Days. For in the West-Indies of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they have not entered the Country ten Miles in ten Years. And if *Nimrod's* People spent many Years by the account before remembered in passing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, until they came into *Shinar*, which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. Miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the Body of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. to the length of way from *Shinar* to *Assyria*, or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of Miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers Years to find *Shinar*, which was but 2160. Miles: or (supposing that the Ark rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 Miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many Years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000 Miles to Countries less known unto them by far; than the Land of *Shinar* was unto *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what he understood of most part of the World else it is unknown. And therefore did *Amnius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in Italy, and *Tubal* in Spain, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrod's* Reign: Shall the Earth be brought forth in one Day, or shall a Nation be born at once? But it may be objected, that the Sons of *Japhet* might come by Sea, and so save this great Travail through Defarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those Days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque to great a People as we may justly suppose those Conductors carried

Gen. 1. 5. 6.

K 2

with

the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derecto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezekiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eighth Chapter, and behold he joyneth together *Gog*, *Mefech*, and *Tubal*: and withal remember that *Herapulus* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Tubal*: with whom also *Ezekiel* completh *Gomer*, and all his Bands of the North Quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these followers and Vallads of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Tubal*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a People of the latter *Asia*, and *Cathysia*: and therefore that the Opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whoever else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to later times, and think that some Colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit from that piece of Land between *Colechia* (or *Mengyria*) and *Albania*: (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his Judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of Opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these People might from their first Habitation pass into the Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after Ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Tubolus*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Iustine*) they passed into *Spain* to search out the Mines of that Region: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Country and mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them.

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferræ venas scindit sub montibus ævis:
Merchibus hæc vivunt, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren Soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For Merchandise, which their poor Lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first Peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to repopulate it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the Straights into that Country; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granada*, and the South parts eight hundred Years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these Opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth Year of *Nimrod's* Reign, *Tubal* pass into *Spain*, and therein built *S. Vadal*: a poor Town, and poor Device, God knows. Certain it is that we must find *Mefech* or *Mefech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mefech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their Affiliants. And that *Mefech* inhabited *Asia*, *Famulus* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words. *Mefacus*, qui à Mese Mefech, præfatus Mefech ad Audula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vult Mazaca, &c. hæc est terra Magog principalis: Mefacus, whom Moses calleth Mefech, placed the ancient Medians from the Mount Audulas, unto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Town Mazaca, &c. this is the principal Country of Magog. Add this doth *Amnius* also avow, and

yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mefech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and North from *Tubal*. Also *Ezekiel* in the 27 Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mefech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final Proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38 Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much People with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude and a mighty*. Then if any Man believe that these Troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and embarked again about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known World, he may be called a strong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that *Selenicus* was a Province neighbouring *Paphlagonia* or *Tudaea*, and that *Herapulus* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, (namely the *Selenicus*), and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet possessed *Syria* till the time of *Antiochus*: and whether *Helech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First he feared himself with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the Borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long track of time his valiant issue filled all *Germany*, reigned long in *France* and *Britain*, and possessed the utmost Borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as *Amelambus* well notes) the signification of their Parents Name, which is *Utmost Bordering*. But when these Borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might congregate their swelling Multitudes, that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they return upon the Nations, occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the People more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, Mr. *William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signify Robbers; Necessity forcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their Original they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the Seas which they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the Authority of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following they purified richer Conquests, and more ease though further distant, by which (to omit their other Enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those Parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitors. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any Man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in later Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far Parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samoth* (for his excellent Wisdom firmaned *Di*) whom *Amnius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of

Japhet's Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: for *Famulus* a great *Berosian* confesseth: *Quis hic Samothis fuerit incertum est: Vbi hic Samothis was is is uncertain*; neither is their any proof that he was that same *Di*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to be their Ancestor; yea and *Vigier* confesseth with *Famulus*: *Mai on ne sçait qui il étoit: No Man knows who he was*.

§. V.

Against the fabulous Fictions his Fiction. That the Italian Janus was Noah.

BUT before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Amnius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath commented: as the fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinus* and others. For *Amnius* seeks to persuade us, that *Noah* (firmaned *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92 Years. This to disprove, by *Moses's* silence, is a sufficient Argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalce* and *Nimrod* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a Man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92 Years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the Authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Amnius* ground, seeing so many learned Men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Affrian* in his Oration against the *Greeks* avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three Books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Selenicus Nicanor*: But *Amnius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Affrians*, *Amnius* hath filled this fragment with the business of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Amnius*, then all the Kings of the *Latins* (before *Æneas*) continued but 150 Years: whereas no Man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas's* arrival into *Italy* there pass 1226 (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Columas*) 1291.

For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Boaz*, in the World Year (as some reckon) 2717, after the Flood 1064, and *Noah* died 350 Years after the Flood: and so there pass between *Janus* of *Italy* and *Noah* firmaned *Janus* 704 Years. For *Satanus* succeeded *Janus*, *Pleus* after *Satanus*, *Famulus* after *Pleus*, and *Latinius* followed *Famulus*: which *Latinius* lived at once with *Tatianus* the 27th King of *Affrica*: with *Palagius* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophon* of *Athenz*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now all these five Kings of the *Latins* having consumed but one hundred and fifty Years; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty Year, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Dencalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the Children of *Janus*, the fourth Son of *Japhet*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Janan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Sepmagine* *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Madet*, whom

they make the Parent of the *Meds*, though they were defended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*.

Lastly we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained among us above 2000 Years, and the *English* Speech ever since the Invasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Syrian* (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the same *Greecian Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the Fall of *Troy* but 150 Years, (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinius* the fifth King: which also *S. Augustine* and *Justine* confirm: and this agreeth with Reason, Time, and Possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camelena*) the Wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latins* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their idolatrous and heathenish Ceremonies) there is no Man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself, (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just Man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the True and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any Heathen Salvage, or Idolatrous Adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

§. VI.

That *Gomer* also and his Son *Togorma* of the Posterity of *Japhet* were first seated about *Asia* the less: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe: and Northward into *Sarmatia*.

TO turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Nations Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied to great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the near Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was yet desart and overgrown with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South-part of *Chaldea*, down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* near the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same River get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Cush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the Children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and staid not in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the Seed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation

(victorious)

victorious. *Havilah*, the Brother of *Nimrod*, and Son of *Cush*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, especially on the East-side of the River: by which River his People might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial Seat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Sufian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusian*, afterward *Sufa*. *Cush* himself took the Banks of *Gihon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-west towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Defart, where *Plutony* placeth the City of *Chus*, first *Chus*.

Seba, and *Sheba* with the rest that planted *Arabia Felix*, had *Tygris* to convey them into the *Persian Gulf*, which walleth the Banks of *Arabia Felix* on the East-side: so as those Sons of *Cush* might take Land down the River as they pleased. Also the City of *Nimrod* was by *Nimrod* founded on the City of *Nimrod*: and from thence a Colony past to *Chus*, standing also upon a Navigable branch of *Chus*. In like manner did *Yaphet*'s Sons settle themselves together, and took their Seats in *Asia* the less from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Isles of the Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, late down first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phoenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his Children past on into *Asia* the less, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalians* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the less, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Heraclitus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greek* called *Galatia*, to whom *S. Paul* wrote his Epistle, fo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the Mountains above *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took Appellation from this Nation, in the outlet whereof was also a City of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Carthagen*; but *Carthagen* was a Town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthy Waters, favouring of Brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the Water of the Lake *Lavicus*.

The Children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Melchians* were Neighbours, who then wrote *Melch*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Melch* and *Tubal*. For these *Melch* (which *Pliny* calleth *Melch*) inhabit *Syria* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Melch*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Melch*, and the Mountains *Pariares*: out of whose North-part springeth the River *Phasis*; from the East-part *Araxes*; and from the West *Eufrates*: the cities of this *Melch* are defended also the *Melcovians* (saith *Melanchthon*) and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Melch* (saith *Melanchthon*) signifieth extends, enlarging or stretching forth. *Togorma* also at first did inhabit amongst his Parents and Kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblis*, a People neighbouring the *Sydianians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchia* of *Phoenicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent *Mafons*, which hewed Stones for the Temple of *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Togormans*, and their Cities *Togormaria*: of which

Cities *Togorma* subdued by *Lucullus* the Roman, built one. *Hyperboreanians* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*: forgetting the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrrians*. They of the house of *Togorma*, brought to thy fairs horses, and borismen, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterranean* Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by Land. But *Togorma* takes them for the Parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be in the ensuing Ages: and so might the *Tubalians* be of the *Spaniards*; but was from *Iberia*, and many hundred Years after the twelfth of *Nimrod*'s Reign. The *Yems* conceive that the Turks came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperour is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germani*. But *Laetius* affirms, that the Turks descended of the *Grim Tartar*, which borders *Moscovia*. But for these subtilties it were infinite to examine them. One of the first and second Plantations, and of the first Nations after the Flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must note, that those Grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, (or perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations can be hardly known: only their kealon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the same of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the rest. From *Medai* the third Son of *Yaphet*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Son of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Javan the fourth Son of Yaphet: and of Melch of Aram, and Melch of Japhet.

OF Javan the fourth Son of *Yaphet* came the *Ionians*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*; and so the Latin and Greek Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Isaiah*. *Et mittam ex eis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italian, & Greciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece*. The *Geneva* here useth the word [*Tartar*] for *Tartar*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tartar* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Togormians* and the *Genevians* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of these *Ionians* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Argives*, or Men without Ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the Soil: it self: who abounding in People, sent Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Ionians* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*; but the Antiquity of *Javan* mars the Fallacy of that supposition: who so many Years preceded *Xuthus*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thessaly* with all his Fathers Treasure, and his Brothers Portions, and arriving at *Athena*, he was graciously received by *Erichon*, who gave him his Daughters in Marriage; of whom he received two Sons, *Ion*, and *Achaeus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*. For *Africa* was called *Ionica* (saith *Plutarch* in the Life of *Thucydides*) who, when he had joyed *Megara* to *Athena*, erected a Pillar in that *Stoa*: or *Stoa*, which extended *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: witheth on that part which looketh towards the East, these

these words. *Non sunt Peloponnesus, aff. Ionia*. These Countries are not *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*; and on the other side which looketh towards the South and into *Peloponnesus*; this. These parts are *Peloponnesus*, and not *Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecataeus* affirmeth, that the *Ionians* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former Opinion: That the *Ionians* of *Greece* transported certain Companies into *Asia* the less, and the Name of *Ionians* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this Conjecture of *Hecataeus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet I am that *Asia* the less had People before *Babylonia* into *Greece*, that *Javan* did not file from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence past over the narrow way, leaving his own Name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the Name from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the Opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers Years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their own) deride and disprove their Pride, and Vanity therein. For this Dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justin* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the Reign of *Nimrod*, and was long before the Name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops*'s time the *Greeks* were all Salvages without Law or Religion, living like brute Beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith *St. Augustine*) lived together with *Melch*.

The sixth Son of *Yaphet* was *Melch*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Melch*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Melch* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that between *Melch* the Son of *Aram*, and *Melch* (or *Melch*) the Son of *Yaphet*, there is a little difference in the Name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Melch*, the Son of *Aram* *Mel*; the *Geneva* *Melch*; *Junius* *Melch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120 Psalm, that either *Melch* the People, or gave Name to that Province wherein *David* hid himself; or else (which may rather seem) that it took Name from *Melch* the Son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his Exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words. *Wo is me that I remain in Melch, and dwell in the Tent of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus. *Heimichi quia peregrinus tam diu: habitio rangelam Scythia Kedarum*. The *Septuagint* gives it this Sense. *Wo is me because my Habitation (or Abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the Latin agreeeth. *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldee* agreeeth, and in these words, *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Aferis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Aferum*: O wretch, that I am, for I have travelled among those of *Afia*: I have dwelt in the Tabernacle of the *Arabians*. But howsoever or which soever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia petraea*; and the *Chaldeans* puteth *Afia* in stead of *Melch*; but the *Hebrew* is self both *Melch*. And if it be to

be taken for a Nation, as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the Name of a Nation) seeing *Melch* the Son of *Aram*, a *Chaldee* is called *Melch*. It is indifferent whether this Nation took Name from *Melch* or *Melch*, both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezekiel* makes *Melch* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Melch* out of the word *Melch* (given by the *Septuagint*), to be the *Melcovians*: sure they presume much upon the affinity of Names, as afore said. And I am that *David* never travelled far North; (for to him *Mosovia* was utterly unknown) but about the Border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of *Samir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Melch* the Father of the *Melcovians*: and herein also *Melanchthon* runs with the Tide of common Opinion, and lets *Melch* in *Mosovia*, though with some better advice of Judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120 Psalm, [*His mihi quod exulo in Melch*] to signify, *genis ejus feriatum infirmum esse*; that the Ferity of that Nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality of the *Melcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the same Ferity or Cruelty which those Northern *Melcovians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedar*. For this Country took Name of *Kedar* the 120 Psalm, second Son of *Yaphet*, of whom a People of equal fierceness to any of the World were begotten, both in thole times and long after, even to this day, (if the *Arabians*, *Ymaliates*, and *Saraceni* may be accounted one People:) the same being foretold by the speech of the Angel to *Maaz*, *Gen. 16. v. 12*. And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man hand against him. Now *Arabia* the Defart (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochles* on the East, and the *Cedraei* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathaei*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Melch*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighbouring *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did joyn to *Melch*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the less, commanded by the Successors of *Salem*, enemies of the Re-establishment of *Israel* and *Juda*. But as (I have already said) it might well be, that long after the first Plantation the issue of *Melch* (or *Melch*) might pass into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hircania*, and give Names, both to *Mazaga* in the one, and to the Mountains *Melch* in the other, and from thence might fend People more Northerly into *Mosovia*: and so to all Opinions favored. But all salvage Nations overgrown and uncultivated, do (for the most part) shew a late Plantation, even as *Civilty*, Letters, and magnificent Buildings, witness Antiquity.

Thus the seventh Son of *Yaphet*, which *Montanus* reckons among the Sons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Josephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the World *Tarat* people, the Conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of Dispute. It followeth now to speak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three:

{
Askenaz,
Riphath,
and
Togorma.
}

in a far less Island (did of necessity send his People farther off; and keeping amongst the Coast, and finding *Yafephus* in the possession of *Ethiopia*, he called a little farther on the Westward, and planted in *Ephraim*. And though the City of *Dadane* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dadane* himself, yet his Posterity might give it that name in memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noah's* Children, and Grand-Children; not in all places by themselves, but by their Successors many Years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his Children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japhet* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javan's* Brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mefech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chus* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the Sons of *Chus* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled Southward in *Arabia Felix*, and Southwestward into *Arabia Petraea*: the rest of his Children holding the Regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the Brother of *Chus* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his Brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoining. The Sons of *Canaan* had their Portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the West, and the Borders of the *Mediterranean* Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

{ *Chus*,
{ *Mizraim*,
{ *Phut*, and
{ *Canaan*.

S. X.

That the seat of *Chus* the eldest Son of *Ham* was in *Arabia*, not in *Ethiopia*: and of strange Fables, and ill translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

†. I.

Of *Josephus* his Tale of an *Ethiopian's* Wife to *Moses*, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of *Cush*.

That *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm v. 51. Then *Israel* came to *Egypt*, and *Jacob* was a stranger in the Land of *Ham*: and in the 78. Psalm. He slew all the first-born in *Egypt*, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of *Ham*. There is also found a great

City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramus*; (as it were, the City of *Ham*) of which name *Hierodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chus* is the eldest Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For the manifestation hereof lets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, yet it is manifest that *Chus* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desert: which Regions *Chus* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first fate down all together. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this controversy, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nabuchodonosor's* conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, understand *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus* presuming that *Cush* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture Num. 12. v. 1. is called a Woman of *Cush*) was a Woman of the Land of *Ethiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Ethiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses's* hands. The Tale (if it be worth the telling) lyeth thus in *Josephus*. After he had defied the strength of the *Ethiopian* City *Meroe*, which he faith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words. *He cum Moses desideraret uxorem optumam egredi ferret, hostis non audente manu conficeret, rale quiddam accidit. Erat Ethiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c.* which Tale hath this sense in English. When *Moses* was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the mean while. The *Ethiopian* King had a Daughter called *Tharbis*, who at some assault given beheld the person of *Moses*, and withal admired his valor. And knowing that *Moses* had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the *Egyptians*, but had also brought the conquering *Ethiopians* to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest Servants to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; Which *Moses* on this condition entertained, that he should first deliver the City into his possession: wherunto she condescending, and *Moses* having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the Tale of *Josephus*.

This Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia*, for a City of *Ethiopia*: as he names *Ethiopia* it self to have been the Country of *Moses's* Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, Ancient and Modern, teach us, saying that the *Sabaens* are *Arabians*, and not *Ethiopians*; except *Josephus* can persuade us, that the Queen of *Saba* which came from the South to hear the Wisdom of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or Black-Moor. And though *Damianus* a *Greek* speaks of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Prester John* of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Ethiopian* King would persuade the *Portugals* that he was defended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Sisach* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who joined upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that Enterprize, as also given Aid and Succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own Obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of *Moses's* Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the Daughter of *Yethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, over against the Body of *Egypt*, and near *Sidon Gaber*, where *Salomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edam*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sin Arabicum*. For *Edom* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petraea* by the East, to the *Mediterranean* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South East. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it self, he had formerly lived forty Years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Yethro* in the *Egyptian* Learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and *St. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, Therefore *Moses* fled from *Pharaoh*, and dwelt in the Land of *Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plain as words can express, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written. When *Moses* kept the sheep of *Yethro* his Father-in-law, Priest of *Madian*, and drove the flock to the Desert, and came to the Mountain of God in *Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every Infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himself, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Josephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and Friends) neither had she the Name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was she a *Negro*, but a *Madianite*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a Stranger) defended the Daughters of *Reuel*

from the other Shepherds; and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained; by *Yethro's* Wife Daughter he married; and not for any betraying of Towns or Countries.

From hence also came *Yethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumea*, and finding the insupportable Government of such a Multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge; and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Yethro* had been an *Ethiopian*; it had been a far progress for him to have passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandered forty Years, and did by these late Travails of his seek to instruct the Children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the Milk of Idolatry, and obtinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuation or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as God directed, and grafted their Branches anew, that from thole he might receive Fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Alexandrinus Chrysostomus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sippora*: his own words have this beginning. *Manus enim Apollinaris dicit necesse habuisse Moses &c.* *Apollinaris* also lyeth in affirming that *Moses* had two Wives: and who dares not perceive these things (saith he) for it is manifest that the Wife of *Moses* was *Zippora*, Daughter to the Priest or Priesthood of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; being the same that joyneth to *Arabia*: so far *Chrysostomus*.

†. III.

Thus ill expounded for *Ethiopia*, *Ezek.* 29. 10.

NOW as *Chus* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Ethiopia*, and the Wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopia*: so in the Conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezekiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was never in *Ethiopia*. *Rebeld* (saith *Ezekiel*), speaking of the Person of this great *Affryan* I came upon thee and upon thy Rivers; and I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate; from the Tower of *Sevchen*, even to the borders of the Black-Moors: which last words should have been thus converted: From the Tower of *Sevchen* to the borders of the *Chusites* or *Arabians*: between which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Sevchen* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Sevchen* it self being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joining to *Ethiopia*, or the Land of the Black-Moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor's* Conquest had been but between *Sevchen* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did express no other Victory than the Conquest of all that Land and Country, lying between *Madagascar* and *Bruckingham*, where both the Countries join together; or all the North parts of *England*, between *Barnick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the

the former, if any Man fought to express by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: Barwick being the North border of England, as Sevenson or Syene is the South bound of Egypt: seated in Thebaida which toucheth Ethiopia. But by the words of Ezekiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonosor never entered into any part of Ethiopia, although the Sepnagim, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect) have written Ethiopia for Chush.

†. IV.

Another place of Ezekiel, c. 30. v. 9. in like manner mistaken.

AND as the former, so is this place of Ezekiel mistaken, by being in this sort converted. In die illa egredietur nunciis à facie mea in rivierum ad contemendum Ethiopia confusam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneva: In that day shall there messengers go forth from me in ships to mark the careless Moors afraid. Now the Latin for [Ships] hath the Greek word Triremes which are Gallies of three Banks, and not Ships. But that in this place the Translation should have been (as in the former) amended by using the word Chush, or Arabia for Ethiopia or the Black-Moors, every Man may see which meanly understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into Ethiopia there need no Gallies nor Ships, no more than to pass out of Northampton into Leicestershire: Ethiopia being the contemperate Region with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of Ezekiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nabuchodonosor should send Gallies along the Coast of the red Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the Stony (sparing the long wearish march over all Egypt and the Deserts of Pharan) which Army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence. For when Nabuchodonosor was at Sevenson within a Mile of Ethiopia, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to pass into it: being all one large and firm Land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one Inland Shire is parted from another; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it: for the fall of Nilus (tumbling over high and freety Mountains) called Caledupa Nilus were at hand.

Lastly, as I have already observed, the Sons of every Father feared themselves as near together as possibly they could, Gomer and his Sons in Asia the less; Javan and his Sons in Greece and the Islands adjoining; Shem in Persia and Eastward. So the Sons and Grand-children of Chush from the River of Gehon (their Fathers first Seat) inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as Nimrod and Havilah on the one side, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtesha (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrews had never any Acquaintance or Fellowship, any War, Treaty of Peace, or other Intelligence with the Ethiopian Black Moors, as is already remembered in the Chapter of Paradise.

†. V.

A place of Isaiah 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking Chush for Ethiopia.

AND as in these places before-remembered, so in divers other is the word Ethiopia put for Arabia or Chush, which puts the Story (where it is

to understand) quite out of square; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of Scripture, Isaiah 18. *Ve terra Cymbalum alarum qua est trans flumina Ethiopia*; or according to the Sepnagim in these words. *Ve terra narium alarum qua est trans flumina Ethiopia*? *Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia, sending Ambassadors by sea, even in vessels of reeds upon the waters. Ve terra narium ore: Wo to the Land of the shady Coast, faith Immo.* The former Translators understand it in this sense. That the Waters are shadowed with the Sails, which are significantly called the Wings of the Ships; the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet Isaiah is Egypt no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the Egyptians that sent this message to the Israelites which Isaiah repeath, and by the former Translation every Man may see the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby by Egypt is transported unto the other side of Ethiopia, and Ethiopia set next unto Judea, when it is the Land of Chush and Arabia indeed that lieth between Judea and Egypt, and not Ethiopia, which is let alone asketh a material Question (ro wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia: *Nam de signa agi regione dici nequit*; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region. Now if Ethiopia it self be under the Equinoctial Line, with whom the Jews had never any acquaintance, why should any Man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia? except we shall implicitly think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent Discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000 Years after, inhabiting as far South as the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known by the name of Bona Esperanza.

†. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaka in the Story of Senacherib, and Zera in the Story of Aia are unadvisedly made Ethiopians.

AND by this Translation is the Story of Senacherib utterly mistaken in the sequel of his retreat. For Senacherib was first expelled at Pelusium, at the very entrance of Egypt from Judea: when having certain knowledge that Thirrhakeh (which all the Interpreters call King of Ethiopia) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatening Messengers to Ezekiel King of Judea perswading him to submit himself: the renor whereof is set down in the second of Kings in these words: *Have eye of the Gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the King of Assyria: Where is the God of Hamath? &c.* by which proud Ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into Jerusalem, he then meant to have united that great Army before Jerusalem commanded by Rehabeam with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great City upon the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Senacherib had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in Judea and Benjamin with a third Army, (which himself commanded) being then at the Siege of Lema. But upon the rumour of that Arabian Army led by their King Thirrhakeh (whom Josephus

Josephus calls Tharces) Rehabeam halted from the Siege of Jerusalem and found Senacherib departed from Lema, and set down before Lema, which was afterwards called Eleutheropolis, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at Pelusium and feared Thirrhakeh, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before Jerusalem by the Angel of his Power, so as 185000 were found dead in the place, as in the Life of Ezekiel is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of Thirrahah was from Arabia, Josephus himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book the first Chapter of the Jews Antiquities, that it was come to Senacherib's knowledge, that the Army which was a Foot (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jews) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent between Jerusalem and Pelusium, was that of Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the three Arabias, to wit, the Stony, of which it is a part, the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Jerusalem. But, that there is any Desert between Pelusium and the South part of Egypt, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word [Chush] is also translated Ethiopia; and in this sense have all the Interpreters (but Junius) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse. *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Ethiopia, &c.* whereas it should have been thus converted with Junius. *Adiuncti autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chushi: He heard also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chushites.* For they were the Chushites and Arabians, whose Houses and Cities were next the River, and upon whom the very Smoke of Judea flaming was blown, being their nearest Neighbours: and so were not the Ethiopian Black-Moors under the Equinoctial, whom neither War nor Peace (which discovereth all Regions) ever found out, faith Ptolemy. For this King was no more King of Ethiopia than Zerah was, who invaded Asa King of Judea, with an Army of a Million and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army and those Chariots should pass through all Egypt, (the Kings of Egypt being mighty Kings) let all Men that know now these Regions are scared, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through theirs: neither was there ever any such strength of Black-Moors heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these Ethiopians such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King Zerah also called King of Ethiopia. But the word Chush being first converted for Ethiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the Seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of Attempts, or Invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

†. VII.

A farther Expulsion of the place, Isaiah 18. 1.

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of Isaiah, *Navium alarum, winged ships, (so the Sepnagim turn it) or Cymbala alarum (according to the Latin) Sails whistling in the Wind, or terra umbrosa ora (after Junius) the Land of a shadowed Coast, or the Land shadowing with Wings, as our English Geneva hath it.* The two

first interpretations of the Sepnagim and S. Hierome have one sense in effect. For the Sails are commonly called the Wings of a Ship; and we use to lay ordinarily when our Ships sail slowly, that the wanteth Wings: (that is) when her Sails are either worn or too narrow, and we also use the same Phrase of the wind whistling in the Sails. And it may be that the Egyptians employed so many of those small Ships, as their Sails were said to give a Shadow over the red Sea. But to make both Interpretations good, *Vintu* (upon Isaiah) affirmeth, that the word [Sabal] doth signify both to Shadow and to Gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline found: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Vintu*) is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy Wings, which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the Argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Isaiah: and this Phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the sixteenth Psalm, Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me: Defend me under the shadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed spoken of are of two kinds; either of Basket-Willow covered with Hides (as anciently in *African*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

§. XI.

Of the Plamation and Antiquities of Egypt.

†. I.

That Mizraim the chief Planter of Egypt, and the rest of the Sons of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.

THE second Son of Ham was Mizraim, who (according to the place of a second Brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For Chush first possessed Chaldaea on the West-side of Gehon chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in People, he entered Arabia, and by time came to the Border of the red Sea, and to the South-east-side of Judaea: Mizraim his Brother (with Phut) past over into Africa. Mizraim held Egypt: and Phut (as a third Brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan took the Sea-coast, and held the side of Palastina: and these four Brothers possessed all that Tract of Land, from Gehon in Chaldaea, as far to the West as the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deserta, and Petrea; all Canaan which embraceth Galilee, Samaria, and Judea; with the two Egypt; whereof the nether is bounded by Memphis on the South, and by the Mediterranean Sea on the North: and Thebaida (called the upper Egypt) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as Syene. All the rest of the Ethiopians or Black-Moors. All the rest of the Coast of Africa Westward, Phut peopled; which Brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of Noah's Children; fort themselves.

†. II.

†. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians Lunar Year, which made their Antiquities seem the more fabulous.

THIS flourishing Kingdom posselt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Aegypt*, at such time as *Aegyptus* (otherwise *Ramesses*), as some think) the Son of *Belus* chafed thence his elder Brother *Danau*, thifting him into that part of Greece now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai* abandoning their proper names: which happened 877 Years after the Flood, in the time of *Jofeph*, as *S. Augustin* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer's Odyssey* it appeareth that the Egyptians were so called at the time of the Trojan War. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceania*, *Aria*, *Ofrania*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Jofephus* citeth in his first Book against *Apion*) numbeth all the Kings of Egypt after *Moses's* departure, who consumed 393 Years. By which other Men conjecture, that the Egyptians took on them that name 330 Years after *Jofeph*, and about 1000 Years after the Flood. But where *Jofephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hyphs*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or *Shepherds*, which are said to have reigned in Egypt 511 Years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the Jews) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted; for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* feigneth: nor abode in Egypt so long a time by many Years.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fables in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Athen.* and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in Egypt 330 Kings before *Amosis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000 Years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Acadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the Moon, whereof *Ovid*:

De Faj.
L. 1.

Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa fuit.

The *Acadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the Moon did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000 Years it may well be true: seeing it is certain that the Egyptians reckon their Years by Months, which makes after that account not above 1000 or 1100 Years, whether we take their Months or Lunar Years to have been of the first kind of 27 days and eight hours; or otherwise 29 days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunar Years.

†. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

Erardus Mercator in his Chronology, reasoneth for the Egyptians Antiquity in this manner; That the sixteenth *Dynastie* (where *Eusebius*

begins to reckon the Egyptians times) had beginning with the general Flood: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* was at once with the general Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292 Years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the *Shepherds Dynastie* (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salus*, to have been in the Year of the World 1846, which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16 *Dynastie* was begun but in the 292 Year after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190 Years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastie* to endure 115 Years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100 Years: for the 28 had but 6 Years; the 29 but 20, and the 30 but 18 Years.

Now *Amnius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15 *Dynasties* lasted but 162 Years: and that the first of the 15 began but in the 131 Year after the Flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15 to precede the Flood, and the 16 to have been then in being at the time of the Flood, *Amnius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falsehood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Amnius* had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131 Year that *Nimrod* with the Sons of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off Plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spain, in the 10 Year of *Nimrod's* Reign: (which was ten Years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Aegypt* posselt, and a Government established in the very first Year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off or near in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

†. IV.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200 Years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians, touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Aegypt* should be peopled within 100 or 200 Years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Aegypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo tunc primis mundi decretis, vel etiam centum annis Adam pulchri adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Aegyptum aliqui habitandam & campendos propagata sit, &c.* For how could the Children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred Years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Aegypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there

there were then both the *Affryians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving Belief, it is lawful for every Man to be guided in this and the like Questions by the best Reason, Circumstance, and Likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gain say any Man's Opinion out of any crotling or cavelling Humour: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of Union, than out of froward Subtily, and prejudicate Refolvemets, to maintain Faction needles, and dangerous Contentions.

First, therefore to this Opinion, that *Aegypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Flood, I say that there is no Reason why we should give a less Increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of Life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, and (after a few Years) treble, is an infallible proof of their Strength and Ability, to beget many Children: and at that time they observed no degree of Kindred, nor Conflagrancy. And that therefore was a speedy Increase of People, and in great numbers, it may in some fort appear, by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearful that the Death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there by the help of his own liues built a City, (called *Enoch*) after the Name of his first-born. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this Increase there was given but 130 Years by *Berosus*, and after the Account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one Year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancy of the first Age, when the Bodies of Men were most perfect, even within 130 Years, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased: and so within 70 Years after (that is, by such time as the World had flood 200 Years) as well *Affryia*, *Syria*, and *Aegypt* might be posselt before the Flood, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the Circumstance, or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Affryian* Empire, that all those People, which were increased in the first hundred or 130 Years after the Flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable Conjecture and Reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three Millions, (and the left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of People in so few Years after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own Account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Affrya* but 292 Years after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms: from *Media* to the *Mediterranean* Sea; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her Invasion, somewhat less or more than 360 Years: for much more time the true Chronology cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange Greatness of *Semiramis's* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be *convenient*. And if but the one half be true of that which is said; That her Army consisted of 1300000 Footmen, and

300000 Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis's* Reign, the greatest part of *Affra* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of People: yea *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his Assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Aegypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (epitomis'd by *Julian*) *Aegypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For the be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Eratre quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Aegypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris* King of Egypt, and *Taanis* King of the Scythians: of which the one invaded *Persia*, the other *Aegypt*. And how full of People all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small Force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Babryans*; yea, all that whole Body of *Affra* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cassius* numbeth the Army, wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoraster*, at 1700000 Footmen, and 200000 Horsemen: and the *Stories* generally shew, that though *Zoraster's* Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since be held. But to what end should I seek for Foreign Authority? for no Man doubteth but that *Aegypt* was posselt by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abraham's* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown Ground, to beautify it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a Labour of a few Days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200 Years after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of Men were found within 300 Years after the general Flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Affrya*, *Babrya*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Aegypt*, *Palestina*, yea the far-off *Libya* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Syphira* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small Corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656 Years brought forth before the Flood? even Necessity, which cannot be resisted, call the abundance of Mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had be held living Nations of his own Body.

†. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of *Pererius*.

FOR what a strange Increase did the long Lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800 or 900 Years. Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than that they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the Date of our Lives in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50 Years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of People; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth with all the Industry of Man could not give them Food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 Years as aforesaid! These numbers, I say, cannot be counted

counted or conceived. For it would come to the same Reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in Britain since 3 or 4 hundred Years before the *Norman Conquest* (having such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty ones of the first Age observed no Law of Marriamony) it is to be thought that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flee from or shew. For what humane Argument hath better persuasion to make Men careless of Life, and fearless of Death, than the little time which keeps them amuse, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingled together, and foweth with the Seeds of Mankind.

Now if that *Berosus* or *Amnius* may be alleged for sufficient Authors, whom *Pererius* himself in this Question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Jesphus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in Syria; and if other parts of Syria were peopled in *Cain's* time, I see no cause why *Palastina* (which is also a Province of Syria) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times between his Death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700 or 800 Years. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Amnius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *Saint Hierome* for such Authors gives a good Rule. *Bona eorum eligamus, vitiosum contraria;* Let us chose what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first Book, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the general Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty Men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the Universal World: be often used though that phrase [of all the World] be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*. That there were dwelling at *Jerusalem* Jews, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth from the Sun's rising to the Sun's setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Discreverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more passable and easie to travel over before the Flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himself confesseth that *Arctica* (by reason of Mud and Slime which the Water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 Years after the *Oxygus* Flood, whereby we may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into far Countries after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopied for 100 or 130 Years together. And therefore was the Face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over in the first Age, than after the general Overflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of *Moses*, Gen. 10. vett. ult. ubi pererius Pererius grounded his Opinion.

Altho, whereas *Berosus* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*. And out of these were the Nations divided after the Flood: *Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium: By which it appeareth* (saith *Pererius*) that there was no such Division before the Flood; which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of Tongues was cause of the Dispersion of the People. This consequence, *quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak: the Text it self rather teaching the contrary: for out of these (saith *Moses*) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever Sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or Division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the Earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noah's* Sons, wherein doth that necessary division contro the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of Speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general Plantation: as *Berosus* says well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *ad comparanda novus sedes necessitate compellatur*. For we find (as is before said) that within 300 Years after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained: those numbers with their increase for any long time: all Asia the greater and the lesser; all Syria, Arabia, *Palastina*, and *Egypt*, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Libya* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. Years after the Flood) Spain, Italy, and France were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 166 Years before the Flood, in the time of the chief strength of Mankind, they were replenished with People. And certainly seeing all the World was overflowed, there were People in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A Conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with *Jemethat* of *Phut*, (another Son of *Ham*) which peopled *Libya*.

Therefore for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor agree with the *Volgar*, which give too much Credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I do not think the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other Men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, That *Egypt* being peopled before the Flood, and 200 or 300 Years, more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim*, some Monuments (in Pillars or Altars of Stone or Metall) of their former Kings or Governors: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding

ceding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. Years before *Alexander's* Conquest: and this report *Amnius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. Years before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds Destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgement; as *St. Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every Man to his own Reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Aegyptus* the Son of *Belus*, as afore said. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Mempbis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, was called the inferior *Egypt*; furnished also *Delta*: because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the Greek letter *Delta*, which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-East and embraced the Sea, next unto the *Desarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelufus*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it self to the salt water towards the North-West, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Mempbis* and *Syene* near *Chibiola*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Givitas centum portarum*; and by the Greeks *Dispolis*; in the Scriptures *No-bemon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Jesphus* calls *Egypt* *Merfus* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joseph l. i. cap. 19. Herod. l. 2. cap.

L. 9. l. 1.

Plus the third Son of *Ham* took the next portion of land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Libya*: whose People were anciently called *Phuties*; (saith *Jesphus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Fus* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred Miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Fus*, *Chush* and *Lud* were coterminals and Associates with the Egyptians.

§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, the fourth Son of *Ham*.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleven Sons.

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possessed all that Region called by the Romans *Palastina*; in the Scriptures *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely let down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth. Then the border of the Canaanites was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* until *Asahab*, and as thou goest unto *Sodam* and *Gomorra*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, even unto

Leha. Now however, these words of the Hebrew Text [as thou goest] are connected, *Moses's* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of Canaan and *Zidon* the North; *Sodam* and *Gomorra* the East, and the other Cities named *Leha* on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar*, *Harpheth* in a right line from *Gaza*, in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermoſt Territory of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of Canaan.

Now the Sons of Canaan which possit this Country, and inhabited some part of the Borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jehus* or *Jehulcus*.
4. *Emari* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgesu* or *Girgesu*.
6. *Heti* or *Chivueu*.
7. *Arhi* or *Harzew*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinaneu*.
9. *Aradi* or *Arvadeneu*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareu*, or *Tzemareu*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamatheneu*, or *Chamatheneu*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hebities*, *Girgesites*, *Amoritites*, *Hevites*, *Jehusites*, and *Perizites*: which *Perizites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareu*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the Portions of *Zidon* and *Heth*.

Zidon the first born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phoenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſer*: for *Aſer*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phoenicia* distributed among them; but the *Aſerites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Chethus*: of whom came the *Hebities*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out: *Canaan* namely, the *Girgesites*, the *Amoritites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizites*, and *Hevites*, and the *Jehusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron* near the Torrent *Beſor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, having the Desert of *Pharan*, to the South: 19. for about *Berſabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) four Miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North East as *Hebron*, and *Amor*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarah's* Burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying, That she was weary of her Life for the Daughters of *Heth*. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the Syrians greatly feared: as in the second of the Kings, *Israel* hath hired against us the Kings of the *Hittites*. 2. Kings: 26. 7. v. 6.

†. III.

Of the *Jehusites* and *Amoritites*.

Jehus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jehusites*, and whose principal feat was *Jebu*, (afterward *Hiersalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City

and the Country near it, till such time as David by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Yehusims* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

Amoraeus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Of* (King of *Babylon*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cadiz*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Judea*, and in *Idumea* near the *Arabis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth, for the wickedness of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerful Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*; *I've destroyed the Amorite before them, whose brights was like the heights of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak.*

†. IV.

Of the *Gergesites*, *Hevites* and *Harikites*.

THE fifth Son of *Canaan* was *Gergesius* or *Gergesus*, (otherwise *Girgah*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* sets the City *Gergah*, which *Galilee* calls *Gisra* in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossessed the possessed with Devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine filled with the evil Spirits drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesus* also built *Beryne* (sometime *Giris*) afterward *Felix Julia*, three Miles from the River *Adan* in *Phoenicia*: in which the Romans held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large Privileges.

Hevites the sixth Son; and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, however, the *Caphtorims* the second is remembered (yet many of them remained all the War of *Joshua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true Worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Judges* the third; *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The seventh Son was *Araceus* or *Hark*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterranean Sea*, (over against *Tripoli*) built the City of *Archas*, *Aree*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Archie*.

†. V.

Of *Sini* and *Arvadi*.

Sineus the eighth Son *Hierosylimitanus* sets at *Cappadocia*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea* not far from *Jehus*; to the South thereof, faith *Tinnus*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *St. Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemy* *Simyra*; *Mela* and *Pliny* *Simyru*: *Brochard* *Syon*, (called *Synechis*) near *Arca*. *Petrus* thinks that *Sineus* in-

habited the Defarts of *Sini* or thereabout: a big herof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synechis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter C. otherwise *Keni*) who defended of *Hebels* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who afflicted the *Israelites*, in their conduction through the *Wilderness* of *Pharan*. But these *Cini* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cini* *Balaam* *Joel* 4. prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Affians*.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus* or *Aradeus*, who in *Gal. 7th* the *Life of Aradeus* built the City *Arados*: opposite a *Phir*, gainst which Island on the main of *Phoenicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Arados* and in this City came *S. Peter* (faith *Joannes*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel: and founded a Church in Honour of our Lady: but we find no such work of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these were very famous: and places of skillful *Seamen*: whom *Ezekiel* remembereth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*. The inhabitants of *Zidon* c. 7. v. 8. and *Arad* were thy Mariners.

†. VI.

Of *Zemari*.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he first inhabited in *Calestria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samarein*, which in *Joshua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samareim* (Of the same Orthography) upon the Mountains of *Ephraim* (faith *Berodolus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* c. 13. v. 4. which the Latine converteth amiss (faith he) by *Semerem*. The *Hierosolymitanus* Paraphrast makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emisani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemijani*, in *Calestria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disprove. And he bought the Mountain *Samaria* or *Semerem* of one *Semer* for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain: and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of *Semer*, Lord of the Mountain *Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the Holy Land, by the Children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samarians* were defended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the State of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*: when it suffered or sunk, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first Captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Affians*; and partly of the naturals.

†. VII.

Of *Hamathi*.

THE last of *Canaan's* Sons was *Hamathius*, (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (faith *Berodolus*) of which (the aspiration taken

takes away) the fame is pronounced *Emath*, where of *Hamathus* was Parent. *Josephus* and *St. Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes* on the Frontier of *Camagene*, between the Mountain *Cassius* and the Province of *Parras*, and *Selucia*, of which *S. Peter* was Bishop, and in which *S. Luke* and *Ignatius* were born: but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Berodolus* supposed, which standeth between *Aranea* and *Emefa* in *Cassius*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighbourhood *Emath* are farther off from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confounded with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emefa* hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanus* itself were not thared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the Holy Land, and therefore *Emath* for taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joshua* is directly proved. For *Joshua*, counting the lands that remained unpossessed, reckoneth all mount *Libanus* towards the Sun-rising, from *Baalath* under Mount *Herman*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the Children of *Israel*: because *David* accepted the Presents of *Tahm* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of Peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the Children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though seated altogether without the Bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Joshua*: for *Emath* is indeed situate on the other side of the Mountain of *Herman*, which joinech to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iura*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joshua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the Latine conversion *Emath*, therewith (faith *Berodolus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iura* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephthali* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuaginta* (understanding the difference) write it *Amath* and not *Emath*, the fame which indeed belonged to the *Nephthims*, seated on the South-side of *Libanus* to the East of *Asdodim*: which City *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*, *Josephus* *Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amathos*, and the People *Amath*, of which (as I take it) *Rabbi* saith vaunth in the second of *Kings*. Where is the God of *Hamath*?

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of *Chulh* (excepting *Nimrod*) of whom hereafter.

The Sons of *Chulh* were {*Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabtea*, *Nimrod*.} And the Sons of *Raama* were, {*Seba*, *and Dedan*.

S. Ebn or *Saba* was the eldest Son of *Chulh*, the eldest Son of *Hom*, to make a difference between him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragna*, after *Momana*) his name is written with a single [S] *Samach*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an [S] *aspirate*, which is the Hebrew *Sabin*. *Seba* the eldest Son of *Chulh*, *Regma* his Brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* posselt both the Shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* took that part toward the Red Sea, as nearest his Father *Chulh*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma*, and *Sheba*, the East Coast of the same *Arabia* which looketh into the Gulf of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*. *Sabai Arabum populi proper thura clarissimi ad utrag; maria portibus gentibus habitant*. The *Sabaeans* people, of *Arabia*, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the *Perfian*, and the *Arabian*, or Red Sea. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia a populi mixione*, faith *Ptolemy*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, and the City *Rhagana* towards the *Perfian*, with whom also we may leave *Saba*: for so much *Ammonius* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembereth a Nation (called *Stabai*) near the *Perfian* Sea; and *Malabathis* which defended of them. But *Momana* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rabma*) into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Aethiopia*. But *Berodolus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabai*, which stole away *Job's* Cattle, should run thence all *Aegypt* and all *Arabia Petrea*, and find out *Job* in *Tracumia* between *Palestina* and *Calestria* 1200. Miles off: Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the *Sabai* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Perfian* Sea, could by any means execute the flesh upon *Job*, which *Josephus* *Berodolus* shall take for needful. But there were the *Sabai* of *Arabia* the Defart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is seated, the fame which *Ptolemy* calls *Saba*, now *Semifalca*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Defart, came those *Magi* or *Wijemen* which worshipped *Christ*, faith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysostome, Hierome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wise Men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Defart: which City when my self was there, was (as I judged it) called Semifalca.* And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabai* were Neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Perfian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so disjoyned with large Defarts, as there is no possibility for Strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the Mountains, of the Sands; and of the extreme want of Water in those parts. *Ubi nec homines nec bestia videtur, nec avari, immo nec arboris, nec germen aliquod, sed non infirmos saxos, alijum, sperrimi*: Where there are found neither Men nor Beasts, nor so much as Birds, or Trees, nor any Pasture, or Grass, but only sharp, and high fowry, and crazy Mountains. *Berodolus* Pererius

Perrus conceive that the Queen of *Saba* which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabaei* on the East side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrary seemeth more probable, and that she was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, 'twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Adrian* or *Maan*, and the Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the West Part of *Arabia Felix*, being his Neighbour, might without any far Travel enter his Territories, free from all danger of Surprise by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Saba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, with his Sons *Sheba* and *Adnan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the posteriors of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desert: for *Isaac* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chush*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now for *Saba*, there is found of his Name the City of *Sabatha* or *Sabana* in the fame *Arabia*: of which both *Philo* and *Pliny*, who withal nameth *Sabotela*, within the Walls whereof there were sometimes found sixty Temples. *Exod* 10. The Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raama* the Son together. And that they were the Eastern *Arabians* their Merchandize witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus* his Fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopian* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopian* *Assabari*, they are not worthy any farther Answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these Cities preserving the memory of the Names of *Saba* and *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Philo*'s time, though in some Letters changed. As also in the Coasts adjoining the Names of other of the Brethren of the Family of *Cush*, with little Alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the Desert is found the City *Saba* or *Sava*, (now *Semilescia*) with the City of *Rhegama* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Philo* himself called *Raamini* of *Raama*. In *Arabia* the Happy is found the City of *Rhegma*, and *Rabana*, which also keepeth the found of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the East Coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chief City, in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof again toward the straight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brethren and Neighbours which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hasidai* by the passage of *Tyrrus* was a Neighbour, to whom he might pass by Boat even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama* or *Rhegma*, set near the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in *Philo*'s time.

†. II.

Josephus his Opinion of *Deban*, one of the Issue of *Chush*, to have been seated in West *Ethiopia*, disproved out of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*.

AND whereas *Josephus* (whom in this *S. Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) sett *Deban* the Son of *Raamah* into West *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezekiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Deban* together; *Deban* in the 10 Verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22 Verse to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Deban* had dwelt in West *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the Habitation of his Father and Brother) above 4000 Miles. Besides which the Merchandize that the *Debanites* brought

to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-moors. For they of *Deban* (saith *Ezekiel*) were thy Merchants in precious Cloths for thy Chariots; and these Western *Ethiopian* never lay Cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coasts traded with them: the Merchandize of the Country being Hides, Elephants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Cyves Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any Manufacture; and all these they exchanged for Linen, or Iron chiefly.

But in those days the West part of *Africa* within the Body of the Land was known only by Imagination: and being under the burnt Zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negrids* of the West *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra*, *Lima*, or *Niger*, could either pass by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottom of the *Mediterranean* Sea, is a strange, or rather a foolish Fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Deban* also dwelt by the rest of the Children of *Chush*, which Seats they held by that Name in the time of *Jeremy* the Prophet, let us hear *Jeremy* his own words. *Ely* ye Inhabitants of *Deban*, for I have brought the destruction of *Ely* upon him. Hereby it appeareth that *Deban* was a Neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Deban* was a Province of *Arabia Petraea*; and *Deban* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the Seat of his Grand-father *Chush*, which Neighbourhood and Fellowship of *Deban* and the *Idumeans* is also confirmed by *Ezekiel*. I will stretch out mine hand upon *Edom*, and deliver *Edom* and *Edom* out of it, and I will make it desolate from *Teman*: and they of *Deban* shall fall by the Sword.

Ezek 49.
15-17.

§. XIV.

Of the Issue of *Merem*: and of the place of *Jeremy*, Chap. 9. Ver. 7.

AFTER *Chush* it followeth to speak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whose Names (saith *Saint Augustine*) were plural, to signify the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim* the eldest Son of *Mizraim* was the Father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differed from *Lud* the Son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the Son of *Mizraim* *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was Parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Jeremy*, who joineth them in this sort together. Come ye ye *Horites*, and rage ye *Charitans*: and let the valiant Men come forth, the Black-moors and the Libyans which bear the Shield: for those Nations afflicted the *Egyptians* being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezekiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezekiel* c. 30. v. 3. And *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common People, and the Men of the Land that are in League shall fall with them by the Sword: which is as much to say, as the Sons of *Chush*; (which were the *Cushites*) the Sons of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Libyans*, (descended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hieronymus* also finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Libyans*. And I believe it: because *Jeremy* joineth the *Libyans* and *Libyans* together in the place before remembered. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the Hebrew called *Ludim* (saith *Aristo* *Metastemo*)

The re-mission in the Hebrew, commonly a sign of the plural number, as used, the last.

cap. 48.
ver. 6.

Isa 11. though 2 *Chron*. 12. 3. they seem to be called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Liby*, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not *Liby*, but *Liby*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Phut* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezekiel*) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the People of *Lyda*, a City (saith he) which I could not mislike if the City of *Lyda* were so feared. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lyda* with a double D, and is the same City which was afterward *Diopolis*, in which *S. Peter* cured *Aeneas* of the Palsy) standeth near the Torrent *Gaza*, not far from *Toppa* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and far asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Selencus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Selencia*, and *Antiochia*, of divers others. *S. Hierome* maketh *Lebanon* to be the Father of *Libya* who was the eldest Son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Pofellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving *Cushim* and *Caphrim*, of whom came the *Philistines*, whom the Scriptures call *Peletst*.

Their *Cushim* inhabited *Cassitis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Aegypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis* and the Mountain *Cassus* are found: not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphrim seated near *Cashim* in that Tract of *Aegypt* called *Sethrois*, not far from *Pelufium*. *Stra-bo* callist *Sethrois*; *Sethrois* and *Phary* *Sethrois*, or of the City *Sethrois*: which *Orellius* takes to be the same which *Philo* calls *Hercules* *pursu*. Of the *Cashim* and *Caphrim* came the *Philistines*, which are called by the *Synagogs* *Adelphe*, which is *Afropetia*. *Stra-bo* says of a strange Kindred. These *Philistines* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Aegypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) do not use the letter [P] but instead of it [Ph]. Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Acco*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the People of them called *Gazeti*, *Ascaloniti*, *Accoti*, *Gethi*, and *Accaroniti*. *Isidore* affirms that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that City the Country adjoining. But where *Isidore* had it I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistines* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s Wife, with whom *Abraham* made a Covenant and League. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gaza*; but it is written that he was also King of the *Philistines*, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* unto *Gaza*. Now *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* seems to be the same that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* governed the Commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his Successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistines* commanded that Tract of Land upon the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Northward, from the Cattle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Caesarea Palestine* or *Sidon*'s Tower) which was the South border of *Phoenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Aegypt*. The *Anaks* or strong Giants were of these *Philistines*, and *Goliath* was of *Geth* one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, *saith Liramus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150 Years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Samson* and *Samuel*; but in the end this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, That because these Cities and the Countries adjoining were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispofe the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this *saith Perrus*, that although the *Philistines* or *Philistim* be said to be in the time of *Isaiah*, yet at the time of the promise it was possib. by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hebrews* dwell in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel if the *Canaanites* being the greater part the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistines* were of *Caphur*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Hierome* witnesseth. The Lord will destroy the *Philistines*, the remnant of the Issue of *Caphur*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistines* are said to be the Reliques of *Caphurim*; have not I brought up *Amos* 2. 9. *Israel* out of the land of *Egypt*, and the *Philistines* from *Caphur*, and *Aram* from *Kir*? so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, & *Palestinos* de *Cappadocia*, & *Syris* de *Cyrene*, this conversion *Berolaud* condemneth; where *Caphur* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Palestina* or *Berce* and *Apollonia*, but *Kir* in *Afia* under the *Affrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Perrus* calls *Caphurim* *Cappadocia*, according to the *Vulgar* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pomus* in the North of *Afia* the less. For whether they inhabited *Sethrois*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Meis*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Tiglatpalezer* King of the *Affrians* carried away the Incubators of *Da-masus* unto *Kir*; and *Isaiah* seems to understand the *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Meis*, calling this *Cyrene* *Meis* superior: for it was the manner and policy of the *Affrians* to transplant the People Conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-mesia*: because the *Syrians* by the *Affrians* were therein captived.

Of which see in the second Book c. 7. 3.

c. 16. v. 9.

§. XV.

Of the Issue of *Scm*.

†. I.

Of *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*:

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Scm*, who were these:

1. *Elam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Assur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THE Posterity of *Scm*, *Moses* recometh after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogy and Story of the *Hebrews*. For of *Scm* was *Abraham* descended. Of these five Sons the Scriptures remember the length of the Life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by

Phil. 1. 12.
c. 14.
Psalm tab. 6.
Afo. 27.
22.

And surely whatsoever mens opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the Division of Tongues and of Men must go near together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the Execution of the Division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101 after the Flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, or 10 years after he arrived, faith *Jerofa*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymology of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this Confusion and Partition: To this objection it may be answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Avram*, and *Edem* *Edu*; and that *Phaleg* being upon this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the *Hebrews*, *S. Hierom* and *Chrysostom* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the Division which followed: To this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IV.

Of the Sons of *Jochan*, the other Son of *Heber*.

1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Salapb*, or *Selep*, or *Shelaph*.
3. *Alamath*, or *Chattar*.
4. *Tare*, or *Tarah*, or *Terah*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Uzal*, or *Uzal*.
7. *Dichab*, or *Dicia*.
8. *Obad*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobab*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Saba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, and
13. *Jokab*.

The Sons of
Jochan were

ALL those Sons of *Jochan* (according to *S. Hierom*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophor* or *Chosai*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general. And their dwelling was from *Melisa* as thou goest unto *Sephar* a mount in the East. Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names to avoid confusion it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chusy*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba*

or *Sheba*, his grand-child by his Wife *Keturah*. But *Saba* the Son of *Chusy*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we have left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Havilah* the Son of *Chusy* upon *Tigris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Perfia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis fusi* maketh mention. *Primum Sabei; post hoc sunt Pallagardæ, præter vero hos sunt Talsi*: The first are Sabeans: after these be Pallagardæ; and near these the Talsi. And whereas it is written: But unto the Sons of the *Conventus* which *Abraham* had, *Abraham* gave gifts; and sent them away from *Isaac* his Son (while he yet lived) Eastward into the East Country: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Perfia*: for *Perfia* was accounted the furthestmost East Country in respect of *Judea*; which also *Osai* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham's* Sons seated themselves on the Borders of *Judea*, I rather choose to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desert, where *Phaleg* setteth a City of that name.

But *Saba* the Son of *Jochan*, the Son of *Heber*, (as I conceive) inhabited *India* itself. For *Dionysius* After in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greek Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabei*. *Taxilus his inter medius habitantibus Sabæis*. In the midst of these dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili, faith this *Dionysius*.

†. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Jochan's* Sons, and of *Peru*, and of that Voyage of *Salomon*.

Ophir also was Inhabitant of the East *India*, and as (*S. Hierom* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful of Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Tophus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great Head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Ceylonis*, or *Penninsula*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut*, and *Malacca*. *Peruvius* takes it rightly for an Island, as *S. Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the Head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccæ* farther East.

Aristo Mantanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these, And he overlayed the House with precious Stones for Beauty; and the Gold was Gold of *Parvaim*. *Tunius* takes this Gold to be the Gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: And the Gold of that Land is good: finding a Town in *Cheracene* a Province of *Susiana* called *Barbata*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this Gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Mantanus*, and *Plessius*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be subject of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the World of that name: I am that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountain so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Abalathia* commanded (a Prince of magnificence,

Riches

Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that Language, demanding by signs (as they could) the name of the Country; and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the Diurnal of their Enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since as divers *Spaniards* in the Indies assured me; which also *Aegius* the Jesuit in his natural and moral History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Mantanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Tucatan*) took that name of *Jochan*, who as he supposed navigated from the utmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Tucatan*, is nothing else in the Language of that Country, but [What is that] or [What say you?] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered *Tucatan* (which is) What ask you, or What say you? The like happened touching *Paria*, a mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidad* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the People answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as high Hills or Mountains. For as *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*: from 8 degrees of North Latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same happened among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Oreenville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my People asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages answered *Wingandacan*, which is as much to say, as, Thou wear good Cloths, or gay Cloths: The same hapned to the *Spaniards* in asking the name of the Island *Trinidad*: For a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that self place which the Sea incompeled, they answered *Cura*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner have many places newly discovered been intruded: of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccæ* whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* itself (towards *Perfia*) in *Havilah*, now *Susiana*, and all along that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest Plenty is taken up at the *Philippins*, certain Islands planted by the *Spaniards* from the West *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomon's* Ships made from the Red Sea, (which were three years in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the *Moluccæ* or *Philippins*. Indeed these that now go from *Portugal*, and from hence, find that Navigation in two Years, and sometimes less: and *Salomon's* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our Course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the Coast, and crept by the Shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the Compaſs was known, it was impossible to Navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomon's* Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needful for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the East *India* Islands, far above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to fail every Year from the West part of *America* thither, and there to have strong-

ly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they have built a City called *Mantika*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to haveaped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those days, whereas he had no Coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a phantastical opinion out of *Rabam*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose Mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*; which Mountains *Salomon* affirmed to be in *Syria* /*Asia*, in their words. Nam cum cura & gemma affiant, Griffes tacent. *Univerſis*, alites ferociffime, *Arimalpi* cum his dominant, &c. For whereas those Countries abound in Gold, and rich Stones, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kind of Fœderis species of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimalpi* make war. These *Arimalpi* are said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the Cyclops of *Sicilia*: of which Cyclops *Herodotus* and *Aristotle* make mention: and so doth *Lacan* in his third Book: and *Valerius Flaccus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own opinion) I believe none of them. And for these *Arimalpi*, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both Eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Salomon* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the eastern North, at a place called *Cylindus*, or the Cave of the North-East Wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this Moral: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other Riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their Eye-sight (at least of the Eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to Famine, corrupt Air, violent Heat, and Gold, and to all sorts of miserable Diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet such a Tale were told of some other places of the World, where wild Beasts or Serpents defend Mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impellable Mountains which are very rich and full of Gold, inhabited only with Tigers, Lions, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same War, which the *Arimalpi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of Gold, or seek to defend that Metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the *Algarues*, (which the *Arabians* call the *Crocodiles*) defend these Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the Islands: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Algarues* know not the Pearl, yet they find favour in the flesh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

†. VI.

Of Havilah the Son of Joctan, who also passed into the East Indies: and of Melia and Serpher named in the bordering of the Families of Joctan: with a conclusion of this Discourse touching the Plantation of the World.

OF Havilah the Son of Joctan, there is nothing else to be said, but that a general Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* pass into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the East India, which took name of *Havilah*, the Son of Joctan: but *Havilah*, which *Pisga* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* ever made War in the East India, no man hath inspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of Joctan, these three *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, though at the first seated by their Brethren about the Hill *Mafius*, or *Mefi*, Gen. 10. 30. (to wit) between *Gilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their Issues removed into East India, leaving the other Families of Joctan, to fill the Countries of their first Plantation, which the Scripture desires to have been from *Mefi* unto *Sephur*. And although *S. Hieron* take *Mefi* to be a Region of the East India, and *Sephur* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain *Adamantus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the Word [East] in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Yudea*, is never farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mefi* is that part of the Mountains of *Mafius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also find for *Sephur* (remembered by *Moses*) *Sophara* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Mafius*: from whence Joctan having many Sons, some of them might pass into India, hearing of the Beauty and Riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

The other fashion of Planting I need not being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in *Numbers* 23. *Balaac the King of P. Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountain of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witness this place of *Deuteronomy*.) *Because they hired Balaam the Son of Beer, of P. C. 23. 24. to curse thee: for Aram Nabarraim was Syria superiorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.*

This Plantation of the World after the Flood doth best agree, (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies: be they Antient or Modern. Neither have I any end herein, private, or publick, other than the discovery of Truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things: so the factions and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) have by their many Volumes of untrue reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memory: and (instead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darrest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds first Planters after the Flood (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out nor overgrown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the Eldest Son of *Canaan* gave name; so hath *Gilicia* *Thersis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Elberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Lybians*, *Moor*, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first Founders and true Parents.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishing of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the Eldest of Families to Regal, and from Regal Absolute to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now to entreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of People) underwent no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the Eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the Word [Elder] was always used both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Gravity: the same bearing one signification almost in all Languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the People, and Governours over them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense,

which the Latin word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly believed them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false Judges and wittnelles to *Daniel*. *Show us unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder.* Demosthenes useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedaemonios qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes: Among the Lacedaemonians the chief Magistrates, as they are, so are they called Eldermen:* and again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus*

*non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellarent Senatum: If Reason and Advice were not in old Men, our Ancestors had never called the highest Council by the name of a Senate. But though these Reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this Name of [Elders] for Governors or Counsellors of State, there is a sign that the first Governors were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word [Signor] and out of it [Seignory] for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to Lysleu) Puissance in Propriety, or proper Power. The kinds of this Seignory, Seneca makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium, Power or Command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium, Propriety or Masterhip*: the Correlative of the one is the Subject, of the other the Slave. *Ad Celsorem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas: Celsor hath Power over all; and every Man Propriety in his own*. And again, *Celsor summum imperium possidet, singuli dominium: Celsor holdeth all in his Power, and every Man possesseth his own*. But as Men and Vice began abundantly to increase: so Obedience, (the fruit of natural Reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth) being exceedingly overshadowed with Pride, and ill Examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternal persuasions (after Mankind began to neglect and forget the original and first giver of Life) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the Hearts of Men were only guided and steered by their own Fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the World, while Wildom was severed from Power, and Strength from Charity: Necessity (which bindeth ever Nature but the immortal) made both the Wife and Foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable Men would become far more miserable than that of Beasts, and that a general Flood of Confusion would a second time overflow them, did they not by a general Obedience to Order and Dominion prevent it. For the Mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. In so much that licentious Disorder (which seemed to promise a Liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no less perilous than an unendurable Bondage.*

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed; persuaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to submit themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so Time (making all Men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this Cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved Sovereign Power, bethought it self of certain equal Rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own Limits. For before the invention of Laws, private Affections in Supreme Rulers made their own Fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Balance both Good and Evil.

For as Wisdom in Elderhip preceded the Rule of Kings: so the Will of Kings fore-went the Inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria Principum pro legibus erant: The People were not governed by any other Laws than the Wills of*

Princes: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those Mens virtues value them which were not fanished by their Kings, nor those Mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt, Love sees one while too much, another while farks nothing*. Hence it came to pass, that after a few Years (for direction and restraint of Royal Power) Laws were established: and that Government which had this mixture of Equality (holding in an even Balance Supreme Power and Common Right) acquired the Title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one God established in favour of his People: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the Infancy of this Regal Authority, Princes as they were chosen for their Virtues only: so did they measure their Powers by a great deal of Moderation. And therefore (saith Fabius Pictor) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionem dedux, jure habiti fecerunt, Dei & dii: Princes, because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods*. De arce part. 1.

And though (speaking humanly) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this Light in the minds of Men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himself by his eternal Providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their own safety. *The most High beareth Rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleareth. By me (saith Wisdom, spoken by the Son of God) Kings reign; by me Princes rule, and it is I God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings: and that this Power is given from God, Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilate, Those couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* Dan. 4. 21. Prov. 8. 15. Dan. 2. 21. Job. 19. 21.

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath been governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Justice natural: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephews, and Families, in which Government the Obedience was called Natural Piety: again, by a Justice Divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God: and the obedience hereunto was called Conscience; and lastly by a Justice Civil, begotten by both the former: and the obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the Rule in general was paternal, it is most evident: for Adam being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator, as we read, *Cain and Abel brought Obolations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind*.

§. 11.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of Humane Society.

WHAT other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as Mankind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable Conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembered among their Antiquities) were before the general Flood; and very likely,

Necessity of laws just as, & immutability of Providence requires.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly Authority began also other degrees and differences of Orders, by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave Place, Traikt and Power. From which Employments and Offices sprang those Titles and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age to these days. But this Nobility or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of Blood, but to succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient

Verus nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus : and of memorable things about those times.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of iust Authority.

Noah to Sem and his Issues. In familia Heber *Aug. de*
remansit hac lingua, In the family of Heber this Lan- *Civ. Dei*
guage remained (saith S. Augustine out of Epipha- *l. 6. c. 11.*
mas;) and this Language Abraham used: Yea it
was antiently and before the Flood the general
Speech: and therefore first called (saith Catefri-
mus) lingua humana: the humane Tongue.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodorus, Rabbi Mosés, Aegyptius, Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the Godly Seed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just Authority, than by violence of usurpation.

6. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct persons.

BELUS, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others make many *Nimrods*. *Euphrates* confounds him with *Belus*; and so both *S. Affertum* upon *Ofa*; and these words of *S. Auguftine* feem to make him of the fame opinion. *His autem Ninus regnabat poft mortem patris fui Beli, qui primus ille regnaverat 65. annos; There did Ninus Reign after the death of his Father Belus, who first governed in Babylon fifty five Years.* But it could not be unknown to *S. Auguftine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Mofes* being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's Kingdom* (faith he) was *Babel, Ere, Accad, and Chalne*, in the Land of *Shinar*: Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it beft agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) fuppofed: for in *Ninus* time the World was marvelloufly repopled. And if *S. Auguftine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of *S. Auguftine* (*qui primus ille regnaverat, Who was the first that Reigned there*) fuppofed to be by *Belus*: thefe do not fo difprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæfar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* Commonwealth, making himself a perpetual *Dilator*; yet *Auguftus* was the first Establisher of the Empire: and the first that Reigned absolutely by Sovereign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of Sovereign Rule, as *Cæfar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first,

The fame is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Jafan* were the Captains and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himself so far West as *Shinar* (his lot being cast on the East parts,) yet from his Sons *Nephew Heber*, the name and Nation of the Hebrews (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chanaan* about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no Partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most antient Language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and

... and Joe Davis was the one who

cient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so they needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom Glory or Worldly Nobility necessarily depended. Yet herof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in Vertue were so called. *Hinc dictum Nobilitas, quasi virtute præ aliis nobilitas.* But after that time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, *S. Hieron.* judged of the Succession in this manner. *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobilitas quadam necessitate constringatur, ut antiquiorum probitate degeneret: I seque non aliud thing to be effected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound on to degenerate from the vertue of their ancestors.* For if Nobility be *virtus & antiqua decore, Vertue and ancient Riches,* then to exceed in all those things which are extra hominem, as Riches, Power, Glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word *Animal* alone doth define a reasonable Man. Or if heronour (according to *L. Fieser*) be a witness of Vertue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Vertue, then the Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Passions, which ignore men worship instead of *Christ*, our Lord, and other Saints: Men, in whom there remain, but the dreggs and vices of antique vertue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of Soil and want of Mannuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertilis producit aurum, aliquid et cicuta venenosa, & ex terra ferilis pretiosum aurum:* Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning Hemlock: And out of barren Soil pretious Gold. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Cherion* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage be the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be the Vertue and Quality, profitable to the Commonwealth. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick Vertue, serving his Prince and Country, and being defended of Parents and Ancestors, that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the fame Author calleth personal, (the fame which our selves acquire by our Vertue and well deservings) cannot be balanced with that which is both natural by descent, and also personal; yet if vertue be wanting to the natural

then is the personal and acquired Nobility by many degrees to be prepared: For (saith this *Charon*) this Honour, to wit) by descent, may lie upon such one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: And these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies will they know well how to wipe off again. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in Worthiness, as we have of Vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Vertue) to be Shame and Dishonour, than Nobleness, and glory to vaunt thereof, *What calamity is wanting (saith Bernard)* to him that is born in sin, of a *Poſtore* body and barren mind? for (according to the same *Barth*) *Ole facinus fugacius honoris hujus, & male contentum glorie, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting Honour, and the glittering of the ill earned *glorie*, that then thou maist consider thyself nakedly: For thou canst naked out thy *Mothers* Womb. Canst thou thence with thy *Arms*, or glistering with *Jewels*, or garnished with *Silks*, or adorned with *Feathers*, or *ſuffed with Gold*? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning Clouds, which do or will soon pass over, then shalt thou stand a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable *Adam*, and blessing, because he is naked, and weeping because he is born, and repining because he is born to Labour, and not to *Flourish*.

For as touching the matter of all Men, there is no difference between it and Dust: which if thou dost not believe (saith S. Chrysostom) look into the Sepulchers and Monument of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their own example; that thou art dust and dirt: So that if man seems more Noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life ; not in the fleshly line :
For Blood is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by Birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Salomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow Princes. *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of Ecclesiastes* *him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellency.*

CHAP.

who peaceably, and with a general allowance excused such a power. *Petrus* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200 years after the Flood (as they account) that *Belus* Rained: but such agreement of times proves it not. For *Edward the Third*, and his Grand-child *Richard the Second*, were Kings both in one Year: the one dyed; the other in the same Year was Crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plain that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the City of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* overcame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Empire. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis's* time.

— *Dicitur autem
Cathibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Urbem.*

Semiramis with Walls of Brick the City did inclose.

Further where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty: so *Jysine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may believe *Jysine*; then were *Pexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Scythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chane*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a Man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the Ground, being the first after the Flood, that conducted the Children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Belides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad* which the *Sepuagint* calls *Archad*, and *Epiphanius* *Arphal*, *Junius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout, the *Cyngographi* (faith he) call *Accadene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Ninus* to be one City: so do *Strabo* and *Sepuagint* confound it with *Charan*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charan* are distinct places. Though I

cannot deny *Accadene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Aria* *Montanus* out of *S. Hieron* calls *Acad*: and so do the Hebrews also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistake. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Sepuagint* call *Orech*, *S. Augusline* *Oreg*, and *Pagninus* *Erec*, this place *Junius* understandeth for *Arraca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chane*) some take it for *Calansis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*, *Lit. 23. S. Hieron* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieropolymitanus* for *Cressiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Perfians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: And the beginning of his Kingdom (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chane*, in the Land of *Shinar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldaea* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Vierbiewitz*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities far removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chane* from *Babylon*. *Amos* (faith *Amos*) is *Chane*, and from thence go you to *Hamath*, and to *Gath* of the *Philistines*.

The Geneva Translation favouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinar*, hath a Marginal Note expressing that *Shinar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldaea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *A Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chane* is situate in the Valley of *Shinar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradis*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and Successive Kings.

§. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Ninive*: and that it is probable out of *Esay* 23. 13. that *Assur* built Ur of the Chaldees.

NOW as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great Seat of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a Controversie wearisomely disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disjoin the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew Text. *Erat enim principium Regni ejus Babel & Erec, & Accad, & Chane, in terra Shinar*; i. terra hac processit in Assyriam ubi edificavit Ninivem: (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdom was *Babel*,

bel, and *Erec*, and *Accad*, and *Chane*, in the Land of *Shinar*: and he went forth of this Land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninive*. So as *Junius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the Land being focussed in *Moses's* time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word [Assur] is taken for *Assur* the Son of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he setteth down the Sons of *Noah* in these words. Now these are the Generations of the Sons of *Noah*: *Sin*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, unto whom *Sin* was born after the Flood: then it followeth immediately. The Sons of *Japheth* were *Gomer*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah's* Sons, he is eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his issue, and then the issue of his Sons: first, the issue of *Gomer*; *Japheth's* eldest Son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Upon after he numbeth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest; and then the Sons of *Cush* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Sin* *Canaan*; leaving *Sem* for the last, because he would not disjoin the Story of the last, because he would not begin with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shelah*, and *Eber*, unto *Abraham*; and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sons of *Sem* in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have passed over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire. In one of the Sons of *Sem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the Story of *Sem's* Sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Sem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Sem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius's* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comestor* in his *Historia Scholastica* gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he useth these words. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est) Regem Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore Saragis praevis Abrahami factum est.* (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of *Assur* the Son of *Sem*, &c. but *Assur* (that is) the Kingdom of the *Assyrians* came from thence (videlicet from *Babylon*) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of *Sarag* the great Grandfather of *Abraham*. After which he reconcilith the differences in this sort: If you take the Ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true quantum ad initium, respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true quantum ad Regni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius* confirmed by *Cassiodorus*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Abrahamus*, and *Vierbiewitz*, *S. Hieron* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Ternellius*: who faith he took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his Con-

quest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Olea* 5. &c. but to help the matter he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Sem*, and the Son of *Ira*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbishop of *Metz*, in the Year of *Christ* 834. an Ancient and learned Writer, understandeth this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this fence. *De hac terra Assyriorum pullavit imperium, qui ex nomine Ninus, Belu filii, Ninum considerant, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this Land grew the Empire of the *Assyrians* who built *Ninus* the great City, so named of *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*. On the contrary *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Isaiah*. Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, *Assur* founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diversity in the translation and understanding; inasmuch as *Michael de palatio Isaias* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the State of the *Chaldeans*; therefore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former translation of *Junius*, and to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar*, (called *Etymologiae* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the *Chaldeans*, by *Isaiah* remembered: unto which City, People or Estate, he plainly telleth the *Tyrans* that they cannot trust, or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldaea*, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phoenicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin: which City of *Chaldaea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their own City of *Tyre*, (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*: *Eccae terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traducerunt robustos ejus, infederunt domos ejus, populum eam in ruinam.* (which is) Behold the Land of the *Chaldeans*, such a People there were not (or this was no People, after the Geneva) *Assur* (or the *Assyrians*) founded it, they carried away their strong Men Captives, they undermined their Houses, and ruined their City. The *Sepuagint* express it but in a part of another Verse, in these words. *Et in terra Chaldaeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyris, quantum murus ejus corruit, making the fence perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood. If thou go over to Chittim (which is Macedonia or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest, (speaking to the *Tyrans*) neither in the Land of the *Chaldeans*, for this is made desolate by the *Assyrians*, because their Walls fell together to the Ground. *Pagninus* and *Vasbanus* convert it thus. *Eccae terra Chaldaeorum, sicut populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundavit eam novam, erexitque aces illius, contrivitque domos ejus, populum eam in ruinam:* which may be thus Englished. Behold the Land of the *Chaldeans*, this People was not once therein inhabiting: for *Assur* built it a Harbour for Ships, they crested the Towers thereof, and again broke down the Houses thereof, and wasted it. *Junius* in the place of Ships sets the word [pro Barbaris] that is, for the *Barbarians*; and the Geneva, by the *Barbarians*. But this is undoubted that the Prophet *Isaiah*, as may be gathered by all the fence of the Chapter) did*

Ternellius
not. Assur
Gen. 10.

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former Translation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other Men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſir* is in this place diversly taken (as for the Son of *Sem*, when he is spoken of as a Build-

DSN.4:

*Of the acts of Nimrod and Belus, as far as now
they are known.*

BUT to return to the Story, it is plain in *Masfa* that Nimrod (whom Philo interpreteth *Infusum*; and *Jafus* of the B-lybanian Monarchy) was the Establisher of this City, and that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Eref*, *Accad*, and *Cadash*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Affria*; and in *Affria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rebekab*, *Celab*, and *Refen*. And feeling that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self and those adjoining, and that his Travails were many ere he came into *Shinar* at that wo:k of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large Foundation of

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could
be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of
Fievet, and Panais of Scythia.

THAT so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod*, *Y* as by the Story of *Nimrod* is made manifest: the Causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity being a Prince's liberal and powerful bettoweth on her first Entertainers many times more Benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose preference alone the understanding Minds of Men receive all those Helps and Supplies; which they either want, or wish for: so as every Leader of a Troop (after the division of Tongues and dispersion of People) finding these fair Offers made unto them, held the Power which they possess, and are governed by Discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their designed places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was divided, Mankind straggled abroad like birds in a Desert; but that by Agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Sinear*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Nimrod's* time, would not have been peopled in many hundreds of Years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (Order being the true Parent of prosperous Success) undertake so difficult Enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every Humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all Men by the Arguments of common Miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest Dispositions, enjoy the Harvest of their own Travels: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible Violence: nor those which fought after any proportion of Greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the Undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarchs, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Ninurad* (his Grand-father) had, no Companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Sovereignty and sole Commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his Life time others also raised themselves to the same Estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successor) found *Sabatur* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his Attempts: which *Sabatur* I take to be the same, which *Tyfine* calls *Tanis*; and should compare, that *Misram* had been his *Exoriz*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Tyfine* placeth him) in the time of that *Exoriz*, who by many Circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sesoftris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65 Years, according to the common Account.

See more
of this, l. 2.
of this first
Part, c. 2.
§. 6.

§. VI.

Of the Name of Belus, and other Names affine unto it.

W Hence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the Name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath been made: for it seemeth rather a Name imposed, (or of addition) given by *Nimrod*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against Julian calls the Father of *Ninus Arborea*, affirming that he was the first of all Men that could himself be called a God: whence *more* it is so, then might the Name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Belus* as many learned Writers have observed, signifies the Sun in the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that Name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldean Princes*, and *Babylonian Satraps*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

have come
To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity)
those Voices of *Baal*, *Belphegor*, *Belphegor*, *Belphegor*,
Belphegor, and *Belphegor*. Those that are learned in
the *Hebrew* and *Chaldaean*, convert the word *Baal*
by the Latin *Principis militie*, Chief in the War,
though *Daniel* was so called (*Chief Suidas*) *ob*
honorem explicatissimi arcanaeum verum. In honour of
his expounding secrets. *S. Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*,
and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and *Nicetas*
that the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Nicetas*
in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped:
to which that he might add the more Honour and
Reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and Refuge for all
Offenders. Hence (*Latin Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and
the first use of Images into the World. *Nicetas* doth
interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding,
that as among the *Affyrans* it is taken for *Savem*
and the *Sun*: so in the *Persick* or *Cartaginian* Lan-
guage it signifieth God. *Geoplic* makes it a *Tyrann*
name properly; and *Thyoplic* a *Tyrann*. He al-
so affirmeth that the Idol which the *Moabites* wor-
shipped (by them erected upon the Mountain *Phe-
gor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which
the *Latins* call *Friapus*, the God of Gardens;
which was also the opinion of *S. Hierome*. But that
the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God,
apareth

appareth by the word *Belzebub*, the Idol of Accaron. For *Bel*, or *Bel* founded [God] and *Sabab*, [Flies or Hornets:] by which Name (notwithstanding) the *Yews* express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Osai* teacheth as the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself; And as that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Ishi*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouth. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Babel*, be justly to be used towards God: yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God both hated it and forbid it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the Sun, was not because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, *tantum Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembered) as *Belphegor*, and *Belphegon*; *Belphegon* is expounded out of *Fagus*, *Dominus specula vel custodia*, The Lord of the Watch-tower or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpoor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Demadavis*; and therefore the word joined expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of Saturn: in that it was used among the Ancients to name the Father Saturn, the Son Jupiter, and the Grand-child Hercules. Saturnus dicuntur familiaribus *Belus*, Regem qui urbes considerant sensibus; primogeniti eorum Jovis & Junonis; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called Saturnus; their first-born Jupiters and Janos's; their eldest nephews Hercules. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vossius*) was famous by reason of his Warlike Son *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babilonius*, whom the *Aegyptians* (transported by the Dreams of their Auidity) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (they say) upon *Lilya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Aegyptus*. They add, that this *Belus* carrying a Colony to the River of *Emphrates* there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the *Aegyptian* manner. But there were any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Isti*, or of *Neptune* and *Lilya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isti*, (except their reigning in *Athen*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Aegyptians* so much wanted.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomy*, it *Pliny* lay true: from whence the *Aegyptians* might borrow both the Name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. Over the River (saith he) there are Gardens, where they lay the Ruines of *Belus* his Tomb, which *Xerxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Brick, a Furlong high, and on every side it had a Furlong in breadth. It appears by *Cyris* against *Julian*, that he obtained Divine Worship yet living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*, *Arbelus*, vir superbus & arrogant, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis

Strabo, lib. 13. c. 3.

L. c. cont. Julian.

nomen accipit: perferendum igitur *Asprios*, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei. *Arbelus*, a Men very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all Men that was ever honoured by their Subjects with Title of Deity; (or with the Name of God) The Assyrians therefore and the bordering Nations have performed, sacrificing to him. Even *Arus* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thurax*, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thurax* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a Man of sharp and fierce Disposition, who bidding *Battel* to *Caucasus* of the Stock of *Japheth* slew him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among idolatrous Nations were Deified in their Life-times, or soon after: though I deny not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without Divine Worship, only in memory of the glorious Acts of Benefactors, as *Glycerus* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept into those wooden and brazen Carcases, when *Polegry* had lost the Memory of their first Invention. Hence *Isidore* speaketh in this manner. Quasi autem Pagani Deos essent homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vita meritis vel magnificentia, colit apud suos post mortem caperunt: sed (Demetrius persequitur) quos illi pro sua memoria habuerunt, videtur Deos existimant: ad id autem magis excedit, quod post mortem signamenta, They were Men (saith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods; and every one of these Merits or Magnificence began after his death, & he honoured of his own. But in length (the Devil persuading) they accounted themselves Gods, which Memories they believed: and the Editors of this Book made the Opinions (concerning the Honours of the Dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory*, *Gregorius* (saith he) invenit & caput est imaginum, Gentilium is the Inventor and ground of Images; and Ambrose; Gentes lignum adorant, tantum imaginem Dei. The Gentiles adore Wood as if it were the Image of God. *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a Custom borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath *Saint Augustine* against *Adimantus*. Et veretur (saith *Augustinus*) ne religio vana sit, si nihil vident quid Lat. lib. 2. adorent, They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see that which they worship.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolmen thift this fearful Custom very strangely. For feing the very Workmanship is forbidden, how can the Heart of a wise Christian fatisfie it self with the distinction of *Doula* and *Hyperdoula*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned Men should strain their Wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this Doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandment of God himself, Thou shalt not make any graven Image, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions lead the Hearts of Men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image

in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.

And besides the expresse Commandment, Thou shalt make thee no graven Image, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Book of *Wisdom*. That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.

And whereas the Schoolmen affirm, that the Prophets spake against the worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature. For you saw no Image (saith *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb: surely it was excellently said of *Baith*, Noli aliquem in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua. Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Baith* thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume that put him under the greafie pencil of a Painter, or the rusty Ax or other instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God began in *Babel*: so did the Devil transport and speed this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt*, and *Greece*.

The Romans for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170 Years, observing therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impious to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun most deluded by Satan) let up the Images of their Gods; which (as *S. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus deniceth. Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicatur, genus peffio illa adorant, & cum hoc supplicium, fides qui illa fecere continentur. The Images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray unto with kneeling knees; those they adore, and while they greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this fort scoffeth at.

De Crete. lib. 1. c. 13.

Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiosa fide sculptant simulachra, suavem faciem jurgunt, & quæ fecere venerant. Quis furor est? quæ tanta animi dementia ludii? Ut Volucrum, turpes, Bovem, torvumque, Draconem, Semi-hominemque, Canem supplex Homo prorsus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship Vanities, And consecrate dumb Idols in their Heart, Who their own Maker (God on high) despise, And fear the work of their own hands and art. What fury? what great madness doth beguile Mens minds? that Man should ugly shape adore, Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile Half-dogg Half-man on Knees for aid implore.

And though this device was Barbarous, and first, and many years practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Yews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ig-

norant stupidity of his Nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembered how the *Sibyls* inveighed against Images: and *Hosianus*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the Souls of men to erect and adore those Bables. *Strabo* and *Hierodotus* witness, that the *Perfians* did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impious to represent immortal natures by mortal figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixth Book de preparativa Evangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Syria*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crispian* report of the Ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might be remembered that witness the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish idolatry: of which *Hosianus* hath written at large in his Tract de origine imaginum. And it was truly said, Omnia male exempla hominis orta sunt. All ill examples have sprung from good beginning. The Heathen at first made these Statues and Images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries and Commonwealths: Effigies hominum (saith *Pliny*) non solum exprimi nisi aliqua illustri causâ perpetuarent merentur: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Laërtius*) that defence for Images: That Simulacra sunt pro elementis literarum, ut per ea discreti homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) are instead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God: in which understanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them than Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian* became afterwards the most revered Idol of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away: so those very Stocks and Stones, and painted Canvases (called the Pictures of *Christ*, our Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. On these stocks we call (saith the Book of *Wisdom*) when we pass through the raging Waves, on these stocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth us.

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitful in after times, breeding an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into Degrees and Orders; as *Dio Consentes*, seu majorem gentium; scilicet, Patrii, regni, civitatis, medi: Counting Gods, or Gods of the highest Nobility, scilicet Gods, Patrians, Gods of mark, and common Gods (which the Romans called *Maxima*) dii infimi, and Terrastial Hero's, and multitudes of other Gods: of which *S. Augustine* hath made large mention in his Book de Civitate Dei. But (saith *Laërtius*) among all those miserable Souls and rotten Bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same Title and Dedication even to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them first know to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their Eyes which were capable of Grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude

Lib. 14.

of these Gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them; as *Jupiter in Crete*, and *Isis in Egypt*, in *Athena Minerva*, in *Samos Juno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family had a God a part.

C. 17. 26.
13. 51.

For as it is written in the second of *Kings*: the Men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the Men of *Cush* made *Nergal*, and the Men of *Hamath* made *Ashma*, and the *Avims* made *Nibhaz* and *Tirach*, and the *Sephernaim* burnt their Children in the fire to *Airmenelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* decided? *Men cut down Trees, rinde them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a God, an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their Eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding*. It is therefore safest for a Christian to believe the Commandments of God fo direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe *S. Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved fly from Idolatry, I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

C. 44.

§. VIII.

Of the Wars of Ninus: and of his War against Zoroaster.

UNTO this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his neighbour Princes; and the first that without shame or fear committed Adultery in publick. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of prophane Authors) I find nothing fo warrantable, but that the fame may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berogius* set out and commented upon by *Amnius* hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Cyprian* noteth) to the understanding of *Diadormis Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarassus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhennanus*, and others after them have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Berogius* which lived in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenius* and *Josephus*: and whole *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Ascalades*, and to the times of *Johanna*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certain Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

Athen. l. 14.
Josephus
cont. Ap.
part. l. 1.
C. 7.

Citus of *Cnidus* (a City adjoining to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the Young-

ger, and with *Ariaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Story of *Cyrus* the Younger *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenius*, *Paulinus* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet fo base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he lived, and fo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have confuted his works, faving some very few exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, feeling a long diffidence cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can exprels them. *S. Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* murthered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wan it all, fave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Arices* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight League of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a Chaste, and the nearest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the fuddain, and because it lay next him: And also because the *Arabians* and their King *Arices* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his War against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himself that way toward the East; but that ever he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not believe, for none of his successors had any possession therein.

His third War was against *Pharus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seven Children, though others affirm that they all dyed in one Battle against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that hiding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and let the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. fix hundred Chariots: being encountered by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* slain, he entred farther into the Country, and belieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*;) which by a *Sepius* wife of *Menon* he entred and possess. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external Beauty, fancied her fo strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he took her from her Husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of Love, *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, call himself headlong into the water and died.

Cassian. in
Olla. Col.
c. 21.Aug. l.
Civ. lib.

Civ. lib.

Mist. l. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.

§. I.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first Inventor of Astrology, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

Zoroaster King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincennus* suppoeth to be Cham, the Son of *Noah*: A fancy of little probability. For Cham was the paternal Ancestor of *Ninus*; the Father of *Cush*; the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincennus* had heard of that Book which was called *Scriptura Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and fo intitled: of which *Siculus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of Magick to Cham, the Son of *Noah*: fo did *Comestor* in his Scholistical History: which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: Seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Flood; and seven of Brick against the injury of Fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like unto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus*'s words. *Cham (filius Noah) qui superfluous istis & sacrilegis suis artibus infestus, scien nullum se posse super his memoriam librum in Arcam profusa inferre, in qua erat cum patre jussu, &c. Cham (the Son of Noah) who was infested with these superfluous, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in Metal and hard Stone.*

S. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laught at his Birth, when all other Children weep; which prelagd the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto: being taken for the inventor of natural Magick and other Arts; for the corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Iustine*. But I do not think that Zoroaster invented the Doctrine of the Horoscopes or Nativities: or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical or Antipathetical workings; of which I know not what King of *Chaldea*, is also made the Inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more antient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster, (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and gave his Life and Vertue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, diffused, and Universal Power) admired the instruments and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things and reneweth all.

Now whether this Zoroaster (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the Magi-

cian, *Cicilius* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoroaster, slain by *Ninus*, was not the Magician: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Scalig. in
Esf. 1.

Again, *Josephus* and *Cadrenus* affirm that *Serb* first found out the Planets, or wandering Stars, and other Motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had been invented by Zoroaster, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Posterity.

Jofep. l. 1.
ant. c. 4.

But of this Zoroaster there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and art of Magick. *Arnobius* remembereth four to whom the name of Zoroaster, or Zoroartes was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, a *Chaldean* and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the Third was Zoroaster *Pamphilius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth Zoroaster *Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hofianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into Greece: between whom and *Cyrus* there past 78 Years. *Suidas* remembereth a fifth, called *Persomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of Zoroaster the Son of *Orontasides*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chief Zoroaster was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *teuchius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by those Books of one Zoroaster, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldean* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the same. But that this Zoroaster was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (*saith Picus*) were written in the same Language: and the Comment in the same Language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those Books of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intitled, *Parris Ezre Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula*.

P

§. II.

by the falshood, subtilty and evnry of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*: by an evil faith: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fully to apply things that work to things that suffer. And though by the Jews, those excellent Ma-

phicians, Philophers, and Divins which came to
 Worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Macheph-*
cephim, or Mescalphim; yet had they no other rea-
 son than common custom therein. *Confectus* usual
 communis Magistri pro *Malificis accipit*, Common cu-
 stom (saith S. Hieron.) *undersatendit* Witches un-
 der the name of *Magicians*: And amiquity (saith
 Peter Martyr) by the word *Malicus* understood
 good and wise men. *Quid igitur expawis* *Mal-*
icomen *fermidolese, nomen Evangelio gratissim, quod*
non malificum & venificum: sed sapientem sonat & Sacer-
dotem? O thou fearful one (saith *Christ*) why dost
 thou to use the name of *Magus*, a name glorious in
 the Gospel, which dost not signify a Witch or Conjuror,
 a wife man and a Priest? For what broughtest thou
 to that studdy and profession but only idle ig-
 norance: the Parent of all evils admitted? *Causa*
facti sunt miserrima quodammodo opem, que ut vera
est, non potest esse iniqua: sed quia iniqua est, non potest
denominari naturalis: sed vel conjunguntur, vel com-
municantur, vel aliter ad operem unum expeditum facta
sunt, opera denominantur crederetur ab ignorantibus he-
re. De operibus hujusmodi facti Magia naturalis, quam Ne-
crromantiani multi improprie vocant. The marvelousness of
some works of this kind, indeed are natural, both been the cause
of this slander: but because these works have been done
by procurement of Devils joining the natures together or
mingling them, or howsoever joining the natures to their
working, they were thought but the works of the Devils by the
ignorant. Among these works is natural Magick, which
men call very improperly Necromancy.

*That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not
to be condemned: though the Devil here as in other
kinds hath sought to obtrude evil things under the
name and colour of good things.*

Seeing therefore it is confelley by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Perfian* word) is no other than *divinatorum cultor & interpret, Afridius obfervor* and expounder of *Divine things*; and the art it felf (I mean the Art of natural Magic) no other, than *quam naturalis Philofophia absoluta confummatio*. Thus the *absolute perfetion of natural Philofophy*: Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forthwith wife and learned Men *promiffive*, and without difference and diffinition, to confound lawfull and praiseworthy knowledge with that impious, and (to fce *S. Paul's* words) *with thofe beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath fhuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befootheth gracelefs Men. For if we condemn natural Magic, or the wil-dom of Nature, becaufe the Devil (who knoweth more than any man) doth alfo teach Witches and Poyfoners the harmful parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we by the fame rule condemn the Phyfician, and the Art of healing. For the Devil alfo in the Oracles of *Amphiarus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trochimus*; and the like, taught men in Dreams what Herbs and Drugs were proper for fuch and fuch Difcafes. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath fought to thruft himfelf into the flame employment among the Minifters and Servants of God, changing himfelf for that purpofe into an Angel of light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruft in his Prophets among thofe of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrology*, by giving

a Divine power to the Stars, teaching men to
 affect them as Gods, and not as Instruments. And
 (as *Buning* observeth) it is true, that judicial
Astrology is corrupted with many superstitions: but
 the Astrologers themselves are not without some
 considering that heavenly Bodies (as even general
 experience sheweth) have and exercise their ope-
 ration upon the inferior. For the Sun, and the
 Star of *Mars* do dry; the Moon doth moisten,
 and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Pla-
 nets, as they have several and proper names, so
 have they several and proper virtues: the Stars
 do also differ in beauty and in magnitude; and
 to all the Stars hath God given also their pro-
 per names, which (had they not influences and
 virtues different) needed not: *He counteth the*
number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.
 But into the good and profitable knowledge of the
 celestial influences, the Devil casteth not to thrust
 in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of
 the secret virtues of nature hath he blended his
 doctrines of *Cheremata*, *Incantations*, and *Amulets*,
 and taught us to believe the strength of
 Words and Letters: (which without faith in
 God are but Ink or common breath) thereby either
 to equal his own with the al-pow-erful word of
 God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating
 Word, by whom are all things.

Ferency

(C.A. 1077) *Terrory the Prophet, Even the Stork in the Air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Mankind working upon thee as upon the rest of Gods Creatures, long time abused the Heavens by teaching thee to oblige the Gods to the Cause of Man, and thereby to judge of good or ill by the Issue in the War: as if (initial) to look into their Entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as

Gen. 12.17. *Abimelech* to returne to *Sarà* to *Abraham*; & recalle ne
admoneth *Joseph*, and by *Dream* informed *Jacob*,
Laban, *Pharaoh*, *Salem*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi*
of the *East*, and others. For as it is remembered in
Job 35.17. *Thou* in *Dreams* and *Visions* of the night when sleep
falsch upon man, &c. then *God* openeth the *eyes*, that
might cause man to return from his error; & thus
I say, that the *Devil* by his craft, his divinations
by *Dreams*, or (after *Paraphrasia*) divinitive ins-
tinations, his most *Devils*. This the end grew fo
commones *Druides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his
owne *Dreams*; *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*.
Yet the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, be-
cause all *Dreams* (without distinction of causes)
were drawn to divination, forbade the same by a
law, as by the words of prohibition (*anti narrandis*
omnis occultam aliquam artem divinantem) it may ap-
pear. Likewise by the Law of *God* in *Deuteronomy*
cap. 13. feding *Dreamers* were ordered to be slain.
Yet it not to be contemned that *Marcus Antonius*
was told a remedy in his *Dream* for two grievous
Difraies that opprest him; nor that of *Alexander*
Macedon for the cure of *Ptolomy*'s poyfoned wound;
nor that which *S. Augustin* reporteth of a *Milite*-
rie; whose Son (the Father dead) being demand-
ed a debt already paid, was told by his Father in
a *Dream* where the acquittance lay to discharge
it; nor that of *Alyage* of his Daughter, and many
others of like nature. Of the reason of all which,
forasmuch as the cause is not in our selves, this
place denieth dispute.

§. IV.

*That Daniel's misliking Nabuchodonosor's condemning
of the Magicians doth not iustifie all their practises.*

BUT it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the Heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations : how came it to pass that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians of Chaldaea*; and in a sort forbade it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this divers answers may be given. First it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldaeans*, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by Art, either Natural or Diabolical: For there is none other (saith the *Chaldaeans*) that can declare before the King, except the Gods: whose dwelling is not with flesh : and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned Men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any civil or unlawful Arts, but were nicely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those men

Studies and Professions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel's* instruction : For himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters ; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wise men* : and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* disliked and forbade the Execution of that Judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those Men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful Arts (though not unlawful according to the Law of that State) yet here in they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then in *Daniel's* dislike, and hindering of the Execution of sentence of Death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and Profession.

g. v.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture every where of good with evil, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity : The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced : As in the antient worshipping of God by Sacrifice ; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all Power, because the Devil in the Image of *Baal, Astarah, Chemah, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrology* terrifie *Abr-*
ham (if we may believe the most ancient and Religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly Bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned Men in these days from attributing those Vertues, Influences, and Inclinations to the Stars and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious Creatures.

The Sympathetical and Antipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost Vertues sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Miniftrers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honeft and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the uſing of them to the help and comfort of Mankind: neither can the Illuſions, whereby the Devil betrayeth ſuch Men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the obſervations of Dreams; ſo far as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make uſe of them.

(as Signs of good or evil Success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against rain, or to any observation not superfluous, and whereof a Reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest Trades and interchange among Men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent Knowledge and all Learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most foolish and beggerly ignorance: and (as Pliny teacheth) we should shew our selves ingratos et aculi, who labour crying; *luceat nobis operumus in hac luce*, We thankful we should shew our selves towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant ; but the *Mathematicks* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort. *In speculo Mathematico Verum illud, quod in omni scibili augetur, relucet: non magis remota*

Simulacra, sed fulgida formae propinquitate. In the glass of the Mathematicks that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in obscure images, but in a clear and manifest representation.

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful Magic;

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of Magic; and esteemed absurdly to be as Branches of that Tree, on whose Root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goëtic: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the Dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the Immortal Souls of Men do not inhabit the dust and Dead Bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: Death being nothing else but a separation of the Body and Soul: and therefore the Soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those Men, who pay Tribute, or are in League with Satan, is that of conjuring or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These Men are so diffract, as they believe that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodness, nor, by the fearful word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrify him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the Bodies and Souls of those which raise them up; as His Majesty in his Book aforementioned hath excellently taught. *That the Devils obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectu, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit Tamblicus's imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their Servants and Vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deal altogether with Cardan's mortal Devils, following the opinion of Rabbi Avramathan and of Porphyrius who taught that these kind of Devils lived not above thousand Years: which Plutarch in his Treatise of Oraculum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For were it true that the Devils were in awe of wicked Men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maltreated. But the *Familia of Simon Magus* when he had lifted him up in the Air, call him headlong out of his Claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S. Peter's* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times upon his own accord the Devil played with *Theodorus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*,

a principal Pillar of the Manichean Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History wittily telleth: and for a manifest proof hereof we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in halt to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: For to those that received not the truth (saith *S. Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions*. Of these their supposed transpositions (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Majesty in the second Book and the fourth Chapter of the *demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Crystals: of whom *Casanaus*: *Exist sunt incantatores, qui in unguis & vitris volens spiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauduntur corpore. They are foolish Incantators, which will shut up their Spirits within their nails or in Glass: for a Spirit cannot be included by a Body.*

There is also another Art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Tizmagia*, or *White Magic*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven, and communicate withal. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require no any kind of adoration due unto their Creator: so feeling they are most free Spirits; there is no Man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his Understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the Professors thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are Men of evil Faith and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and therefore are Devils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked divinations: as by Fire, called *Pyromania*: by Water, called *Hydromania*: by the Air, called *Meteoromania*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Falcination or Witchcraft: the practitioners whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the Devil himself. And these accursed Creatures having sold their Souls to the Devil, work two waies; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of Poisoning. The difference between Necromancer and Witches, His Majesty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a fort) commandeth, the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call Charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his Shoulder in the Olympian Fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet's* Dove, which he had used to feed which Wheat out of his Ear: where Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* Shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perfwading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Bankes* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians*, a People of Italy, practised. *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu, Inchanting Lucid in Marsia Sigs.*

Marsia makes the Snakes to hiss.) That it hath been used it appears *Plin* 58. 6. though I doubt not, that by many Impostures may be in this kind; and even Natural Causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as Womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them; and therein I find no other Magic or Inchantment, than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of toasted Cheefe.

§. VII.

Of divers waies by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonder.

BUT to the end that we may not doat with the Manichees, who make two powers of Gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other Dominion than he hath (not to speak of his Ability, when he is the minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Aegypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three waies. The first is by moving the cogitations and affections of Men: The second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiens* giveth three causes: the first a natural Impotency: the second, their own Reason disallowing them from daring over much, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator. *Tenei eas ligatus* (saith the same Author) *velut immensitatem belluas. S. Augustine* is of opinion that the Frogs which *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers produced were not Natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be fish. For as *Varus* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not Creatures indeed. Hereof *saith S. Augustine*, *Nec sunt demones naturae creati, sed quia a Deo creati sunt commutati, ut videntur esse quod non sunt. The Devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not*: of which in the 83. question he giveth the reason, *Demon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentie, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet. (that is) The Devil fills with certain Clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the lights of reason.*

And as *Tertullian* in his Book de anima rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazzle those of the Body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entereth in, beginning with the fantastic, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the Soul: for the fantastic is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *magica artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) per aptum & idoneum agendum & patientium applicationem, *By an apt and apt applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that slight of false semblance; and *S. Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per alvum cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not persuaded that *S. Augustine* believed that of *Diomedes*.

And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiens* a Man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of Natural Magic he useth these words. *De hismodi autem operibus est scilicet generatio ranarum & pedicularum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoriis, quae ipsa semina naturae confortant & accunt, ita ut opera generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non sua natura videatur (qua tardius talia efficiere consuevit) sed potentia demonum, &c. to which he addeth. Qui autem in his doli sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such works (saith he) the Judain generation of Frogs, and Lice, and Worms, and some other Creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickening them; in such way that they so hasten the work of Generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the power of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts marvel not at such workings, but glorify the Creator. Now by these two waies the Devils do most frequently work, (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of Nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.*

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes Thunders, Lightnings, and Tempests; and can infect the Air, as well as move it or compress it, who knows not that these things are also Natural? Or may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth Nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the Death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own Possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the World to this day, and observed the success of every Council: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of Counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the Air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the Earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes guess rightly of things to come (where God pleareth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wife and learned Men do oftentimes by comparing like Causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Devil doubteth and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles, as

Cresus Halym penetrans magnam subvertet opum vim.

If *Cresus* over *Halys* go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom; or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in *Isaiah*. Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods: show us at all times and certainly what is to come. *Solius enim divina intelligentia et sapientie est occulta nosse & revelare. It is only proper to Gods understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

ding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her Face, which still held the same Beauty and human Shape. It is thought that from this *Dereos* (the Invention of that Idol of the *Phisians* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans Face, and a Fishes Body: into whole Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the Ground: and at the second fall there remained only the Trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *S. Hieron* hath converted that place. *Vasahus*, *Pagninus*, and *Tunius* write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a Fish, and so it only appeared: the Head thereof by the second fall being fundered by the Body.

For my self I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Phisians* was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritime (as all thole of the *Phisians* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty Gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfure: with a note of the improbability of her Vices.

BUT for her Pedigree I leave it to the *Affrian Herald*: and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in Men and Women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the Wars she made with glorious Success: all but her last Enterprize of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerful Army there survived but only twenty Persons: the rest being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famie, or slain by the Sword of *Sauvobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbered: so were thole that returned less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her Lieutenant *Dereosus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horsemen one million; of Chariots armed with hooks on each side one hundred thousand; of thole which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hildes for all uses three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads three thousand; by which she might transport over *Indus* at once three hundred thousand Soldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrans*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and Men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no place of the Earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed upon Grass) are taken from the Authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whose Army

(though the fame was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable Man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Army of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellepont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several Provinces whence thole Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken, and overthrown by *Sauvobates* upon the Banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*: she sang her last Song; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the Gods into a Dove, (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Ensigns.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis: and of the Pyramids of *EGYPT*.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the Wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a Wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen Gates curiously Engraven. In the *Core* of the square the raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a Mile; and upon it again (taking a *Basis* of a less circuit) she set a second Tower, and so eight in all, one above another: upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* Priests made the observation of the Stars, because this Tower overtopped the ordinary Clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this Tower have many Travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the Foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of Frankincense every Year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which Vessels and Ornaments *Cyrus* redelivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few Years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level Ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the Pyramids by *Memphis*, which were *conspicue undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these Pyramids *Belisarius* a careful observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report. *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa Jonniete, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit envoyer hors de sa balle qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez.* The best Archer (standing on the top of one of these Pyramids, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the Air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Presl. in Times, li.

Bel. li.

Suid. 524. li. 5.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the Birth of *ABRAHAM* to the destruction of the Temple of *SOLOMON*.

The SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the Birth of *Abraham*: And of the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of some of the Successors of *Semiramis*: With a brief transition to the Question, about the time of the Birth of *Abraham*.



After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestows the Conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no Man of War at all, but altogether Feminine, and subjected to Ease and Delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than

that out of jealousy he every year changed his Provincial Governours, and built Colleged for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Ariss* his Successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Tomas*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, revolted as it seemeth in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Arulius*, the Successor of *Ariss*, but that he added sumptuosity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and some Engines for the War: I will for this present pass them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable, (till we meet these *Affrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whose Issues we shall best give date to the Kings

of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Nimus, Ninias, Semiramis, Aris, Arisius, and Xerxes or Balanus. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures let us down without error, by the Raigos of the Assyrian Princes, we shall but patch up the Story at this day, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help, *Abraham non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non emendat. No marvel of them as things of the Ancients, History want assurance.*

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assyrian Kings Reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first settle the time of Abraham's Birth, and in what Year the same happened after the Flood. Now since all agree, that the fortythird year of Nimus was the Birth year of Abraham; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Flood the Birth of Abraham happened, we shall thereby let all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between Abraham's Birth and the Flood: a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Ammian*) makes but 250. years from the Flood to Nimus: then seeing that Abraham was born in the forty third year of Nimus, according to *Engelbus*, and *St. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of Abraham's Birth was the year after the Flood 293. or as the most part of all Chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it becometh me to give reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk alone, and in a way apart from multitude; yet not alone, and without company, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those Darts, which Envy casteth at novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the safe ways of Ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

§. II.

Approposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292. after the Flood, and not in the year 352.

THole which seek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Flood and Abraham's Birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture. *So Terah lived 70. years, and begot Abraham, Nabor, and Haran: secondly upon the opinion of Josephus, St. Augustine, Bede, Isidore, and many of the Ancient Hebrews before them: Authorities (while they are slightly looked over) seeming of great weight.*

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the latter Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that Terah at 70. years begot Abraham, Nabor and Haran: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the Son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest Son of Terah, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly it was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the Church

of God was continued, who was Heir of the Blessing; and not of Nabor and Haran: for the scope of the Scripture was to show the Genealogy of the Chosen People, from Adam to Abraham, without any regard of Nabor, and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham were not the eldest Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and to are all those times made doubtful. For if it came then be proved, that Abraham was born more than in the 70. year of Terah, he was not the eldest Son, and so the age of Abraham was not where it down perfectly that Abraham went into Canaan that very year, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that Terah begot Abraham at 130. year: seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. years.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, showing that Abraham made one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Father's death.

TO answer all which objections it is very ealie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of Abraham's journey into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend unto the Particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his Travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan: the latter after his Father's death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not tarrying for his Father's death at Haran: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place, which he should afterwards receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it self.

Surely, that Abraham first departed *Charran* or Haran after the death of Terah his Father, the same is proved, without the admision of any diffinition, by these words of St. Stephen: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of Haran into Canaan.* Against which place so direct and plain, what force hath any Mans fancy or supposition, persuading, that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan; one before Terah's death, and another after: no such thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it. For if any Man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham first went into Canaan, and then returned unto Haran, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the Commandment of God after his Father's death, leaving *Ur* and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith the *Martyr Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as Beza no-
teth,

teth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembered the other: and whence had Stephen, saith Beza, the knowledge of Abraham's coming into Canaan, but out of Moses? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the Jews his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that Abraham passed and repassed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his Faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever Man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolute Idolaters. He was besieged with Famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into Egypt for relief. His Wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for Sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and contently underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the waies themselves, which Abraham had to pass over, the length whereof was 300. English Miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of Euphrates, to travel through the dangerous and barren Deserts of Palmyrena, and to climb over the great and high Mountains of Libanus, Hermon or Gilead: and whether these were ealie walks: for Abraham to march twice over, containing, as afore-said, 300. Miles in length, let every reasonable Man judge. For if he traveled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. Miles from *Ur* to Haran: and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of Abraham's departing from Haran hath more proof, that he had not animus reverendi, not any thought looking backward, than any Mans bare conjecture, be he of what Antiquity or Authority forever. For thus it is written of him: *When Abraham took Sarah his Wife, and Lot his Brother's Son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the Souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the Land of Canaan, and to the Land of Mesopotamia they came.* Now if Abraham brought all with him that was dear unto him; his Wife, and his Kinmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could have been thence removed, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unfeared, and profit without, when he was at his first arrival. For had his Father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was a meer stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of Abraham's return to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back to Haran, about the time of his Father's Death: for they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second Voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain; if it be not over-troublesome. They say that Abraham was in Haran at his Father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that

he left quite undone the business, which as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn Oath his principal Servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a Wife for Isaac his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his Servant were so well acquainted in Mesopotamia, that they could particularly design any one Woman, as a fit match for Isaac? Surely if Abraham had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgement, in choosing a Woman, fit for 'her Piety, Vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only Son, who was then 35. years old; before which age most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten Children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a Servant, that either knew any, nor was known of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either Abraham forgot this business when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no Man can devise.

What might be the reason, that Abraham's Man in doing his Masters errand was faine to lay open the whole Story of his Masters Prosperity, telling it as news, that Sarah had born him a Son in her old Age? If Abraham himself, a more certain Author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needles to stand long upon a thing to evade: Whether it were lawful for Abraham to have returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly to be answered: considering how awfully he was from permitting his Son to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own Kindred, could not have been obtained without his personal presence. Take as I judged was sent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own Lineage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose Blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a Servant, suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by disguise. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his Servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's Wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider Mesopotamia from whence Abraham was taken, and Egypt out of which the whole Nation of the Israelites was delivered: we shall find, that no Blessing issued from either of them, to the Posterity of the Hebrews. When Ezechias was visited with an Honourable Embassy from Babel, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by Isaiah, made him to know, that the Council of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following Generation, when by the Waters of Babylon they sat down and wept. Concerning Egypt we read, that *Sisac* and *Neco* Kings of Egypt brought calamity upon Israel: also that their confidence in the Egyptian Incurers was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Egypt I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the People to return to Egypt, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction;

Gen. 24. 15.
35. c.

Gen. 24. 6.
& 8.

Gen. 28.

2 Kings.
20.

Psal. 135.
1 Kings.
14. 25. &
2 Kings.
23. 25. 29.

Deut. 17. 16.

injunction upon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of Abraham's is but an imagination; and that imaginations of Men are rather valuable among Children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that S. Stephen hath directly taught us, that Abraham left Haran, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the Travels of Abraham are precisely let down in the Scriptures: as first from Ur or Chaldaea in Chaldaea to Haran or Charran: and then from Haran (after his Father's death) to Sichem; from Sichem he removed to a Mountain between Bethel and Hai: thence into Egypt: from Egypt he returned thither again, where Lea and he parted, because their Flocks and Herds of Cattle were more, than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to Mamre, near Hebron: and thence having purified Ananias, and received Lot, he after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea, under Abimelech: and after near unto it at Bersabee, under Abimelech: and after near unto it at Bersabee, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son Isaac on the Mountain Moriah. But this Fiction of his retreat to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one Story, either Divine or Humane. Now if it may be supposed, that Abraham had made any former journey into Canaan, as Leviticus in his Cabala hath feigned, it should in reason be therewith believed, that he would in those his first Travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time, with his Wife, Kinsmen, Family, Goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But Abraham, when he came from Charran, pass through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sichem, and the Plain of Moriah: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to Bethel and Hai: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in Genesis the eleventh, He went forth, going and journeying towards the South: and always unsettled. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the Egyptians gave him and his the name of Hebrew. Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the Country, we may note, that ere he came to Bethel and Hai, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared unto him saying, Unto thy Seed will I give this Land, shewing it him as unto a Stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For Abraham without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God: neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those Countries unto him and his Seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should move any man to think, that Moses would have omitted any such double journey of Abraham's, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? As when he moved from Sichem, and seated between Hai and Bethel: the distance being but twenty Miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of Mamre, being but twenty four Miles: and when he left Mamre, and sat down at Gerar, being less than six Miles; no, Moses past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of Abraham: shut-

ting up all between the Creation and the Flood in six Chapters; which age lasted 1656 Years: but he belongeth on the Story of Abraham fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 Years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Moses forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abraham's Travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five Miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey as going and coming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to Abraham's Story.

§. IV.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it is not unlikely, that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth Year.

NOW touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely, that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130. Years, seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mislaid, and mislaid: Abraham having respect only to Sarah his Wife, when he spake of their many Years. For when the Angel said unto Abraham in his Tent door at Mamre's Lo, Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son, at Mamre's Lo, Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son, it followeth in the next verse, Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of Women: therefore Sarah laugheth, &c.

So then, in that it is said it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of Women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on Abraham. For Abraham by his second Wife Keturah had many Sons after Sarah's death, as Zimran, Joktan, Medan, Midian, Ishback, and Shuah: and the Eldest of these was born 37. Years after Isaac: and the youngest divers Years after. What strangeness then, that Terah being 130. Years old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at one hundred Years? For Sarah dyed in the Year of the World 2145. and Isaac was born in the year 2109. and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abraham beget five Sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when Abraham was 137. years old: it is not strange that his Father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Boaz, Obed and Jesse, who lived to many years and Ages after Abraham, beget Sons at 100. years or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that Terah beget Abraham at 130. and Abraham others at the same Age and seven years after.

Orig. in
mil. 114
Gen. 21.
Gen. 22.
Gen. 23.
Gen. 24.
Gen. 25.
Gen. 26.
Gen. 27.
Gen. 28.
Gen. 29.
Gen. 30.
Gen. 31.
Gen. 32.
Gen. 33.
Gen. 34.
Gen. 35.
Gen. 36.
Gen. 37.
Gen. 38.
Gen. 39.
Gen. 40.
Gen. 41.
Gen. 42.
Gen. 43.
Gen. 44.
Gen. 45.
Gen. 46.
Gen. 47.
Gen. 48.
Gen. 49.
Gen. 50.

§. V.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's Age from the Scriptures, though we make not Abraham the eldest Son: and that there was great cause, why in the Story of Abraham his two Brethren should be respected.

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings Abraham's age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest Son of Terah, and born when Terah was 70 years old. For Abraham's age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of Abraham's age, unless we make him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205. which was the Year of his Death, then was Abraham 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Haran at that age: I answer, that S. Stephen hath told us, that Abraham's departure followed the death of his Father Terah: and Terah died at 205; so as the 75. Year of Abraham was the 205. Year of Terah; which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That Moses had no respect unto Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the Church, but to Abraham only, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom Christ defended according to the Flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses for many great and necessary Causes had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the Illies of Nachor and Haran, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For Nachor was the Father of Bethuel and Bethuel of Rebecca the Mother of Isaac: and Haran was the Parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milchah: and Sarah was Mother to Isaac, and Grand-mother to Jacob: Milchah also the Wife of Nachor, and Mother of Bethuel, was Jacob's great Grand-mother: and the age of Sarah the Daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by Nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nachor and Abraham married the Daughters of their Brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the Grand-child of Nachor; and Jacob Lea and Rachel, the Daughters of Laban, the Grand-child also of Nachor: it was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these men's times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is Job. 24. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their Natural Country, and City of Ur in Chaldaea, as Abraham did, and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chaldaea; but Lot, his Son, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the Sister of Lot, Abraham married. Nachor also, who remained at Charran, gave his Sons Daughters to Isaac and Jacob, his own kinsmen: he himself having also married in his own Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with frangers and Idolaters. And that these Men at length believed in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seen the Servant of Abraham standing at the Well beside Charran, he invited him to his Father's House in this

manner: Come in thou blessed of Jehovah, &c. And when this Servant of Abraham's demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and said: This thing is proceeded of Jehovah: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods Providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written: Take, take, say, that I may be thy Masters Sons Wife, even as Jehovah hath said. This their often using of the name of Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chrysostom, and some later writers, as Cajetan, Oleaster, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or household Gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nachor, and he called Abraham's Servant, Blessed of Jehovah, as aforesaid. So as for my self I dare not avow, that these Men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three Brethren, Gen. 11. ver. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest: together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest Son of Terah.

TO the main objection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest Son of Terah, and born in the 70. Year of Terah's life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And Terah lived 70. Years and begat Abraham, Nachor and Haran: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the fame is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in Blood and Birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first Sons in Nature and time: for Seth was not the first-born of Adam: nor Isaac of Abraham: nor Jacob of Isaac: nor Nod and Joseph of Jacob: nor David the eldest of Jesse: nor Solomon of David: as is formerly remembered.

But it is written of Noah, Noah was 500. years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japhet: shewing that at the 500. year of his Age he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For according to S. Augustine speaking generally, Nec attendamus esse in his ordo nativitate, sed significatio suae dignitatis: in qua excellit Abraham. The order of nativitate is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which Abraham was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the Sons of Noah: so is it here; where it is said that Terah lived 70. years and begat Abraham, Nachor, and Haran: for it was late ere Terah began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130. Enosh Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalalel at 70. Mahalalel Tered at 60. Noah was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons as aforesaid. And S. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terah's Sons, than

Gen. 11. 26.
29.

Aug. quaest.
Cyp. Gen.
25.

Gen. 12. 5.
6.

Gen. 12. 5.
6.

As mundi
2038. diti.
329. nativ
Abraham.
Ezech. An
69. d. di
Cicut. Dei
1. 16. 57.

fumed : and taking the *Assyrian* History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Flood to the 43. year of *Ninus* : in which 43. year of *Ninus* *Abraham* was born : which happened in the year of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352. years, we must give one part, as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the East, to wit, 30. year to *Chus*, ere he begat *Shem* : of which, though the *Scriptures* are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* Regu at 30. *Regu* Serug at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Saba*, *Raama* and *Sabtechu* : and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen. 10.* which *S. Augusine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder Brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born : and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison : For *Peleg*, the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same year of his Life.

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other Generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel* : for sure we are that it was done by Hands, and not by Miracle : because it displaced God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125 : The rest of the time of 121. (in which they arrived in *Shinar* whereof there are 6. years remaining) we may give them for their Travels remaining : we may give them for their Travels from the East : because they were pestered with Women, Children and Cattle : and as some ancient Writers have conceived, and *Eusebius* of later times, they kept always the Mountains sides, for fear of a second Flood. Now if we take this number of 121. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bewoeth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* born : Both which *S. Augusine* approveth : which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from the Flood to *Abraham's* Birth : which number of 114. necessity bewoeth on *Nimrod*.

And it is to be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over long : sure if we compare the Age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but one hundred seventy nine years : whereof he Reigned one hundred and twelve : whereas *Sale* who was the Son of *Arphaxad* the Son of *Sem*, lived four hundred and thirty three years : And of the same Age of the World was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born *Ninus* Reigned 9. years : which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dyeth and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successor. *Semiramis* governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. years, and dyed in the 52. year complete of *Abraham's* life.

Ninus or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years, in the second year of whose Reign *Abraham* left *Meopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 83. years old, he refused his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrow by *Isurph* *Abraham* King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninia* Reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* dyed : which was the 75. year of his Age : So that *Abraham* may seem to have been this *Ninus* the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. year, as aforesaid, being the 75. year

of *Abraham*, he and his Fellow-Kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own Reign : after which he Reigned five years : which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Abraham* could not be *Ninus*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have let them down, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the Story of *Abraham*, is most certain : unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impiety : or account the whole History of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be a Fiction, which were to condemn all Ancient Historians for Fable.

§. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the four Kings whom *Abraham* overthrow, *Gen. 14.* may probably be thought to have been *Ninus* the Son of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham's* life, that is, in the 33. year of the Reign of *Ninus* *Zameis* the King of the *Assyrians*, the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia* : *Ninus* *Zameis* then Reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninus* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel* : who invaded *Tracemisi* or *Babylon*, and overthrow those five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the *Scriptures* tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia* : and the times before accounted make him to be the Successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* : and it falleth out with the 85. Year of *Abraham's* life : wherein he refused *Lot*, *Reu*, *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrow the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch* : For *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the five Cities, were the Vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel* : as it is written. Twelve years were they subject to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13. year they rebelled, and in the 14. year came *Chedorlaomer* and the Kings that were with him : and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*. Now *Persia* being leaved over *Tigris*, and to the East of *Amraphel's* Country ; and the other two Kings, which were Companions with the other four, being leaved to the West of *Shinar* or *Babylonia* : *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, cometh at this time to have had no great scope or large Dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that he was : For these little Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrha*, &c. were his Vassals, and not *Amraphel's*) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninus*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall then more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall, at the time of this War : though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phenician* Sea : to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

§. X.

Of *Arich* another of the four Kings : and that *Eliaz*, whereof he is said to have been King, lies between *Cælefyria* and *Arabia Petrea*.

NOW the two other Kings joyned with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arich* and *Tidal* : the one King of *Eliaz*, the other of the Nations. For *Eliaz*, *Arich*, and *Hierom* write *Pentus* : fo *Tobias* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont* : which opinion *Petrus* favourieth. But this is only to defend the Latin Translation. For as *Pentus*, fo is *Hellepont* far distant, and out of the way to find any Armies into *Arabia Petrea*, or into *Idumæa* : which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded : Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any Dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the less as Commanders : but used all the art they had to invite *Cresus* to their assistance : perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made War with *Bera*, King of *Sodom*, *Bispha* King of *Gomorrha*, *Shinab* King of *Admah*, and *Shemur* King of *Zebonim*, and the King of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex* : being lack of a kind of *Reguli*, as *Tobias* found in the Land long after : Namely Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoining ; of which *Canaan* had 33. all slain or hanged by *Tobias*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power : And therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotency and weakness in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers Kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar* : yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty Kings, or of the other Countries : But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæsar* : and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no less doubtful than *Perseus* : But the whole Country by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Ruben* : a narrow valley of Ground lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir* : inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Libanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Provinces of *Tracemisi* or *Babylon*, and the Region of the *Maabites* : a Conquest far invaluable, and little answering the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable Estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the *Volgar* and *Apollon* convert a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to joyn with the *Assyrians* in this War, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not shaming the word of *Eliaz* at all, but as they keep the word *Arach*, on the Mountains whereof the *Ark* did rest, so do they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Eliaz*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Petrus* himself re-

membrateth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont* : yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus* de *Orbibus* a *Græcian Cosmograph*, findeth the City of *Eliaz* in the border of *Cælefyria*. And *S. Hierom* calleth *Eliaz* the City of *Arach*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælefyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arach* was King : who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, being of the same Family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus* after whom the name of *Arach* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arich* : and afterward again *Arach* : as in the *Maabites* : the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of *S. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Arach* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arich* was General of his Army, and the Principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings : which makes it plain, that *Arich* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arich* confederate of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pentus*, nor of *Scythia* : Regions far removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arach*, who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans* : who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria* : according to *Stephanus* : though *Pliny* sets it between the *Sea-coast*, and *Adria* : as if any Brother of the *Arabian* Kings or other of that House (known by the name of *Arach*, *Arach*, *Arach* or *Arach*) had the Government of that *Persian* Province called *Elymeis* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arich* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arach*, the confederate of *Ninus* : whose Sons held league as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldaea* : and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House, and Blood : which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

§. XI.

Of *Tidal* another of the four Kings.

THE fourth King by *Abraham* overthrow was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gogim*, which *Vatellius* takes to be a proper name : *Lyra* of mixt people : *Calvius* of runawayes without habitation : *Petrus* out of *Sirach*, finds that *Gabæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people : namely of *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. Nam tales sunt qui *Gabæa* habitant. Such are the inhabitants of *Calice*, saith *Sirach* : and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so : but the authority of *Sirach* is nothing in this question. For *Gabæa* was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of *Sirach*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt : which I know not. But there are many ptry Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia*, and *Chaldaea*, as *Palmyra*, *Batanea*, *Ludæa*, *Apamea*, *Chalcedice*, *Callistia*, *Chalchoni*, and all these do also joyn themselves to *Meopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

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§. XII.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chief of the 4. Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

Lastly, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrap, Viceroy, or Provincial Governor of Babylon, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Perrin* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a King of *Elam*: those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldees*, *Shinar*, *Babylonians*, or *Assyria*: but never by *Elam*, and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was for led of *Kidar*, from *Gidarim* which in the Hebrew signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the Garment which the Persian Kings wore on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this Invasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His Fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamercain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storm-like and terrible success: but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life: and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a Man violent, insolent, and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her Son having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no less Feminine than she was Masculine. And as Wounds and Wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a Successor. For in *Regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, This King shined little* (saith *Niclausus* of *Ninus*) in the Babylonian Kingdom. And likely it is that the necks of mortal Men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, Nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery: no long deferred having as yet invested the Assyrians with a right: nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold for many great Princes and Nations his Vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to Reign 42. years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to

Mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before Honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentions peril enjoy.

These Considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the King of *Persia*, than either his superior or equal, make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylon*.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan* a passage of 700. Miles, or little less, with Women, Children, and Carriages: the Countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. year of *Ninus*, when *Abraham* obeying the Voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their Liberty and former Estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four *Strabiles*, millions, with her self utterly consumed in *India*, and all her Arms and Engines of War, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest Souls and weakest hearted Creatures of the World, to repurchase their former Liberty.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninus*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Babylonians* and *Cassians*, and again subjected them: which needed not if they had not been revolted from *Ninus*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arius* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Aegypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor & triumphator*, a Conquerour and Triumpher, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned: but if we grant this conquest, then is it true that while *Ninus* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of *Moses* as before remembered.

§. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came; which if it be so, we need not say that *Amraphel* was *Ninus*, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all Writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these 4. Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seem intitled: doth almost enforce us to think that the

History

History must be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those Lands, or if (as *Hierem* hath it) *Chedorlaomer*, was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties which Men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arius* was drawn to assist the *Persians*, against the *Sodomites*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the Vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia*, as *Chedorlaomer*, should pass through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Me*, *Isopattania*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his Ear, being disjoin by so many great Nations of different Languages, a Wife man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the Kingdom of *Eklessar*, and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorra*? and when he should have fought the Establishment of his new-gotten Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharus* of *Medis*, and *Zerobabel* of *Babylonia*) than to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, and the great City of *Danuel*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleged against the first Conquest of the Vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: So are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small Province to Rebel against so powerful a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or find to reclaim them, when his terrible Army approached, fill to entertain hope of Evailon: Yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore unwelcome people) against the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves and the River of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no greater wisdom, if he knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a World of Men against them: whom by his *Lieutenants*, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Country, was not sufficient to conserve one months charges of so huge an Army. How small then must his Valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wailing of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, making no use of them; but returned well contented with a few Prisoners, and the pillage of the Country, although he had broken their Army in the Field? Now the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed to great) make any fearful matter: but compose the two Armies, as equally match, saying they were four Kings against five: yea, if the place be literally ex-

pounded, we shall find that *Abraham* fl. w. all these Kings, of which great laughter no History makes mention: Neither will the Reign of *Ninus*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon: neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears that these four Kings, were not the fame that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these Kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a Troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might conjoin together, and make the weakest of the Country which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of *Tenochides*, with the manner of Discoveries, Conquests and Plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*; with almost as many Kings as several Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new Discoveries, Passages, and Conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual, for the Leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make Alliances to gether, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a Conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the stothful quality of *Ninus* then Reigning in *Assyria*: whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking Spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the Reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unengaged: whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of Writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof of all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninus*: And that the power of his Ancestors being by his stoth decayed, he might well be inferior to the Persian *Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an Under-King or Satrap of *Shinar*, under *Ninus*: who may be supposed to have had his Imperial Seat in his Fathers City *Ninive*: and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the City of his Mother, whom he hated as an Usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any Mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might ere: then can I think that the opinion, That these four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a Persian King, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arius* (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a Man of Action or

being

being a worthy Mans Son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these Captains or petty Kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seem better than these. But of what Countries or people forever these four were Kings, this expedition is the only publick Action that we know of performed by

Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews *Elam* and *Jacob*, as they are regulated by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in this Story of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing Kingdom, it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities, and first Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt from the first Peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

Soon after the Confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham* with many of his Issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Flood) came thither and took possession of the Country: in which they built many Cities: and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The ancient Governours of this Kingdom till such time as *Israhel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the Table following.

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	<i>Cham</i> .
2008.	352.	<i>Ofiris</i> .
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon</i> <i>Hercules</i> .
2276.	620.	<i>Orus</i> .
2391.	735.	<i>Sesoftris</i> the Great.
2424.	768.	<i>Sesoftris</i> the Blind.
2438.	782.	<i>Buloris</i> or <i>Orus</i> the second
2476.	820.	<i>Actencher</i> or <i>Thermutis</i> or <i>Meris</i> .
2488.	832.	<i>Rathoris</i> or <i>Ahoris</i> .
2497.	841.	<i>Cheneres</i> drowned in the Red Sea.

The Table and especially the *Chronology*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and restless truth cannot be found. For *S. Augustin*, a Man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Syrian* ones, whom he remembereth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who to magnifie their Antiquities, filled

the Records (which were in their hands) with many leafings: and recounted unto Strangers, the names of many Kings that never Reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure is it that the magnificent Works and Royal Buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in States that have greatly flourished, witness that their Princes were of marvelous greatness: and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *John Amnius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus; That *Amnius* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronology* or *Genealogy* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian Writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Enchirion*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Amnius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Hecataeus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

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That by the accounts of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that *Cham's* Reign in *Egypt* began in the Year after the Flood 191.

To reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most Controversie, the best means is by help of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is joined by general consent, with the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater Gods: So that all the years of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynasty*, endured fourteen years: the fourteenth 26: the fifteenth 37. These three last are said to have been under the three younger Gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these Dyn. was such as hath been mentioned, because *Amnius* in such wide limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, That *Amnius* hath it to: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Enchirion* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161. years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 332. years, which were between the Flood and *Abraham's* birth, sheweth that the beginning of the first *Dynasty*, which was the beginning of *Cham's* Reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of Mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, Anno à diluvio 131. In building the Tower were consumed forty years as *Glycas* recordeth: whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattle, and Substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogs, Forests, and Briers (which the Deluge and want of Culture in one hundred and seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable Man will doubt. To this passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow 20 years: and these summs being added together, to wit one hundred thirty one years after the Flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40. years for their stay there, and 20. for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the sum of 191 years: at which time we said that *Cham* began his Reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this sum of 191. years if we add the 161. years of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil* 352. And hereunto, omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above 161. years: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Flood: or the *Dynasties*

(as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the Plantation of *Egypt*, after the Flood, enough hath been said to prove: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Flood, the number of the long-lived Generations between *Adam* and the Flood, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or it we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Flood, as before: considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Country erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conduiter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oftentimes many under one King.

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several Races of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Councillor, only reserving the Sovereignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turks* doth to the chief *Vizier*. This is confirmed first by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Ofiris* or *Ahoris*, and must therefore have been lucidations, not of Kings, but rather of Councillors and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes Borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Amimilech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captain of his Host: though in taking *Abraham's* Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Amimilech* the Son of *Gidon* it was said: Is not he the Son of *Jerubbal*? and *Zebul* is his Officer? Also *Ishobab* the Son of *Saul*, feared *Ahner* the Captain of the Host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him, in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of Government upon others; and upon jealousie, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*: Only in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold I have set thee over all the Land of *Egypt*. William, Archbishop of Tyre, who flourished about the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like or very fine form of Government by *Viceroy*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Country,

William
Tr. de H.
Sicard. 159.
ca. 17, 18,
19, & 20.

callesh *Vexoris*: For *Jufine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Nimus*: whereby it would follow that *Sefoftris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Ofiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father-in-law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh* *Yaphis*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his Daughter: after which time *Sefac* oppressed *Rehobam*, and gave it to his Daughter: after which time *Sefac* oppressed *Rehobam*, and *Necho* fought passage through the land of *Israel*, when he made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sefoftris*. Of *Sefac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *Judea*, with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sefoftris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholastic* *Apollonius*. But further answer may be made to show that they were not one. For as *Jufine* witnesseth, *Sefoftris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made War on People far removed, abtaining from his neighbours. *Sefac* came up purposely against *Hierufalem*. *Sefoftris*, as *Diad.* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse. *Sefac* had 60000: *Sefoftris* had 8020. Chariots, *Sefac* but 1200: *Sefoftris* made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sefac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Terebans*, and give him countenance in his new reign: whom he had favoured even against *Salomon*: therefore *Sefoftris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Kremzheimius* collecteth out of *Hierodotus*, and *Diadorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menas*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirm that he reigned next after the Gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Ofiris* did succeed those 12. Gods, namely the twelve greater and three lesser: himself also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being callesh *Menas*. Which name, as also *Mineus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Kremzheimius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*: the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Aritmetician*: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Ofiris*: who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proofs and great undertakings *Sefoftris* was no whit inferior to *Ofiris*. For he fought victory not for gain, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his own brother purposely fired: which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three years: after which time he chose rather to die than to live: because he fell blind. Both *Hierodotus*, and *Diadorus*, affirm that *Sefoftris* left a Son, whose name was *Phoron* or *Phorones*: who afterwards took the name of *Sefoftris*: but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness *Hierodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javeline: which tale *Diadorus* having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his Father. How long this Man reigned it is no where expressed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Bu-*

ris) who succeeded him, began 14. years after that this *Sefoftris* had been King, it must needs be that this reigned 14. years at least. That *Bufris* began not until these 14. years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Bufris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt* plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Sefoftris* the second and *Bufris* or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities: which are these. After *Sefoftris* had regained somewhat, he fell blind: after certain years he recovered his sight, as is said: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: surely the manner of his recovery as it is set down, is very fabulous: namely that by looking upon a Woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own Husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his Reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his Reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by *Hierodotus*, and *Diadorus*: a part of which may seem to have been the fulfilling of that which his Father had begun, about the Channels and Sluces of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shovels, than with darts, and javelins: and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eyesight and his peoples love: whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of *Bufris* the first oppressor of the Israelites: and of his successor Queen Thermutis that took up Moyses out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Bufris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Terebans* did with the Son of *Salomon*. For that *Bufris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the Children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sefoftris*, as *Terebans* was by *Salomon* in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry: and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new King: as *Terebans* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at another: unless he have either an equal Spirit, or a furer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of public works from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: he is surely did that which to his own people was very plausible, (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing lack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Bufris* was the King that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the Hebrew Children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten months: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers, who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Bufris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Ex. 1.* that the King, who knew not *Jefeph*, was a King of a new family. That *Bufris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloody *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Bufris* according to all mens computation, began his reign 5. years after the

the birth of *Mofes*: before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Burning* thinks to have lasted 87. years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sefoftris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Pharaohs* in *Egypt* was: and how great countenance the Kings did put in them: seeing *Jefeph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for Bread: bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for Bread: at the same time the best of the Land to his own Father and Brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh*, that he had sold them for Bread: *Pharaoh* laid to all the *Egyptians*, *Get ye for Bread: Pharaoh* laid to all the *Egyptians*, *Get ye for Bread: what he said to you, do ye.* Here a Stranger *Jefeph*: what he said to you, do ye. Here a Stranger born, lately fetched out of Prison, a King not able to have governed himself, would give such Traff, and Sovereign Authority: it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do so to a Son of especial Reputation. For God often punishes, not only the good (such as *Jefeph* was) but wicked Men also, as by his Instruments against the day of Wrath. Therefore perhaps the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his Reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sefoftris*. But whether *Bufris* did usurp the Kingdom, or possession of the Land by violence: or whether the blind King resigned it, keeping the Title: or whether *Bufris* were only *Regent*, whilst the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himself: it might well be said that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Mofes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and shortly after King in deed and Title both. It were not absurd for us to say that the blind King *Sefoftris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked Tyrant showed his evil Nature even when he first arose: I think it more likely, that *Bufris* did it, using at first the power of a King, and shortly after the file. Thus of the 122. years which passed between the beginning of *Sefoftris* his Reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Bufris* or *Orus* the second, and his Children. *Bufris* himself reigned 30. years, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his Daughter, who took *Mofes* out of the Water, is said by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years: Her name was *Thermutis* *Pharaoh*: or *Amnis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Ameritis*: and out of *Arabanus* his History *Miris*: *Jofephus* calls her both *Ameritis* and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panoplia* faith that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amneph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last Title question might be made and much spoken: For the Scriptures call her not *Pharaoh*'s Sons Daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. *Amneph* indeed is placed next before *Bufris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: But whether he were a King or only a *Regent* I cannot conjecture. For *Hierodotus*, *Diadorus*, and the Ancient Historians name the Son of *Sefoftris*, *Phoron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh* *Amneph*: and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Niece or Grandchild, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sefoftris*, and the disreputation of his Son. If so, and if that *Bufris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any Title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was the both Daughter, Grandchild, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*: and surviving him,

Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if she were the Daughter of *Orus* the second and Sister of *Ahoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her Brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two Brethren of Queen Thermutis: and what King it was, under whom Moyses was born: and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

THE had two Brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Ahoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegmus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and Offspring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his Sisters death Reigned 9. years: after whom *Cherres*, thought to be his Son, Reigned 10. and then perished in the Red Sea. During the Reign of *Cherres*, *Eusebius* faith, that *Telegmus* begat *Epaphus* upon 16. of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Cherres* (whom some call *Acherres*: but all or most do stile *Sefac*, a fighter against God) *Acherres* Reigned 8. years: and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the 17. year of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* Reigning in the lower part of *Egypt* built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the Plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea: else could it not have had two Reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity seems to have taken all from *Cherres* the Grandchild of *Cherres*. For whereas *Amnis* is said to have Reigned 4. years after *Cherres*: and *Amnis* one after *Amnis*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one; and his Reign said to have been 5. years. His name is called *Amnis*, otherwise *Danau*: and his Pedegree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Julia*,

Telegmus:
Epaphus:
Libya, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Bufris*.

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Egyptus or *Rameses*: who gave name to the Country, having expelled his brother *Danau*, Reigned, and begat *Lyncus* Married to *Hypermestra*.

Danau or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Egyptus*, after he had Reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in Greece: was Father to *Hypermestra*.

How it might come to pass that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to have been born in the time of *Cherres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversely related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the Father of *Danau* and *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameses*, was equally distant from *Bufris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the Grandchild of *Cherres*.

And that the Posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two Brethren, *Danau* and *Aegyptus*: of whom the former had 50. Daughters, the latter 50. Sons: perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget Children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danau* did succeed *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five years. *Ramses* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Ramses* or *Aegyptus* is that *Armses* of *Armses*, of *Armses*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born: and the cruel Edict made of drowning the Hebrew Children. The length of his Reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator's* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go return to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*, *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Aegyptians* at the 40. year of his age: and did into the Wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this *Ramses*, who reigned so long: wherefore defrout rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Error, he placeth one *Alisfragmus* (whose name is found in the Life of *Aegyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 12. or 13. years more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themul* (whom *Euf.* calls *Anafis*) downwards with no other varia-

tion of the length of each Mans Reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euseb.* he binds *Moses* born under *Armses* to *Armses*: and *Israel* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmus* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a King, or a wise Man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmus* to *Phragmus*, *Pharagmus*, *Pharagmus*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a Man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Cherres* was the King who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod. 4. all are dead*, &c. may better be understood of *Burris* and all his Children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, *S. Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian* the Apostate, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. years old: *Ramses*, which was this *Armses*, being then King of *Aegypt*. After *Ramses*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the Kings ensuing to their own times (which a Chronological Table shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-pass.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses's* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.

TRUE it is that the History it self is generally and well known: yet concerning the time of *Moses's* birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great works of the Highest, the different opinions are very near as many, as the Men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his Annotations upon *S. Augustine's* sixth many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he meant the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all stories Divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived the commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites* or *Moabites* or *Edomites* while he ruled, in *terram naturam*.

A second opinion he remembereth of *Apion*, taken from *Ptolema* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was born while *Inachus* ruled the *Argives*, and *Ameis* in *Aegypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his Greek History the first Book: that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Africanus*, who though he cite some Authorities, that *Moses* lived after the Trojan War, is himself of opinion,

that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many Arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of *Numerius* the Philosopher, who took *Museus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Arctanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Moseus*, by the *Græcians*: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by *Chemphis*, or *Thermis*, the Daughter of *Aegypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Moris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermis*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth that by *Eupolemus* in his first Book *De bono*, *Moses* vir *Deo* conjunctissimus is called *Museus* *Judeorum*. *Eusebius* in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Aegypt*. The ancient *Manetho* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses's* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thumosis*: the same perchance which *Apion* the Grammarian will have to be *Ameis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Setubos*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* give the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemeth most probable, that while *Sapirus*, called also *Spherus* or *Spherus*, governed *Affrica*; *Orthopolis* *Sycyonia*; and *Crisius* the *Argives*; that then (*Scythia* the second ruling in *Aegypt*) *Moses* was born. For if we believe *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops's* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduis* *Moses* ex *Egypto* populum *Dei* novissimo tempore *Cecrops* *Atheniensium* re-

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Aug. 11.
c. 11.
c. 12.

gie: *Moses* (saith he) led the People of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops's* time King of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses's* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. *S. August.* affirms (as before remembered) that *Moses* was born: *Sapirus* governing *Affrica*; and that he left *Aegypt* about the end of *Cecrops's* time. Now *Sapirus* ruled 20. years; his successor *Manelus* 30. years; *Sapirus* after him 40. years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Athenades* followed *Sapirus*, and held the Empire 41. So as *Moses* being born while *Sapirus* ruled *Affrica*; *Orthopolis* *Sycyonia*; and *Crisius* *Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Aegypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Affrican* *Sapirus*: for take one year remaining of 20. (for so long *Sapirus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Manelus*, and the 40. years of *Sapirus*, these make 71. with which there were waited three years of *Cecrops* his 50. years: then take nine years out of the Reign of *Athenades*, who was *Sapirus's* successor, those nine years added to 71. make 80. which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his 50. and so it falleth right with *S. Augustine's* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the People of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine year before the birth of *Moses*, and 54. year, or rather more, after *Joseph*: between whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. years: some of which time, and 80. years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For as it is written in *Exodus*, *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and Ramses*, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of *Israel* to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid upon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: even from 54. years, or not much more, after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World, when it had lasted 2370. years, to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his Miracles in the Field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof according to *Codeman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this discourse.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scripture.

THIS City which the *Hebrews* call *Zaan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* call it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremie*; the *Septuaginta*; *Tanis*; *Josephus* *Protatidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Tonius*; *Helegippus* *Thannia*; and *William* *Tyrinus*, *Tanias*. It adjoineth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and Jewish Idolatry.

Num. 33.
Exod. 30.
Hierem. 2.
c. 44.
c. 45.
c. 46.
c. 47.
c. 48.
c. 49.
c. 50.

Exod. 30.
c. 44.
c. 45.
c. 46.
c. 47.
c. 48.
c. 49.
c. 50.

Aug. 11.
c. 11.
c. 12.

Zaan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses's* time the Metropolis of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Arctanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read *Abram* in *Helipolis* or *On*, to *Pitarates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise: saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which Authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuaginta*, and the *Vulgar* Edition, for *Zaan* write *Helipolis*. *Paginus*, *Vatinius*, *Junius*, and our *English* call it *On*; and *Ptolema* *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Eastern-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be that *Helipolis* to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the same which *Vatinius*, and our *English* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which *Phy*, *Mela*, and *Phry* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrinus* in the Holy War, *Malvee*; the *Arabians* *Bahabeth*; and *Simon* *Sabis*, *Sabis*. Of this *Helipolis* or *On*, was *Phimphar* Priest, or Prince, whose Daughter *Joseph* married. In the Territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias* the high Priest of the Jews built a Temple, dedicated to the eternal God; not much inferior to that of *Jerusalem* (*Ptolema* *Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which stood to the time of *Vespasian*, 333. years after the Foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* falsely reporteth, herein to have fulfilled a Prophecy of *Isai*, c. 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terra Egypti. In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of Egypt. Amos* *Ephraim* at that time of the building *Tyrannus* over the Jews, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was, that our Saviour Christ *Jesus* remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (saith *Brocardus*) the Fountain is still found, called *Jesai Well*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Aegypt*. And hence let me more in *Brocardus* in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the City of *Nepis*, remembered by *Isidore* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Hesai* the *Priest* calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining, so called, which *Mountain Herodotus* remembereth. And this is that great City, which was called *Amenphis*; and so the *Septuaginta* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alcalaby*; and *Tudalenti*, *Mizaraim*.

Pelufium, which *Vatinius*, *Paginus*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuaginta* call *Sais*; and *Montanus* *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damietta*, as *Gul. Tyrinus* witnesseth. In the time of *Saladin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrinus*) *quo olim dicitur esse Pelufium*, *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The City of *No*, the *Septuaginta* call *Diopolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, for so *Hierome* and *Ziegler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pisefeth*.

To make the Story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the Land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembered in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Helipolis* or *Belbeis*, *Balsamum*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses's* passage through the Delarts of *Arabia* the *Story*. For all

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

Exod. 4.
c. 13.
c. 14.

all Story without the knowledge of the places, wherein the Actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these Pictures and Descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned Man *Arrianus Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words. *Si enim aliquid quod locorum observatione res seque narrentur, adeo confusa atque perturbata evasit, ut nec ulla res nihil non observamus, nihil non difficile elici possit. If narration (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge, all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young Children in Egypt: and of Moses his preservation, and education.

BUT to return to the Story it self. It appeareth that notwithstanding the Labour and Slavery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: inasmuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented Poverty, and the able Bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his Estate, by suggestion of the Devil resolved to slaughter all the male Children of the *Hebrews*, so soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Tina*, Women the most famous and expert amongst them, *qua preerat* (saith *Commentor*) *multitudine obsequiorum, who had command given them over all Midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict.* To have called all the Midwives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversely disputed. *S. Augustin* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, The King of *Egypt* commanded the Midwives of the *Hebrews*, *Wives*, &c. But *Josephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Perrinus* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that cruel Murder, to the end the World might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future Indignation and Revenge: *Pharaoh* finding those Women filled with Piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* Children born within his Dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice, which every King oweth to his Vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure; *Josephus* giveth another cause, of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a

Child; who growing to Mans Estate should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the Ordinance of God, by a name, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he stretched out his bloody and merciless Hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the Spiritual Kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should have been Temporal, he caused all the Male Children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of forknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of *Exodus*. Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be War, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told us from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly Men, when forgetting the Lord of all Power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved Daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nitus*, being therein turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a sucking and powerless Infant. And this Prince's having beheld the Child his form and Beauty, though but yet in the blouth, he pierced her compassion, as he did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her Deed, the called the Child *Moses*, as it were, *extrañus*, or *creptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the Water: or after *Josephus* and *Gyca*, *Moy*, a voice expelling Water, and *hisei*, as much to say, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. *Clement Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was Circumcised, before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram*, his Father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully brought up by the care and at the charge of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and by Men of the most understanding taught and instructed: *quem regis more educavit, profectus est sapientius: Egyptianum Magistru, a quibus eruditur*, saith *Basil*; *Unto whom he gave Princely education, appointing over him wise Masters of the Egyptians for his Instructors.* Thereby (say *Josephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the *Martyr Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Six. Seneca* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses*, and the Reign of *Joshua*.

§. IV.

Of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his War in Ethiopia; and of his Marriage there: *Philo* his judgement of his Pastoral life: and that of *Petrus* of the Books of Genesis and Job.

WHen *Moses* was grown to mans Estate, *Josephus* and *Enschius*, out of *Arrianus*, tell us of ten years War that he made against the *Ethiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses* called *Meroe*; and how he re-

Esa. 48.

Strab. 1.

Phil. de vita Moys.

covered that City by the favour of *Tharbis*, Daughter of *Abisipha*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Commentor* a pretty tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that War, *Tharbis* redressing his return into *Egypt*, *Moses*, most skillful in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones: whereof the one encreased memory; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which Ring of forgetfulness, after the said a while worn, he began to neglect the love the bare her Husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. year of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering Country to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a Man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Medianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a Father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country nearest *Egypt*; fittest to return from: necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Egypt* and *Juda*, through which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, he served. And lastly, where the glory of the World shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted Child of great *Pharaoh's* Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, sitting at a Mountain foot; a keeper and commander of those poor Beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, near *Madian*, he continued 40. years. And though (as *Philo* tells the Story of *Moses* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge; but that he excelled all others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desert enjoyed himself; and being separated from the press of the World, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging, that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Philo*) *qui Pastorali, quasi praeludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, regis munusculum. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercere se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod posita in militia & bello perscutione sunt; brutis præambulationibus exercitiis, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura munusculi pecoris habet quoddam simile cum regno in subsidio; adeoque Reges cognominantur Pastores populi, non contumelia sed honoris gratia: The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-*

hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild Beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in Warfare: those brute Beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of War and of Peace. But the government of gentle Cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over Subjects; therefore, Kings are styled Shepherds of the People, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Perrinus* suppotheth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Perrinus*'s opinion, that *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the books of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Perrinus*'s conjecture, That by the example of *Job's* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrew*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of thir delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plenty promised.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as Man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self; but the Eternal: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of Men are changed every moment: their substance waleth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Una est Dei & sola natura, qua verè est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliquid, sed semetipsum. Cetera que creata sunt, etiam si videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursus non esse, quod non fuit; It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again cease being. And with this, in respect of the Divine nature, the saying of *Zeno* *Eternus* excellently agreeth: *Tota verum natura umbra est, aut inanis, ut folium: The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful: in comparison of whom (saith *Epicurus*) all Nations are as nothings, less than nothing, and vanity.**

Hieron. ad Dan.

C. 4. v. 13.

C. 16. v. 9.

Angel of the waters say, *Lara, thou art full*, which is dead and which wast: and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.

intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of 7. Months in the 19. years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found: Yet that error which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new *Cycle* containing four of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astronomer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his *Periods*, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the *Kalendar* was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who by advice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies; reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365. days and six hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24. of *February*: The correction of the *Julian year* by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed, but as a note added unto the work of *Caesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entered the *Aequinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1582. ten days sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregory* struck out of the *Kalendar* ten days, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feasts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundredth year, the Leap-day should be omitted, excepting full the fourth hundred: because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365. days; but falleth so many minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 19. years, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out so, that always the *Kalends* or first day of the Month was at the new Moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year of the Moon, passing through all the 12. Signs in one Month, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First therefore they gave to *Nisan* their first Month, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. days; to *Iar* their second Month 29. days; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two Months of theirs contained somewhat even two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days, 12. hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or *Epact* days, which made up 7. Months in 19. years; to 6. of which 7. were commonly given 30. days; to one of them 29. days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several days of each Month) contained 354. days, which fall of the year; wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle*, of 19. years were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both

the Sun and Moon were found on the same day, of the year, Month and Week, yea, commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of 19. years before.

Divers have diversely set down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigenius* tells us: that every second year they did add a Month of 22. days; every fourth year a Month of 23. in the regular of 11. days and a half wanting to 12. Moons to fulfil a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigenius* was very much deceived: For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. days: and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fallow of all the Months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one Month, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the 19. years. For to omit such as err grossly I fume there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in 36. courses of the Moon, 32. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Month of 30. days; keeping three days as it were in pluggage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary Month, remained six days, namely three surmounting that Month, and the *Epact* of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which with the *Epact* of the 19. year make up a Month of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year every Month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which in convenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the Months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th years, added unto the 22. days, arising out of the *Epacts* of the 7th and 8th years, do fully serve to make up a Month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every Month. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* Months and Years, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Eihon*, to recover the Mountain Foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out that way, of all other the nearest.

This is a historical map of Egypt and its surrounding regions. The Nile River is depicted as a winding line flowing from the south (bottom) towards the north (top), where it branches into the Delta. The word 'EGYPT' is written vertically in large, bold letters across the central part of the map. To the west of the Nile, the word 'AEG' is written vertically. The map includes several labeled locations: 'Memphis' (labeled 'Noph or Memphis'), 'Thebes' (labeled 'Gizeh or Thebes'), 'Alexandria' (labeled 'R. Suez'), 'Damietta', 'Zaan or Tanis', 'Og or Heliopolis', 'Mizraim or Babylon', 'Pachon', 'Etham', 'Azen or Heliopolis', 'Traianus flu', 'Piathere', and 'Mizdol'. The Red Sea is shown to the east of the Nile Delta. The Mediterranean Sea is at the top. The Nile River is labeled 'Nile flu.' at the bottom. The map is framed by a decorative border at the top.

PART OF THE
MEDITERRANEAN
PHOENICIAN SEA

SIN DESERT

Gul: Hole. sculp:

[illegible]

nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himself from being compassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Eihom* he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in fight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two natural; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, persuaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a Million, if not two Millions of Souls, (for as it is written *Exod. the 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly pass over those desert and high Mountains with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his own words. *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East side of the land of *Gosen*, or *Ramesses*: from whence (milling *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses*'s confidence in the all-powerful God was such, by whose Spirit, only wife, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600,000 Men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, free conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Eihom* towards the Valley of *Pihacherath*, 16. mile distant, and fare down between two Ledges of Mountains adjoining to the Red Sea; to wit, the Mountains of *Eihom* on the North, and *Balezephon* towards the South: the fame which *Osorius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word fo compounded, is as much to say, as *Domicus specula, five custodies, Lord of the watch-tower*. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their Slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had Gods for all turns. *Egyptii Diis facundi*; The *Egyptians* were fruitful in Gods, saith *St. Hierome*. But *Moses* who incamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower all-ep, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Cafotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judea*, as the other by *Eihom*; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the valley of *Pihacherath*, between the Mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made fo great speed with his horsemen and chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gat fight of them, and they of him, even

at the very brink and wath of the Sea: in-much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutine, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moses*'s charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, which, saith the book of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offers, made them both despair in Gods former promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

§. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it self.

But *Moses* who feared nothing but God himself, persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not, &c. for the Egyptians whom you have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you*. After which *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in these Words. *Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the Children of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the Children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea*. *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the Sands uncovered, pass on towards the other side and Coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the Ford, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern wind, and by *Moses*'s Rod to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behind them: also the pillar of the Cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue.

Israel with any harmful speed. But in the morning watch *Moses* sciled the other bank of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of day began to illighen the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Seas return, hastied himself towards his own Coast: But *Moses* stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is; the Sea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with irresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, *that God took off their Chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had pass on, after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the Mud and Quick-sands, and could not be drawn out: the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus upon *Exod. 14.* and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the Children of *Israel* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe of Juda* first made the adventure,

It is probable that all those Egyptians & others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure.

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Exod. 13. v. 17.

Exod. 14. v. 13.

Exod. 14. v. 16.

Job 24. v. 7.

Exod. 14. v. 27.

ture, and that therefore was that *Tribe* ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of *Isaiah*, Gen. 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons shall bow down upon thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Moses* condemns this opinion. And though it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desert, and as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moses* himself was the conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. Psalm: *Thou didst lead thy people like Sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The *Hebrews* have also another fancy, that the *Red Sea* was divided into 12. parts, and that every *Tribe* pass over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalm, according to the *Psalmist*, *Disiit mare rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became as a green Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genesius*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12. pillars nor 12. Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written in the 77. Psalm; v. 16. *Troynay is in the Sea; not thy ways; and in the last of the book of Wisdom, vers. 7. In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* pass, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Cheneer*, perished in the 16. year of his Reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*; though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as *Philopstratus* in his third Book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entrench at a narrow strait between *Arabia* the Happy and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssinians*: the Mouth of the indraught from the *Cap*, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Pofidium*, to the other land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above six Leagues in breadth; and the same also filled every where with *Islands*, but afterwards it extendeth it self 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast: and it runneth up between *Arabia* the Happy, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Æthiopia*, and *Ægypt* on the other, as far as *Suez*, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turks* now commonly give it the name of the *Cismographers*: but the North part towards *Suez*, and where *Moses* pass, is called *Heropolites* of the Sea, and *Hero*, sometime *Troy*: and of later times *Suez*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisus*, by which name it was known, since he, before it was called *Hero* many years.

Plin. l. 6.
c. 25.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
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Strabo. l. 16.
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Strabo. l. 16.
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Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

Strabo. l. 16.
c. 12.

The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Arapsa*, *Ecane*, and *Eam*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æthiopian*: King *Juba* *Lentiscus*: others more properly *Elaeonicum*, of the Port and City *Elaa*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolemy* *Elaa*: *Pliny* *Lena*: *Josephus* *Ilana*, and *Marius* *Niger* *Aila*: there is also *Ilalab* in *Affrica*, to which *Salmannasser* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 Kings c. 8. 11. which *Ilalab* in *Affrica*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the first of *Chron*. the 5. *Aia*. But as for this *Red Sea* or the parts thereof, thus diversely named, the *Moor* and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turks*) know it by no other appellation, than the *Gulf of Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythraea*: of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythraus*: and because *Erythras* in the *Greek* signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythraeus*, the *Sea* of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the *Red Sea*, and the *Arabs* call it *Al-Baher*, *Curios* conjureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that Sea in the year 1544. per-

formed by *Steven Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East *India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the Banks, Cliffs, and Sands of many Islands, and part of the *Continent* bordering it. For I find by the report of *Cæsar*, a principal Commander under *Gambra* (which discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluis* to publish) that there is an Island called *Dalagua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the Earth, Sands, and Cliffs, of which Island, being of a reddish colour, serve for a Foil to the waters about it; and make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Cæsar* reporteth, that from 24. Degrees of *Septentrional* Latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180. Miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the Cliffs and Banks are of red earth, or Stone, which with reflection of the Sun-beams, give a kind of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea towards the Shore, great abundance of *Corral* grows, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Islands of this Sea many red Trees, faith *Strabo*, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these Stones, Sands, Earth, and Cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the *Red Sea*, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Johannes Barros* in his second Decade, eight Book, and fifth Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elaa*, or *Esien* *Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient *Cosmographers* *Sinu* *Elaeiticus*, which waleth the Banks of *Median* or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Suez*, some three Leagues or nine English M. Le. and from this Port of *Toro*, to *Suez*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. have nine Mile breadth as afore said, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straiten it so fall, as for six Miles together it is not above three Mile over; from thence upward the land on *Ægypt* side, falleth away, and makes a kind of Bay or Cove for some ten Miles together, after which the land grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at four Miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* pass it over, though others would have it to be over against *Elaa* or *Toro*; but without judgment: for from *Ramafes* to *Pihachero* and *Balsaphon*, there is not above 30. Miles interjunct, or 35. Miles at most, which *Moses* pass over in three days; and between the land of *Ægypt* opposite to *Elaa* or *Toro*, the distance is above 80. Miles. For *Ramafes* to which City *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zaan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30. Degrees five Minutes of *Septentrional* Latitude: and *Migdal*, or the Valley of *Pihachero*, at the foot of the Mountain *Cinara*, or *Balsaphon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which made a difference of five and thirty English Mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

§. IX.

That the passage through the red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebb.

THE *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrews* have objected that *Moses* pass over the red Sea at a low Ebb, upon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharaoh* conducted more by fury than discretion, purified him so far, as before he could recover the Coast of *Ægypt*, he was overtaken by the Flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this Miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the Hand and Rod of *Moses* (which Authority to Men that believe not therein periwade nothing) I say that by the same natural reason upon which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses*, and the Children of *Israel* than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For whereforever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the Waters fall away from the Land: and run downward towards the Ocean: leaving all that part towards the Land as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdal* end *Balsaphon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the Tide) must have left all that part of the red Sea towards *Suez*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the Water, ten or twelve Mile farther into the Sea than *Suez*, much more was it made at *Suez*, and between it and where *Moses* pass: who entered the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had been by the Ebb of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the Flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Ægypt* side, but might have gone on in his return before the Tide, on his right Hand: and so taken ground again at the end of that Sea, at *Suez* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* pass on between two Seas: and that the Waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh* by any return of Waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to run back by a strong east-wind*, do rather prove the Miracle, than that thereby was caused an Ebb more than ordinary: for that Sea doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-west Wind, that must have driven those Waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it alunder: so as one part fell back towards the South, and main body thereof: the other part remained towards *Suez*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checky by that Sea, which used in all times before to ebb away: the Flood press him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus*

avoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent Judgment generally, but also of great a Captain, as he overthrew the *Egyptians* in many Battles, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and won divers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing Water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and press him, as well when it flowed as when it ebb'd, as it seemeth he did. For the People, beholding *Pharaoh's* approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despair'd altogether of their safety: and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaoh's* approach any Ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of Waters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the Sands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Suez*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the waters were c. 14. c. 25. a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the Waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the same path; not that the Waters stood upright as Walls do, as some of the Schoolmen have fauted. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no Man of Judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of Heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Country, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens, and wherein his People having had so many hundreds of years experience of the Tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by Gods powerful Hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all Men, when looking through no other Spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the Flood, before they could recover their own Coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the Flood which runneth up to *Suez*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast ashore on that Coast of *Arabia* where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Balsaphon*, on *Arabia* side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead Bodies; and not at the end of the red Sea, to which place the ordinary Flood would have carried them: which Flood doth not any more cross the Channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to have call the *Egyptians* Bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their Carcasses would have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the Lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which he laid in the Country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buried at the time of

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's destruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden made a God of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those Multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Orfus* in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans* tells us, that in

his time, who lived some 400. years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaoh's* Chariot Wheels were to be seen at a low Water on the *Egyptian* Sands: and though they were some time defaced by Wind and Weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every Man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a Discourse of Laws.

§. I.

A Transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologies with a continuance of the Story, until the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BUT to go on with the Story of *Israel*, in this fort I collect the times. *Moses* was born in the year of the World 2434. *Sapirus* then governing *Affria*; *Oribopolis* *Sycionia*, or *Peloponessus*; *Crispus* the *Argives*; *Orus* *Egypt*; and *Deucalion* *Thessalie*. He died into *Median* when he had lived 40. years, in the year of the World 2474. and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the Commandment and Ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his Miracles in the Fields of *Zaan*, in the year 2514. in the last Month of that year. On the 14. day of the first Hebrew Month *Abib*, or the 15. of that Month, beginning the day (as they) at Sun setting, in the year of the World 2514. was the Celebration of the Passover: and in the dead of the Night of the same Day were all the first-born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited nor. The 15. Day of the first Month, of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World 2514. *Moses* with the Children of *Israel* removed from the general Assembly at *Ramesses*, and marched to *Succoth*. And departing thence they made their third Station at *Eiham*: and journeying from *Eiham* they incamped in the valley of *Phicheoroth*, or *Migdoll* under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the 1st. Night after mid-night, they pass'd the red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the Day. *Moses* having recovered the Banks of *Arabia*, gave Trunks unto God, for the delivery of *Israel*: and making, no stay on that Coast, entered the *Djarrs* of *Arabia Petrea*, called *Sir*. But finding no Water in that passage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Desert of *Eiham*, which in *Exod.* 15. v. 22. is also called *Sir*, 25. Miles from the Sea: where the Children of *Israel* perished with extreme Thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaoh's* approach in *Phicheoroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the Branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter Water, and calling the same thereto, made the same sweet: a plain Type and Figure of our Saviour; who upon the Tree of the Cross changed the bitterness of everlasting Death into the sweetness of eternal Life. *Pliny* remembers thirst, bitter Fountains in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Sisijra* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolemy* the second, began to cut an Artificial River, thereby by Boats and small Shipping to Trade and Navigate the red Sea, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight Miles: where finding twelve Fountains of sweet Water, and 70. Palm trees, he rested divers days.

Whether this *Elim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moses's* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the fertility of Waters in that Region was such, as *Elim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his History of the Holy War, found at *Elim* the ruins of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Balaam* the first past that way into *Egypt*, *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim*, *Civitas* antiquissimum populo *Israelitico* aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolae, Regni adventu precogitantes, navicularum ingredienti in mare vicinam se conulerunt; Enting *Helim* a very ancient City, well known sometime to the People of *Israel*; whither, when he came, the Inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boat, and shifted themselves into the Sea, lying near from them. From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and late down by the Banks of the red Sea: the seventh Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms: nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an Enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, until the fifteenth of the second Month called *Zim*, or *Jar*: and made the eight Mansion in the Desert of *Zim*; where the Children of *Israel* murmured against *Moses* the third time, having want of Food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the red Sea, but in the Collection of every several incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is let down.

Here it pleased God to lend to many flights of Quails, as all the Country about their incamping was covered with them. The Morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their Month, which served them instead of Bread. For now was the store consumed with the People carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattle and Sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed them for the Milk to relieve the Children withal, and for bread to force themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty Mile: the one to *Daphna*, the other to *Alu*, distant from *Raphidim* six Miles. Here being

Chap. IV.

Of the journey of the Children of Israel.

being again perished with want of Water they murmured the fourth time, and repeated them of their departure out of *Egypt*; where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beasts, than to suffer a casual and fortuitous necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeketh after; for the love of God and their own freedoms. But *Moses* with the same Rod which he divided the Sea withal, in the sight of the Elders of *Israel*, brought Waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole Multitude were satisfied:

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the Battle with the Amalekites, and *Jethro's* coming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of *Madian*.

AND while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and guessed that he meant to lead the Children of *Israel* through their Country (which being barren of it self, would be utterly wasted by so great a Multitude of People and Cattle) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of Water, and all other things needful for the life of Man infeebled them. On the other side *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Jehro*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Israel*, the Victory remained doubtful, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses's* Prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the Bodies of Men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those Bodies which are unacquainted with frascity of Food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and depaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this Victory *Jehro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses's* Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jehro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exodus*, v. 1. When *Jehro* the Priest of *Midian*, *Moses's* Father in Law, heard all that God had done for *Moses*, &c. of which, the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jehro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where amongst other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint Judges, and other Officers, over *Israel*; being himself unable to give order in all Causes and Controversies, among so many thousands of People, full of discontentment and private contrivance.

This *Jehro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, v. 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is written. Now *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, to wit, the Son of *Jehro*, the Father-in-law of *Moses*, was departed from the *Kenites*, and pitched his tent; until the plain of *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh*. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the Mountains of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwell in the Plains, according to the

laying of *Abraham*, speaking of the *Kenites*. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thyself in the way. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they showed mercy to all the Children of *Israel*, which they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were the *Kenites* of the *Midianites*, and the *Midianites* were of the Isles of *Madian*, one of the 13. Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Keturah*, and might also take that name of *Ken*, as *Kenites* from *Keturah*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the True God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the Daughter of *Jehro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jehro's* Daughter the Mother of his Children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the Seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their Lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the Race of *Cain*. For in the fifteenth of *Gen.* ver. nineteenth, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Elutians* and *Perizites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had *Gen.* 15. separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the Children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh* or *Kadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other Sons were born: which he did (referring my self to better Judgment) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Midianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Abraham* by the River *Zareph*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Midianites* near the Banks of the red Sea, where *Moses* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his Children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Midianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Desarts. But the *Midianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jehro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far back as the red Sea, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives Kindred inhabited: seeing himself coming with 60000. able Men, was encountered by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandered 40. year.

That *Jehro* or *Jethro*, *Raguel* or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one Person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English* *Reuel*, *Exod.* 2. 18. calls him *Jehro*, or *Jethro*, *Exod.* 3. & v. 1. c. 4. v. 18. & c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in *Numbers* c. 10. v. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jehro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected: as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created, whether necessary or contingent, natural, or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the Law of all things which are simple, natural, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as, *Praef. him qui tibi Angeli: praise ye him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: Heavens of Heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass: Praef. ye the Lord from the Earth ye Dragons and all depths: Fire, and Wind, Snow, and Capovers, stormy Winds, which execute his Word: Mountains, and Hills: fruitful Trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattle, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propounded unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it: without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For Beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward: things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is opposed. This kind of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common Nature: others to fate; a difference used in terms only; it being no other than Gods general providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnipotens* *omniscient*: so are all things which appear in themselves, thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in Heaven and in Earth.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these Laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetite, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For according to St. *Augustine*, *Lex eterna est, qua iustum est omnia sint ordinata: sicut* *The Law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal Law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. *Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of *Free-Will*, the sixth Chapter. For the Law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the *Pedagogus* of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired: which time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Cross he said, *Consummation est*. But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the Prophecy of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so St. *John* expounds it, when he saith v. 23. *That Christ seeing all (other things) to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the Law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the Law of the N. or Testament and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable Law of God, though preferring things mutable, is not therefore changed in it: but the things prescribed change according to this eternal ordinance; to which the Wisdom of Solomon: And being one she can do all things, and remaining in herself reneweth all.*

§. VI. of the Law of Nature.

Of the Law of Nature as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the Schoolmen: only as it is considered in Man, it is called the *impression of divine light*, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reason-

able creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, et participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura.* Ulpian defines the natural Law to be the sense which Nature hath taught all living creatures: *Ius naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit: et ab aeternum addedit, Ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra, mari, aëre, quaeque sunt, communes est.* The Law of nature is not proper to Man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures: as well to Birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produce. But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the Nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in Men, enlightning our formal reason: so is it more than sense in Beasts: and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives: feeling that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of Dogs: and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and lyeth from the other, yea though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India to make their Nests on the smallest Twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elsewhere: to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monks, and other Beasts, whose weight such a Twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The instincts in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing Nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of the *Palmetto*, will not bear any Fruit except the male grow in sight. But the duty of that Law which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God, had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt where the Reason of Man hath made it self subject, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutal: and where time and custom hath bred in Men a new Nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature, but by Nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did naturally allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus*, it was permitted to Men to use one anothers Wife, and to the Women to choose them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with Child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as they have many other customs remembered by *G. Valentinus*, against Nature and right reason. And I know not from what authority it is that these Laws some Men avow to be natural: except it be that of this corrupt Nature, as among others to pay guilt with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another mans destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we fear: and the like. For taking the definition of Natural Laws either out of St. *Augustine* or *Aquinas*, either do (the one calling it the *impression of divine light*; the other, the *dictate* or sentence of *practical reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and Uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For such is the Law of Nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *David* sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end;

end; which is eternal life: though of themselves not sufficient without Faith and Grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods divine light in men, and a participation of the law increased and eternal. For without any Law written, the right Reason and understanding which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the *Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) *which have not the law, do by nature things which are contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves.* Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the same right to all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. In *arce altissima rationis quies habitat*; Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) *which show the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for witnesses of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrite) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the Worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Gardens we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed fasti ille, dum loquimur, ardescit*; These flowers wither while we discourse of their colour, or are in gathering them. That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept. *Nisi turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum*; Commit nothing foul or dishonest, faith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men reverence thine own conscience. And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which Law, Men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of Man, so he is aptly moved to those things which his proper form prekeneth unto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of virtue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is Man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the Bud of the Herb which feedeth seed, &c. and the Beast, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the Sun, and a way for the lightning of the Thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for Signs and for Seasons. Were these rebellious as Man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms, the whole World would then perish, and all return to the first Chaos, Darkness, and Confusion.

By this natural Law, or Law of humane reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only

feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the Law written: *Adfer* in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. the fourth. *If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The Schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural Law: the same being opened amply by *Reinerus*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentinus*. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this Subject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth an *act of reason* taken properly, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practical reason: they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every Man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of life, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death lives in his Children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of Children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their life, when they cannot in themselves. And as Man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is God defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Boetius* upon the 44. *Plato* approveth: *Recte quidem Bonum desiderant, quod omnia appetunt. Recte habet bonum desideratum, quod omnia appetunt. Recte habet bonum desideratum, quod omnia appetunt.*

The second kind of appetite is of those things which appertain to us, as we have sense. Whence by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glust us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as Sense it self is for the preservation of life and being: so it is meet, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *Natural right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the Schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (saith *Valentinus*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to Men; calling the one *Ius naturae*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Di-

Th. 2. 2.
Art. 2.

Ethic. 1.
Act. 1.

Vines

viues understand the Law of Nature more largely, that is for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason: both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the Law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Laws of this appetite are the Commandments of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this Law of Nature answering the division of Matter, yet in the natural or morive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary; secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

Bapt.

That this Law of Nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly Man; because he is endowed with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the Law of Nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Advenerunt mandata peccatorum reuixit;* When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by S. Paul, When the Commandment came, sin revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this Law of Nature, when those which break the fame, are said by S. Paul, To be delivered over

into a reprobate sense (or mind) to do those things which are not convenient: and again, that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this Law of Nature stretch not to every particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet it is agreeable in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right reason. And therefore said *Damasene; Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature: and S. Augustine, Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this Law of Nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this Law all Men are born Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of Portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all Men shall enjoy the Fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the Law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this law the sufficiency to be broken: as to deny a mad Man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. Paul, abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.

2 Tim. 2.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

As for the eternal, and natural, the Law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which Law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds: Divine, and Humane. Again, the divine positive Law

is double; the old and new: The old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year when as *Abram* or *Abraham* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marabhu* the *Assyrians*, *Triquet* the *Argives*, *Corpus* *Africa*, and *Abraham* 430. years. And this, it seems, was the first written Law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a Law, was not then, nor long after invented by the *Grecians*: no not in *Homer's* time: who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at least: and *Troy* it self was cast down 335. years, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his express will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might have, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their Lives long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written Law instruct their own Children: and yet as they increased, so doubts fell he had belides the Law of Nature many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the Law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrify the Consciences of Offenders: nor expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural Law; in these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and lay before the eyes of all Men: which before, they might, but would not read, in their own consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of Sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, The Law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to Children. For the humane Law, saith *St. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the Divine Law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the Laws of Men, can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words concerning our Souls, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Athiones hominum nulla efficit, nisi prius in mente decernerentur.* The actions of Men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the Mind.

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar Laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of God bindeth all Men, and is without error: and therefore also said *David*, That the Testimony of the Law of God is faithful: giving wisdom to Children.

§. VIII.

§. V. III.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, between the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of Gr-1 were left altogether to the Law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the Patriarchs of the first Age received many Precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed, and delivered over by Tradition; which kind of teaching the Jews afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: Precepts received from the Mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the Jews after the Law written, reserved in the Bosoms of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any, as being indeed the Divine Law revealed to the Patriarchs, and from them delivered to the Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whole perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name *Adam* of *Adamah*, Earth, or red Clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the Ground or Foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain: and *Enosh* signifieth Man or Miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all Fruits, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted: all Men thenceafter being commanded to cohabit with their Wives, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood itself, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood, For God said unto *Noah*, An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold I will destroy them from the earth. That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: Gods Mercy and Justice interposing between the untaught, and revenge. This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth. Who sa *Hebrews* mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.

Also the Law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the Faithful, and the contrary punished by the Fathers Curse: as *Gen. 25.* Cursed be *Canaan*, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than this, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for *Debs*'s forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of

Pharosh and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *These are but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans Wife.* To these we may add the Ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brood, to raise up Seed to his Brother that left a Widow childless, and divers other constitutions, being delivered before the written Law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called The Old Testament, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of Men, before it was engraven in Stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the Patriarchs. For as S. Paul witnesseth of himself, I knew not sin, but by the Law: so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the Creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men by Reason; Beasts by Sense and Instinct, without Discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOW as the word [Law] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all Doctrine which doth prescribe and refrain: so this Law, called the Law of *Moses* in particular, is taken by S. Paul diversly; as, sometime for all the Old Testament, as, Now we know whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.

When it is opposed, or differed from the Prophets, and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moses*. For so S. Luke hath distinguished them; as *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.* When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial, as, Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the Law.

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of Law, and summum jus: as, For ye are not under the law, but under grace.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the Sacrifice for *Christ*; and the like: then it signifieth but Shadows and Figures; as, The Law was given by *Moses*, but grace and truth came by *Jesus Christ*.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* coming, it signifieth the whole Policy of the Jews Commonweal; as, Before faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c. or the Law of the Order and Institution of the *Aaronical* Priesthood; as, All the Prophets, and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied unto *John*. And if the Priesthood be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word [Law] is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for contrainforcing force; as, The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of conscience, &c.

James 2.
10.

But the written Law of Moses, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined: The Law a Doctrine, which was first put into the minds of Men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promising Eternal Life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatening death to those which break the Law in the least. For according to Saint James, *Whoever shall keep the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the Schoolmen, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given, *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humane vite finis; The divine Law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto Men a necessary mean, whereby they may attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of Mens life.*

Rom. 7. 12

The Law of Moses hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as *this for I am the Lord*, whereas the Law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral Law entreateth of virtue and goodness; the Ceremonial of Divine Service, and of Holiness; (for external worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, &c. for the Commonwealth of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for Justice and Equity. And therefore was it said of Saint Paul, *The commandment is just, holy and good:* Just, or Justice being referred to the Judicial; Holy, or Holiness to the Ceremonial; good, or honest to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the Government of the Commonwealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that State, as such as were inflicted either in respect of Place or Persons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong Beasts, and the Fruits of the Earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumcision, the Passover, and such like. For the Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain Meats, as not to eat the Blood and Fat of Beasts: or in some other outward things, as in Washings, Purifications, Anointings, and Attire; as not to wear mixt Garments of Linen and Woollen; as also it prohibited other unnatural and improper commixtions, as *thou shalt not yoke together an Ox and an Ass*, or call mingled Seed in one Field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even unto Beasts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the Creatures of God might be defroved without any profit to Man. For so some refer these Precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the Moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God: and to use Charity one towards another: for which ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done:

which power of directing by special Rules and Precepts of Life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial also liveth in the things which it fore-signified. For the Shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the Body it is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church for some Ceremonies and Types of Holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of Justification, the Ceremonial as touching the use and external observation (because Christ himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies were Signs and Shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews Commonwealth, and Policy.

§. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

As for that which remaineth in the general consideration of the Divine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the Law.
8. The sense and understanding of the Law.
9. The duration and continuance thereof.

1. The Dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by S. Paul in these words, *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and just, and good:* which three Attributes are referred, as aforelaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majesty of the Law-giver is approved in all his Creatures: who as he hath given all things their Lives, and beings, so he only gave the Law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the Salvation of Mankind: but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the Ministry of Angels, as it is said. *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* and in the Acts, *He gave the Law by the ordinance of Angels.*

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the People, receiving this Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disfavoured: Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the Knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and favoured they were, because of Gods Choice and Election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto Abraham, and his Seed: not unto his Seed, as to *Ethan and Jacob*, but

but to his Seed, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom Christ. *Now to Abraham and his Seed were the promises made: he saith not to the Seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy Seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Augustine: that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature, and Grace: The Law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the Law written in the Commandments, received by Moses in the Worlds year 2514, continued to the Baptism of John: from which time began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the Worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of our justification: but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in Ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in Moral Precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: And therefore S. Paul calleth the rudiments of the Law *beggery and weak*, *beggery* as containing no grace, *weak* as not able to forgive and justify. The blood of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of an Heifer could only cleanse the Body; but they were figures of Christ's Blood, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. *For if the Law could justify, then Christ died in vain.*

§. XI.

Of the fifth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

THE Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way propofed for attaining to Salvation; as the Old by Works, the New by Grace: But in the thing it self, or object and remoted end, they agree: which is, Mans Happiness and Salvation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witness of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: From which the New taketh witness. Yet the New of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expreſs, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our Redemption. It is also called the Old, to show that in part it was to be abrogated: In that he saith the New Testament, *he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old Law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and delivered with wonderful Miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is the Law of Moses, of which the Prophets and Psalms are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: The other Books, as the Epistles or Letters of the Apostles, and the Acts or story of the Apostles, are plentiful interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelium* signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as Homer used it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Elijah* the 2. v. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it

is refrained to signify that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luk. 2. 10.* whence also by figure it is taken for the History of Christ: and by *Act. 1.* we understand the four Gospels.

Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as *1 Cor. 9. v. 14.* and *2 Cor. 8. v. 18.*

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danmas* comprised in these four.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of Doctrine. For as there was ever one Church; so was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at Christ, so doth the new Law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: Even the Salvation of our Souls: Which according to S. Peter is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the Law an earthly Kingdom, a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by Christ; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves Strangers, and Pilgrims, expecting the heavenly Jerusalem: According to this place of the Hebrews: *All these died in Faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them: confessing that they were Strangers and Pilgrims on the Earth.* To which purpose also S. Augustine: *Omnes Lib. de Civitate pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes tit. Dei, per promissa terrenam aera promittit. Few (saith he) do understand the old Law: not attending that by things earthly eternal are promised. And S. Hieron. Natus Deus pascere Judæos, non pecorum corporibus sed fidei opibusque, ut Judæi somniant: God would not feed the Jews as Beasts with corporal gifts and riches as themselves dream. And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit the safety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.*

The agreement between the Old and New Testament in substance, infers also the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the Law, laid both by the Apostles and Prophets: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: The Fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the Law, maketh way, and as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are Mercy and Salvation: to which the Law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his Mercy and Salvation) may be laid to agree with the

non deliberatur ratione que est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions or inclinations are unperfelt acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quandiu refragmur nihil nocet: nocent autem cum ea dominari permittimus; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt us not: and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to bear sway.* But these Men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so even the Moral Philosopher can tell us, that the Continent Man hath evil desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary Passions. The evil desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: And therefore if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the Continent Man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridles his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them: Yet such a Man, even according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous Man. For Aristotle himself makes *continentia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confessing that though the Continent Man do well in bridling his evil Affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he faith, that in the Continent Man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous Man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here: that we are able out of Divinity to give the true reason of this Doctrine: which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: Whence it followeth that the evil desires of the Continent Man, that is, of him which bridles them, must needs be in: seeing flesh desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witness our love toward himself: We may not fainly give liberty to our vanities, by calling back upon God (who is justice itself) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for us to keep. For as he is accused (faith S. Hierom) that avows that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition. *Male dicitur qui dicit impossibile Deum preceptis; Accused is he that faith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law: so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but

God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no Man just, David witnesseth. Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight no flesh is just: *There is Man that sinneth not: And again, Who can say I have made my heart clean? But seeing there is no sin: grievous without deliberation; let every Mans Conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his Subject a Commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the Subject neglecting the same, seek to falsifie his Sovereign with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.*

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

AND if we consider adively, and soberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his people, it will appear that such was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain, nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them, were there no Divine power at all, nor any Religion among Men, yet if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these Laws: all society of Men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this Life would be taken away: And every State and Common-wealth in the World fall to the Ground and dissolve. Therefore, these Laws were not imposed as a burden, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every Man might enjoy the fruits of his own Trade, that right might be done to all Men from all Men: That by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might give the lives of reasonable Men, and not of Beasts; of Free-men, and not of Slaves; of Civil Men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, Let us see the inconveniences in this Life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Laws.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a far greater Hatred, War, and Blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit Mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to Man, that whatsoever taketh the name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his holy Name.

The observing the Sabbath holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self requireth intermission of Labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own Children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the Races of Mankind would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

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If Adultery were lawful and permitted, no Man could lay unto himself, This is my Son: there could be no inheritance by virtue and undertaking to posterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raise families: murders and poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed: and every Man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If Stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perill, or live as the Salvages, by roots and acorns. For no Man laboureth, but to enjoy the Fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where Mages for lesser crimes appointed restitution four-fold, policy of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false Witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the virtuous: the waster against the wealthy: the Idle Beggar and loiterer, against the careful and painful labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and justice thereby blinshed out of the World.

The covering of that which belongs to other Men, bringeth no other profit than a diffraction of Mind with an inward vexation: for while we cover what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but cover; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives or goods of our Neighbours, we can look for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the Earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute Beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and unwritten.

HUmane Law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two, viz. Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines veritate probate*, to be customs approved by antiquity or unwritten Laws. Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that Custom is by use and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the Law is defective, faith *Isidore*.

And of Customs there are two general Natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written Customs, received and exercised by Nations, as the Customs of *Burgundy*, and *Normandy*: the ancient general Custom of *England*, and the Customs of *Castile*, and other Provinces.

The second are these petty Customs, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National Customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty Customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The Customs of the *Dutchy of Cornwall* comprehending also the *Statutory* of *Devon*, as

touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are Written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever use and time hath made these Customs as Laws, yet ought every Custom to be reasonable, as well as prescribed. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non sufficit; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (faith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere; Course of time amends not that which was naughty from the first beginning.* For these two defences are necessary in all Laws of Custom: the one, that it be not repugnant to the Law Divine, and Natural: the other, that the Cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest that every Custom, which is against the Law, had his beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all Customs of this Nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For *non sufficit simplex tolerantia: And it is not in this contravention in the Law; Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui falsa principii est; The people cannot bring in a New Custom, against Law: save by his will, who hath power to make a New Law and Ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practical reason: by which humane Actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the adjuvment of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conficit; All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. *Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural, and eternal: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publick authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. Augustine teacheth, saying: Mibi lex esse non videtur, quæ iusta non fuerit; It seems to be no Law at all to me, which is not just: and just it cannot be, except it agree with the Law natural and eternal. For there is no Law just and legitimate (faith S. Augustine) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. Nihil iustum acque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sit homines derivaverunt.*

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the Law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the Government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iriqua constitutiones; Violence*, or *wicked constitutions.*

Of humane Law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawn out of the Law of Nature: so every particular of the Humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the Natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

X 2

Thirdly,

jects are bound to fulfil the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politic Laws, given by Moses to the Nation of the Israelites, whether they ought to be a Precedent, from which no Civil Institutions of other People should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such Men to decide, whose Professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect People to be governed by.

True it is, that all Nations have their several Qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next Neighbours, no less than in their peculiar Languages, which disagreeable Conditions to govern apply, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The Roman Civil Laws did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural Customs of the sundry People, which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as Astralogers more willingly grant) some influence of the Heavens; or peradventure some temper of the Soil and Climate, affording matter of provocation to Vice (as Plenty made the Sybarites luxurious: Want and Opportunity to steal, makes the Arabians to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by Law, an Offence so common, with any People, as it wanted a Name, whereby to be distinguished from Just and Honest. By such rigor was the Kingdom of Congo unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks, it were not amiss to consider, that the high God himself permitted some things to the Israelites, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient Rules of the first-perfection. So, where even the general nature of Man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the Law, given by Moses, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forsooth Man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where Nature or Custom hath entered, a vicious, yet not intolerable Habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the Vertue opposing it, would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in England, or to wear the English Fashion of Apparel in Turkey: there may a wife and upright Law-giver, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of Moses his Law required; even as the good King Hezekiah did, in a matter merely Ecclesiastical, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the People; The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole Heart to seek the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which Prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor Willet, that the moral Judicials of Moses do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of Death should not be adjudged, where sentence of Death is not given by Moses: Christian Magistrates ruling under Christ the Prince of Peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of Moses's Law, and mitigate the punishment of Death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy: for to them more rigour than Moses, becometh not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious Argument, which hath been the Subject of many learned Discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a Cause which dependeth still in some Controversie among worthy Divines. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and only Law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the Confidence of a Judge may rest, or giving Sentence upon Doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have been Witness, of whom Fortescue that notable Bulwark of our Laws doth speak, complaining of a Judgment given against a Gentlewoman at Salisbury, who being accused by her own Man, without any other Proof, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a Year after being Convict for the same Offence, confessed that his Mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel Fact, whose terrible Death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented: but this Judge, faith the same Author, *Sapius ipse mihi falsus esset, quod nunquam in vita sua animam ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret; Et himself often confessed unto me, that he should never during his Life, be able to clear his Conscience of that Fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgment, which other Sciences yield unto the Metaphysicks, that from thence are drawn Propositions, able to prove the Principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politic Institutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the Subject of the Metaphysicks, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely intericure to the *Ens Entium, The Being of beings*, the only Good, the fountain of Truth, whose fear is the beginning of Wisdom. To which purpose well faith Saint Augustine: *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus esset & sapiens, silem ipsam consulis eternam, de qua nullis animis judicare datum est; The Author of temporal Laws if he be good and wise, doubt therein consult the Law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince Edward, in Fortescue his Discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam populus Dominus; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

§. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness: with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God, in this ordering of their Troops.

WHEN Moses had received the Law from God, and published it among the People, and finished the Tabernacle of the Ark and Sanctuary; he mustered all the Tribes and Families of Israel: and having seen what numbers of Men, fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from 20. years of Age upwards; he appointed Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550 able Men for the Wars, besides Women and Children; also, besides the Strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great Army was divided by Moses into four grots and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able Men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon. In the Tribe of Judah were 74600. fighting Men, led by Nadab, in Issachar 54400. led by Nathanael, in Zabulon 57400. led by Eliab. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of Judah, who held the Vanguard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the East-side of the Army; which was held the first Place, and of greatest Dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of Reuben, had joynted unto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were 46500. under Elizur: in Simeon 59300. under Shelumiel: in Gad 45650. under Eliafab. These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were joynted the Regiments of Manasse and Benjamin; who joynted together, made in number 108100. able Men. These marched in the third Place, incamping on the West-quarter of the Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40950. under Eliahama: Manasse 32200. under Gamiel: Benjamin 35400. under Abidam.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able Men, marched under the Standard of Dan; to whom were joynted the two Tribes of Nephthali and Asher. And these had the Rereward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. Dan had 62700. under Abieser: Asher 41500. under Ingid: Nephthali 33400. under Shira.

Besides these Princes of the several Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against Moses, Numb. 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose up against Moses 250. Captains of the Assembly, fam-

ous in the Congregation, and men of renown: of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principal Mutiniers, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve Princes of the Tribes, or General Colonels before spoken of, as by their names Num. 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which Israel gave to his Children, took place not only in the division of the Land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in fortifying them under their several Standards in the Wilderness: it was observed. For Judah had the precedence and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of Lea, Jacob's Wife. Reuben having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his Brother Simeon, who had undergone his Fathers curse; and with Gad, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. Joseph, who in Temporal blessings had the Privilege of the first-born a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to Jacob's Prophecy) taking place before the Elder. He was assisted by Benjamin, his best beloved Brother, the other Son of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest Son of Jacob's Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to Jacob's Prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of Lea, or Rachel, but only the Sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the Levites. Near unto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful Armies, which guarded the fame: so was it death for any of the Children of Israel to come near it, who were not of the Levites, to whom the charge was committed. So Sacred was the movable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. Persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 850. had the peculiar charge, according to their several Offices and Functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the People observed the former order in their incampings: so did the Levites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; The Gishurites on the West, within the Army, and Standard of Ephraim, over whom Eliafab commanded, in number 7500. The Family of Geshon on the South-side, guided by Elizaphan, within the Army of Reuben, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of Merari, over whom Zurieel commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side within the Army of Dan; On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which Judah led, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their Children,

brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight even unto *Hormab*: the *Amalekites* in revenge of their former loss, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their dilapidation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two Nations (allisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the Deserts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea again: in which retreat before they came back to pass over *Jordan* there were consumed 38. years: and the whole number of the six hundredth and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Jephua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promised Land bestowed on their Children: and were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land upon the return of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heaven. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that *King* of the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon after-times it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the flocks of the Red Sea. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to *Lihnah*, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From *Lihnah* he croft the valley, and fate down at *Ressa* near the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Celata*: where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken Wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of Mountains (those which bound the Desert of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) croft the fame from *Celata*; and marched Eastward to the Mountain of *Supher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth manfion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Macelab*; and then to *Tubahab*; and so to *Thara* or *Thare*: the four and twentieth manfion. Where while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny, of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Aviram*: who for their contempt of God and his Ministers were fone of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her Mouth devoured, others even two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah* were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgements of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-Men who would have usurped Ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they fought to overthrow the Order, Discipline,

and power of the Church, and to make all Men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest* and *Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and Common-wealth of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his Servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the Heads of the twelve Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dry Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron's* on that of *Levi*; it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Ark one night, had on it both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharab* the whole Army removed to *Mefra*; and thence to *Efmona*; and thence to *Mefra*, (or *Mefra* after *S. Hierome*) and from *Mefra* to *Benjamin*: and so to *Gadgada*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Tahaba*, the thirtieth Manfion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adrichomus* maketh a River, which falleth into the Red Sea, between *Madian* and *Afmon-gaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Afmon-gaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River, in *Arabia* the Story, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomus* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgada*, or *Jetabab*; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manfion. For it was at *Puzan*; that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deut.* the 10. v. 7. is also called *Jetabab*, or *Jetabab*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these Springs should fall into the Red Sea at *Afmon-gaber*, or *Elath*, I cannot believe, for the way is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty Land, before they can recover the banks of the Red Sea.

From *Jetabab*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at *Hebron*; and from thence to *Efmon-gaber*: which City in *Josaphat's* time had the name of *Beremice*; and in *Hierome's*, *Efma*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Elath* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Efmon-gaber* being the farthest place towards the South-east, that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efmon-gaber* or *Afmon-gaber*, *Elath* and *Madian* were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, near the Coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Edom*. And if *Efmon-gaber*, and the other places near the Red Sea, had at this present been subject to the *Idumians*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumians* obtained those places: for it is said, And they

they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and took men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Ahad* of *Idumaea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a Navy of Ships in *Efmon-gaber* besides *Elath*, in the Land of *Edom*.

§. V.

Of *Moses's* arrival at *Zin Kades*: and the accidents while they abode there.

From *Efmon-gaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadef*: or in *Berith*, of the Children of *Isaac*; where they fare down in the first Month *Jazan*; where they fare down in the first Month of the fortieth year after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Manfion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Month of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Efmon-gaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died *Adrianus*, or *Mary*, *Moses's* Sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in *Saint Hierome's* time, as himself avoweth. From hence etc they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the Scarcity of Water. For neither the punishments by Fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth; by the insidious Pestilence which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the Love or wrath of God, could prevail with these Nations any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in fight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoining with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were refreshed. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised; whereto perchance their Worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travails of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Hor*, being the next, and four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain of *Hor*, *Aaron* was depouled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mefra*, as in *Deut.* the 10. v. 6. those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumians* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mefra*, which was the seven and twentieth Manfion; and *Mefra* which they write *Mefra* for difference, which was the

four and thirtieth Manfion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses*, in passing from *Cadesbarn* towards *Efmon-gaber*, incamped at *Mefra*, after he departed from *Hefmona*, and before he came to *Benjamin*. And this *Mefra*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses's* Sister died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Manfion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mefra*, it should have been written, *Hor jasta Mefra*; *Hor* near *Mefra*: for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Harib* are: whereto the West part *Moses* calleth *Mefra*, and the East part *Harib*. By the West part *Moses* incamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Madab*: as in the description of *Moses's* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumaea*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the City of *Kadef*, where *Moses* then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to persuade the Prince of *Idumaea* hereto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of *Beremice*, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; insinuating thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to afflict the *Canaanites*; against whom *Efau* his Ancestor (who were of War, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races defended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Sir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods promises bestowed on them, and of his purposes and blessings; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or wait his Country, but that he would refrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea even for the water, which themselves or their Cattle should drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to provoke the Children of *Edom*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his own Country, the fame being near *Canaan*, rampard with high and tharp mountains: and with all suspecting, as a natural wife Man, that 600000. strangers being once entered his Country, it would rest in their wills to give him Law, resolutely refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them to enemie, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For as it is written: Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Sir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any Man, and the skillfullest Man of

War that the World had, he refused to adventure the Army of Israel against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the seat of their mountainous Country, could not but have endangered, or (at least greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendered them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of Idumæa, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Defarts of Moab. Which when Arad King of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanced the way of Idumæa; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom which Israel aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had Moses been enforced first to have made his way by the sword through Idumæa, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But though it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial, what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt, before they came nearer his own home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defart, he set upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of Cattle that they drove with them, could not incamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was ever-more subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Num. 14.
45.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessour, which joyned his forces with the Amalekites, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses would have entred Canaan from Cadibarnæ. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the Canaanites, because in the first of Deuter. 44. the Amorites are named along with out the Amalekites, and are said to have beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Arad, who he were the same that had a victory over Israel near Cadibarnæ, or if it were his Predecessour that then prevailed, this Man finding that Moses was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses's purpose to compass Moab, determined while he was yet in the Defart to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of Joshua. For had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the pursuit of

Arad, he would not have fallen back again into the Defarts of Zin and Moab, and have fetched a wearisome and needless compass, by the Rivers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that Arad did not inhabit any part of Canaan it self, but that his Territory lay without it, and near the Mountain Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Edom, and not of Canaan. And it was in the South of the Land of Canaan, that Arad dwelt; which South part of Canaan was the North part of Edom.

Again, Horma (for so far the Israelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites) is seated in the South of Judæa. There is also a City of that name in Simeon. But there is no such place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the Mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the fame was obtained in the future, and in Joshua his time, and not at the instant of Arad's assault. For had the Israelites at this time lacked the Cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also Water, and Bread, but it was in the time of Joshua, that the Israelites took their revenge, and after they had past Jordan: Joshua then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his City so called; and with him the King of Horma: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass Idumæa and the Dead Sea, and to make his entrance by Arnon and the Plains of Moab, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Defart was terrible, began again to rebel against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his Commandment set up.

From the Mount Hor, Moses leaving the ordinary way which lieth between the Red Sea, and Cadibarnæ, incamped at Zalmana; and thence he removed to Phasnon, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journeys by the edge of Edomæa, but without it. For Phasnon was sometime a principal City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in Numbers 21. Vers. 4. That From Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the Red Sea; neither did they march (according to Forficæ) per viam, qua habet à latere mare rubrum; By the way that sided the Red Sea, but indeed they crost, and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitis, and the Countries of Moab, to the Red Sea, that is, to Esbon-gaber; Elath, and Midian: which way, as it lay North and South, so Israel to thence the Border of Edom, and to take the utmost East part of Moab, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From Phasnon he went to Obeth; where they entred the Territory of Moab, adjoining to the Land of Suph, a country bordering on the Dead Sea; and from

from thence to Arnon, the eight and thirtieth Manfion; that is, where the Mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East Border of Moab; From whence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the River of Zared, which riseth in the Mountains of Arabia, and runneth towards the Dead Sea, not far from Petra the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblahaim, one of the Cities of Moab; which Jeremy the Prophet Chap. 48. Vers. 22. calleth the House of Diblahaim, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by Nabuchadnezzar. From thence they came to the River of Arnon, and incamped in the Mountains of Arnon: though in the 22. of Numbers, Moses doth not remember Hel-mendiblahaim, but speaketh of his remove from the River of Zared, immediately to the other side of Arnon; calling Arnon the Border of Moab, between them and the Amorites: speaking as he found the state of the Country at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the Border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites; by Sehon, King of the Amorites: even from the Predecessour of Balac Poor then reigning. From Diblahaim, Moses sent Messengers to Sehon, King of the Amorites, to desire a Passage through his Country: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a Reason to the Neighbour Nations, of the War he undertook. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet he had no Warrant from God to enforce him. Moses also in sending Messengers to Sehon observed the fame Precept, which he left to his Posterity, and Successors, for a Law of the War, namely in Dent. 20. Vers. 10. in these words, When thou comest near unto a City to fight against it, open shall offer it Peace, which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the People found therein be Tributaries unto thee, and serve thee, but if it refuse, &c. then shall smite all the Males thereof with the edge of the Sword. Which Ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the Battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture which are lost.

Num. 21.
vers. 14.

NOW concerning the War between Israel and Sehon, Moses seemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that Book entituled, Liber bellorum Domini; The Book of God's Battels; and therefore plentifully over many Encounters; and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the Geneva Translation are these: Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon. The Vulgar Copy differeth not in sense from this: But the Greek Septuagint vary. For the Greek writes it to this effect, For thus it is said in the Book: the War of the Lord hath burnt (or is inflamed) Zoob, and the Brooks of Arnon. Junius for the Red Sea, which is in the Geneva and Vulgar Edition, names the Region of

Num. 21.
* Of the Country of Suph

See more Chap. 10.

§. 4. 7. 2.

and of the force of the word

Suph, also Chap. 18.

§. 2.

contra Valsabem in Regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore it is spoken in repeating of

the Battels of Jehovah, against Vahab in the Country of Suph: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon. In which words he underlands, that amongst the Wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous Memory in the mouth of most Men, concerning the War of Sehon against Vahab the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Country near Arnon, out of the possession of the Moabites. For that Vahab was the immediate Predecessor of Balac, who lived with Moses: though it be written that this Balac was the Son of Zippor, and not of Vahab. For it seems (as it is plain in the Succession of the Edomites) that these Kingdoms were Elective and not Successive. And as Junius in this Translation understandeth no special Book of the Battels of the Lord: so others, as Valsab in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Book be meant; and if any; whether it be not a Prediction of Wars in future Ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Book of Judges. Siracides cap. 46. tells us plainly, that those Battels of the Lord were fought by Joshua. Who was there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the Battels of the Lord. But seeing the Historicks of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Books, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a Book as this there was; wherein the several Victories by Israel obtained, and also Victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the fame should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with Divine Discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Books of Henoch, howsoever they have been in later Ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of Thaddæus, and cited by Origen *myi asyriis*, and by Terullian.

That Work also of the Patriarch Abraham, of Formations, which others bellow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The Books remember by Joshua, chap. 10. vers. 13. and in the second of Samuel, chap. 1. vers. 18. called the Book of Jasher, or Jasherim, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middle of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till Israel had avenged themselves of their Enemies: out of which also David took the Precept of teaching the Children of Judah, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the just are written, according to the 69. Psalm, vers. 28. where it is said, Let them be put out of the Book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous. Hierom thinks, that David by this Book understood those of Samuel; *quæ sunt libri Regum*. Rabbi Salomon, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, are written; others, that it was the Book of Exodus; others, as Theodoretus, that it was a Commentary upon Joshua by an unknown Author.

The Book of Chozai, concerning Manasse, remembered in the second of Chron. 33. vers. 18. & 19. Of this Book, also lost, Hierom conceives that the Prophet Isay was the Author.

The lame mischance came as well to the Story of Salomon, written by Abia Sionites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of Israel from the Son of Salomon.

It was in exact in Parallels.

most: as to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Isaiah* the *Ser*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. with these have the Books of *Sheraiah* and of *Ido*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of *Yehu* the Son of *Hamani*, of the acts of *Yehoshaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that Book of *Salomon* which the Hebrews write *Hafscrim*, of 3000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this divers other of *Salomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the Natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origenes*, *Josephus*, *Hierom*, *Codexms*, *Ciccu*, *Asculanus*, *Picus*, *Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnessar* burnt the Temple of *Jerusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of Moses his sparing the *Iffue* of *Lot*: and of the Giants in those parts: And of *Sehon* and *Og*.

WHEN *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*, leaving the City of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to Battle, God having given that Land to the Children of *Lot*; The same which was anciently possessed by the *Emims*, who were Men of great Stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the Sons of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: Who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Jerusalem*, but left their Country to them, as in the Description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the Flood: So these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the Border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Araba*, which *Abrah* in *Isaiah* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest Man of the *Anakims*. There had also been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: And their chief City was *Aror* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: And their chief City was *Rubba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zimzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti*, horrendique Gigantes, Strong Men, and fearful Giants, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aror*.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) past to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a pe-

face through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former Conquest upon *Yabeh* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as Strangers and Murders, (themselves being of the Sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Country of his new Conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*: the two and fortieth and last Manion: Which *Moses* waited with the multitude of his People and Cattle. Towards him therefore halting himself, they encountered each other at *Yabeh*: Where *Sehon* with his Children and People were broken and discomfited: And the Victory was pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Effehon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the Race of *Canaan*, as those of *Bala* were: and defended of *Emereus* or *Amoreus*: For *Moses* calleth the *Be-Dia*. 1. 8. *Senites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Jordan*, being at this time, and after this Victory at the Banks of *Jordan*: yet knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his Back, as inhabited all the Region of *Bala* or *Tracenis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and Stature: and the only Man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying between the Mountain of *Hermom* (which Mountain *Moses*, the *Sidomians* call *Scriam*, and the *Amorites* *Senir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Bala* (who attended *Moses*'s coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sibon*: for he and his Sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possessed. After this *Moses* withdrawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Arnon*, left the prosecution of that War unto *Jair* the Son of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Bala*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argab*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessiri* and *Macbezi*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his own name *Hadad* *Jair*: of all which Conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasse* possessed the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sibon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Ruben* and *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Madianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

AFTER these Victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the Valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Bala* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their Daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoining. The *Israelites* as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily perverted to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of Pe-
Num. 25. silence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God the most of the Offenders among the Hebrews, were by his com-

commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the Son of *Eliazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cobi* a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Madianites*, the Plague ceased, and Gods Wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the Hebrews became an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and raised his hand for his sake.

In this Valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbered the third time: and there remained of able Men fit to bear Arms, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that fought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000 *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the Son of *Eliazar* the high Priest: who drew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the Vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Isaiah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eliazar* were at this time but the Vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Elor*, and *Reba* the Dukes of *Sehon*, slain by *Isaiah*. He slew also all the Men, Male-children, and Women: saving such as had not yet used the company of Men, but those they saved and dispersed them among the Children of *Israel* to serve them.

And *Moses* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of Body known to the People, and his inability to travel: And also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new Commandment to ascend the Mountains of *Ararim*, and thereon to render up his Life: He halsted to settle the Government in *Isaiah*: whom he periwaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the Conquest begun, alluring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to *Augustinus*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, Love, Fear, and Service, of the all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several most comfortable Blessings: Praising the Meekness and Goodness of him: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Book of the Law, by the side of the Ark of God: The last that he intided was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens and I will speak, and let the Earth hear the word of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this Life, unto that rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over against *Beth-Peor*: but no Man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day, which happened in the year of the World 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of *Moses*, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest references, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of fondry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore choice of this People) he wrought in all things else by the medium of Mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the Hebrews, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the Male-children of the Hebrews to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be refuted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal Men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own Daughter, to preserve that Child, which afterward became the most wife, and of all Men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently Learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliverer of his oppressed Brethren; and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he fought by the strength of his Men of War, of his Horse and Chariots, to tread them under and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrews in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the Egyptian, moved him to fly into *Madian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s Daughters, made him known to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-law's Sheep, far from the press of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the lot of a poor Herds-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his Will and Divine Pleasure for his return into Egypt. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto Men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Joshua, with the sum of the History of Joshua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have War, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their Enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of Egypt, had to do, either in the Wilderness, or afterward: we shall find them long before hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of Ham: and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ishmaelites) were mingled with them by mutual Marriages: whereas the Israelites still continued Strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of Syria, bounded by the Mountains of Libanus, and Zidon on the North, by the same Mountains continued as far as the Springs of Amman on the East: by the way of Egypt, and the Red Sea on the South: and by the Mediterranean Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the Sons of Cham, the other from Sem: But those of Sem, were but as Strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: By process of time divided into several Families and Names: whereof some of them were of eminent Stature and Strength, as the Amukins, Zuzammites, or Zuzas, Emmites, Horites, and others. These (as Men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter Borders and Mountains of their Countries: the rest were the Jebusites, Jebusites, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and others, who took name after the Sons of Canaan, and after whom the Country in general was still called.

As for the Hevites which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of another Family, and Strangers in that Country: especially the Ishmaelites, and this was some cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or induce them: no more than the Philistines did, who descended also of Cham by Mizraim. For though Abraham himself being a Stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Jordan: yet now even they which descended from Abraham, or from his Kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites: as holding them Strangers and Intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the Issue of Cham, with whom they daily contracted affinity: than of their old pedigree from Abraham.

True it is that these Nations descended of A. Dea. 111. brabam, or of his Kindred, who had defended themselves and matched with the Canaanites and others, had so far posset themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superior. For of Lot came those two great families of the Moabites, and Ammonites: of Esau the Edumians: of Madian the Madianites: of Ismael, the eldest Son of Abraham came the Ishmaelites, with whom are joyed as of the same Nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because Esau had a Grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the Ishmaelites were forbidden to provoke the Edomites, or do Gen. 25. them any wrong, whereas contrariwise Amalek was cursed, and endless War decreed against him: but hence more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 1. Of Ismael's kindred. Son Naboth sprung the Arabians of Petra, 17. v. 18. called Nabathes. Now even as Abraham bequeathed Gen. 17. God to bless Ismael, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between Hezilah upon Tigris, and Ser which is the West part of the Desert of Arabia Petraea. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from Abraham, were great; yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Ishmaelites into Canaan, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States do not willingly permit any Stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united, and in among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against Israel: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the Canaanites did. For the Edumians only denied the Hebrews a passage: which the Moabites durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the Amorites: and as for the Ammonites their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of Sehon and Og Kings of the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong by reason of the Mountains which divided it from Basan. Again, that which moved the Moabites in their own reason not much to interrupt Israel, in the Conquest of Sehon the Amorite, and of Og his Confederate: was that the Moabites might hope after such time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the Mountains of Arabia and Jordan: But as soon as Sehon was slain,

slain, and that the King of Moab, Balac, perceived that Moses allotted that Valley to the Tribes of Gad and Reuben, he began to practise with Balac, against Israel, and by the Daughters of Moab, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry. And thus at length the Moabites by special occasion were more and more stirred up to enmity against Israel. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abraham's Kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were prelates of future Quarrels, which in the Posterity might be the easier incited by the memory of old Grudges: and withal by some disdain from the elder in Nature to the younger. For the Ishmaelites being descended from the eldest Son of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest Son of Isaac, Jacob being but a second Son of a second Brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being natural Men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their Inferiours; as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the Issues of Esau, Princes of Edom, might keep in Record that their Parent was bought out of his Birthright by Jacob's taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Father's Blessing also by him; and that Jacob after Reconciliation came not unto him, as he promised, unto Seir, or Edom.

So also in the Posterity of Ismael, it might remain as a feed, or pretence of enmity, that their forefather was by the intigitation of Sarah, cast out into the Desert, with his Mother Hagar; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve them. Ismael also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and Amalek was also an Horite by his Mother; which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumians also, or Edomites, were by their maternal line descended of the Canaanites. For Esau took two Wives of that Nation: one of them was Adah the Daughter of Elan the Hittite, and the other Abihahab the Grandchild of Zibeon the Hevite, Lord of Seir, before his name was conquered by Esau, and called after his name Edom, or Edumna.

Lafly; It appears that all those Families of the Ishmaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the Knowledge and Worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those People among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married: only a few of the Kenites, and those Midianites which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof Jehro was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

§ II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Midianites, mentioned in the ancient Wars of the Israelites.

OF the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek may be thought to be of a better Pedegree) we find four named by Moses; and thirty one remembered by Joshua, the few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small Territory adjoining, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of Cham by Canaan, as the

Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergesites, Hevites, &c. and so here we understand this Name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Country of their Habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of Promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal Families should be rooted out: and that his own People should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper Habitation bounded by Jordan on the East; and by the Mediterranean Sea on the West: in which narrow Country, and in the choicest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their Paternal Name, chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor, or Hemor, of the Hevites, Gen. 34. whom Simeon and Levi slew, together with his Son Schem, in revenge of their Sister's Ravishment. And was the second King which the Scriptures have remembered, who had that part of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the dead Sea; the same which surprized Israel, as they encamped in the Wilderness in the edge of Edom. Num. 21. 22.

The third named, was Sehon, King of Efebon, who before Moses' arrival had beaten the Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Petraea, or Nabathes, and thrust them over Ammon into the Deserts, the same whom Moses overthrow in the Plains of Moab; at which time he took Efebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which Victory, Og was also slain by Israel, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains Trachon, or Golan, and Jordan, who was also a King of the Amorites.

The fifth was Admidelek, King of the Jebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Joshua nameth four other Kings.

Hobab, King of Hebron. Piram, King of Jarmuth. Jephia, King of Lachis: and Deber, King of Eglon: who were all Amorites, Jer. 10. overthrow in Battle, and hanged by Joshua. After this overthrow, Joshua nameth Jabin, King of the Hittites, and

Jehob, King of Madon; whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this Jabin seemed to have some Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, For Hazor before times was the Head of all those Kingdoms.

After these Admidelek that notorious Tyrant is named; who confesseth that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feet of 70 Kings, inflicting them to gather crumbs under his Table: who after Jada and Simeon had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: This King was carried to Hierusalem, where he died.

The last King named is Jabin the second; who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt by Joshua. For at such time as he employed Sisara against Israel, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of Ehud, he inhabited Hazor. This Jabin Barac (encouraged by Deborah) overthrow; and his Captain Sisara had by Jael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite, a Nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent; Jabin himself perishing afterwards in that War.

The Midianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Moabites; and they held a corner of Land in Nabathes, to the South-East of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abraham's Son by Cetura. Reguel, sumamed Gergesites or Jethites, faith Joshua, called Jehro in Exodus, Kenie in the first of Judges, the Son of Dathan, the Grand-Child of Jethar, the

Jokham, the great Grand-Child of *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* to the Red Sea, whose Daughter or Nece *Moses* married; and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his Father: and this *Hobab* had seven Daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wilderness*, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him defended the *Kenites*, so called of his Father *Raguel* (surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had Peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembered.

At *Jochtime* as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good Affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong Seats, and lived in the Mountains of the *Deserts*.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named were these.

1. *Hemor* the *Hérite* of *Sichem*.
2. *Arad* of the South parts.
3. *Sehon* of *Effebon*.
4. *Of* of *Basan*.
5. *Admizelek* the *Jebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*.
6. *Hobab* of *Hebron*.
7. *Piraim* of *Jethurim*.
8. *Jafin* of *Lachis*.
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.
10. *Jabin* of *Hader*.
11. *Jokab* of *Medim*.
12. *Admizelek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *MADIANITES* these.

* *Eoi*, or *Eoi*:
Regem or *Reem*, who built *Petra*, the *Metropolis* of *Parra*, is called by the *Greeks*: and by one time *Eiy* cap. 16. ver. 1. and *Sela*, which is as much as *King* of *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 Reg. 14. 7. where it is also called *Jokhebel*.

Zur,
Hur, and
Reth,
Orab,
Zeb,
Zebab,
Salmanna.

After the Death of *Barac*, *Jude* of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed like *Israel* seven Years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Orab* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebab* and *Salmanna*, or *Salmanna*, and executed them, being Prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 420000 of the *Madianites*, and their Confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*, I find few that are named; and tho' of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into

a greater Nation, according to the Promise of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, Gen. 17. 20. who together with the *Madianites*, were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses*'s time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sin* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desert*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leave those barren *Deserts* of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Shur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the Issue of *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, that joyed with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Madianites*;) themselves taking possession of a better Soil in *Arabia* the happy, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petraea*. For *Nabab*, the eldest of those twelve Princes, planted that part of *Arabia Petraea*, which was very fruitful, though adjoining to the *Desert*, in which *Moses* wandered, afterwards called *Nabab*: the same which neigboureth *Judaea* on the East side. They also peopled a Province in *Arabia* the happy, whereof the People were in after-times called *Nababites*, (b) changed into (p).

Kedar, the second of *Ismael*'s Sons, gave his own Name to the East part of *Basan*, or *Basana*, which was afterwards possed by *Manasseh*, so much thereof as lay within the Mountains *Tracora*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Laupridum* calleth *Kedar*, and *Pliny Cedreus*.

Adabel sat down in the *Desert Arabia*, near the Mountains which divided it from the Happy; and gave Name to the *Adabens*, which *Pliny* calleth *Adabens*.

Misban was the Parent of the *Mafanathites*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Misban*: who joyed to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* Gulf, where *Prothius* setteth *Zugma*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, between the *Adabens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumath* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*; and of *Hader*, or *Chadar*, the *Athrites*, who bordered the *Nababians* in the same Happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where also the City of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Jether* the *Israens*, or *Chamaebens*; of whom *Tobu* was King in *David*'s time.

Of *Naphra*, the *Nabrian Arabians*; inhabiting *Phila*, 16. *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Abdaster* commanded, c. 22. while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismael*'s Sons, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmaeans*; who were afterwards called *Alfa*, because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the Name of *Agas*, as the *Egyptians* the Name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabians*, *Nababians*, *Arreus*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea; when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyed with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* near *Cades-borne*. After the Government of *Orthon*, they joyed them with the *Moabites*; after *Barac* with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soon as *Israel* had Rest, they should root out the Name of the *Amalekites*; which *Saul* executed

cut in part, when he waited them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *David*'s time they took *Ziklag* in *Simoon*: but *David* followed them, and surprized them, recovering his Prisoners and Spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In *Hachabab* time as many of them as joyed to *Edumae*, were waited and displyanted by the Children of *Simoon*.

§. IV.

Of the *Institution* of *Civility* in *Europe* about these times, and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

There lived at this time, and in the same Age together with *Moses*, many Men exceeding famous, as well in bodily Strength, as in all sorts of Learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and *Civility* (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a Passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and those parts of *Armenia*, besides his bodily strength, he was chosen King of *Armenia*, because he taught those People to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from Rain and Storm: and learned them what to make a kind of Meal, and Bread of *Acorus*, who before lived for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how silly those Nations have vaunted of that their Antiquities, accompanied not only with civil Learning, but with all other kinds of Knowledge. And it was in this Age of the World, as both

Ag. 1. 18. *Eschylus* and *St. Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea sermo de ingenio tribuitur hominibus, quia opinus sapientie Doctor fuisse probatur*; Of whom it is reported that he formed Men out of Clay, because he was an excellent Teacher of Wisdom: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of Fire ascribed to *Prometheus*.

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Of this Man's Knowledge *Eschylus* gives this Testimony.

Eschyl. in Prometheus. *Ag. agebant omnia. Ut fors forebat: donec ipse repert*

Signorum obitus, ortusque qui moribus sunt uiles: & multitudinem artium. His repert: compere inde literas; Martemque. Majorem aucti-ego memoriam Perseuile cunctis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their Works, till when I first found out how Stars did set and rise: A profitable Art to mortal Men: And others of like use I did devise: As Letters to compose in leasned wife I first did teach: and first did amplify The Mother of the *Moses* Memory.

Africans makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94 Years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyry* says, c. 3. de Civ. that he lived at once with *Imachus*, who lived with *En. Di. 11. 11.*

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, Brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moses*'s days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long Lives gave them a part of other Ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sons of *Japetus*: *Eschylus* finds two other, to wit, *Ocepus*, and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening-Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same Name: but of the *Lybian*, and the Brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which cross *Africa*, to the South of *Morocco*, *Sus*, and *Hes*, with the Sea adjoining took name, which Memory *Plato* in *Critias* beflowes on *Atlas*, the Son of *Nephele*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* Questions, affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express Divine Knowledge. *Nec veri Atlas sustinet Caelum*, nor *Prometheus affixus Caucasus*, nec *stellatus Cepheus cum Oxore traderetur*, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabule tradidisset: Neither should *Atlas* be said to bear up Heaven, nor *Prometheus* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *Cepheus* with his Wife to be stelled, unless their divine Knowledge had raised upon their Names these erroneous Fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest Time by *Prometheus*, sometime he took him for *Saturn*; as *Rhee* conjunct *Atlas* *Prometheus*. But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a Fiction; and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eschylus* and *St. Augustine* have not doubted. For the great *Eschylus* Judgment which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, faith *St. Augustine*, were his Daughters called by the Names of *Confiteles*, *Pisides*, and *Ephides*: Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moon's Course, of which *Archias* the Son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the Invention. Of this *Archias*, *Archias* in *Peloponnesus* took Name, and therefore did the *Archadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moon. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, faith *Atlas* *Comes*, before there had been any observation of the Moon's Course; or of her working in inferior Bodies. And though there be that beflow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isaacus Terentius*, a curious searcher of Antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who, besides his gifts of Mind, was a Man of unequalled and incomparable Strength: from

Eschyl. de Prometheus. *Ag. agebant omnia. Ut fors forebat: donec ipse repert*

from whom *Thales* the *Adelphian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

S. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this Age of the World, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned. *Thessaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the Son of *Pramethus*, faith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for Mother, the next *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses* makes *Deucalion* the Son of *Atmos*; for else either *Ulysses* was some other *Deucalion*; or he must needs have meant him *Atmos*, who put the Tale into his millitank, or *Homer*, who said the Tale into his Mouth. For *Ulysses* after his return from *Troy* was Son to this later *Deucalion*, the Son of *Atmos*; but this *Atmos* lived but one Age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Ixionem* served in that War) and this *Deucalion* the Son of *Pramethus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion's* time happened that great Inundation in *Thessaly*: by which in effect, every Soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrhus* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this Flood in *Thessaly*, those People exceeded in all kind of Wickedness and Villany: and as the Impiety of Men is the forcible attractive of God's Vengeance, by all that Nation, for their foul Sins, perish by all that Nation, as in the time of *Noah's* Flood, the Corrupti- on and Cruelty of all Mankind drew on them that general Destruction by the Flood Universal. That general Destruction and *Pyrhus* his Wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be Lovers of Virtue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*;

*Non ille melior quisquam, nec amantior aequi
Vir fuit: an illa reverentia ulla Deorum.*

No Man was better, nor more just than he:
Nor any Woman godlier than he.

It is also affirmed that *Pramethus* foretold his Son *Deucalion* of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own Safety; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogus* of *Timon* calls *Ciborium*; and others *Larnax*. And because of these Circumstances, they afterwards add the fending out of the Dove, to discover the Waters fall and decrease. I should verily think that this Story had been but an imitation of *Noah's* Flood deviled by the *Greeks*, did not the Times so much differ, and *S. Augustine*, and others of the Fathers, and Reverend Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his Children, *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had first the Name of *Hellen*; and *Melanho*, on whom *Neptuno* is said to have begot *Delfhus*, which gave name to *Delfos*, so renowned among the Heathen, for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this Flood, was that great burning and Conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Aethiopia*, but in *Africa*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cume*, and the Mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which

the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange Fables.

S. VI.

Of *Hermes Trismegistus*.

BUT of all other which this Age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned: the fame which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Tor maximus*: and of the *Greeks* *Hermes*.

Many there were of this Name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their own Times, both *S. Augustinus* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercurius* which was esteemed the God of Thieves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Seamen, and the God of Eloquence, (though all by one Name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercurius*, of whose many Works some Fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*: Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the Son of *Nilus*, whose Name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the Jews did their *Tetrachammon*; the other, that *Mercurius* which *Hermetus* in *Greece*, and *Isis* in *Egypt*, is said to have delivered Literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them Laws. But *Diogenes Laertius*, firm, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought Learning and Letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: of which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying, That Letters *Dionysius* were not found out by that *Mercurius* which flew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercurius*, otherwise *Thoth*; whom *Philo Biblites* writeth *Tautus*; the *Egyptians* *Thoth*; the *Alexandrines* *Thoth*; and the *Greeks* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Tautus*, *Sanenathus*, who lived about the Year of *Argus*, gave the invention of Letters. But *S. Augustinus* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the Son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have lain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercurius*, the slayer of *Argus*, was but the Grandchild of that *Atlas* which lived whilst *Moses* was yet young. And yet *Lactantius* upon *S. Augustinus* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembered. But that Conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian *Mercurius* brought Letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane Antiquity) that all the Knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt*, or *Phoenicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any Grecian, into *Egypt*. For they all confess that *Cadmus* brought Letters first into *Beotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phoenicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius* that lived at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these defense call: *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth Year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Silenus* whom he reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty Years; after him *Lyncus*; in whose time, and after him in the time of *Midas* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Beotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought Literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *S. Augustinus* remembereth, the one the Grandfather, the other the Nephew or Grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eusebius* and *Arrianus* note, that *Moses* found out

Letters;

Letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*; of whom the *Phoenicians* their Neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phoenicians* by *Cadmus*. But this Invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phoenicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those Men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the Profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercurius*, upon part of whose Works he commenteth, to have been four Descendants after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal Grandfather of the first famous *Mercurius*, whom others, as *Diogenes*, call the Councilor and Instructor of that renowned *Isis*, Wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his Opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercurius* instructed *Isis*, *Diogenes Laertius* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found on a Pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lactantius* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of *S. Augustinus* de *Civitate Dei*, conceiveth that *Mercurius*, whose Works are extant was not the first which was entitled, *Tor Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-Child. *Sanenathus*, an ancient *Phoenician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercurius*; affirming that he was the Scribe of *Saturus*, and called by the *Phoenicians*, *Atis*, *Taurus*; and by the *Egyptians* *Thoth*, or *Thoy*. It may be, that the many Years which he is said to have lived, to three hundred Years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inventor of the *Egyptian* *Wisdome*, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercurius*, or *Hermes*, doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even Judgement, will rather resolve that these Works which are now extant, where by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those Fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his Heart and Wit. For there is no Man of understanding, and Master of his own Wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in Doctrine and in Nature. For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any Man of those elder Times that hath attributed more, and in a file more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God than he hath done. And therefore if he wrote two Treatises, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought with *Epulemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *Egyptian* *Theologie* hereafter written, was deviled by the first, and more ancient *Mercurius*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph* the Son of *Jacob*; whom, after the exposition of *Pharaoh's* Dreams, they called *Sapienter Pharae*, which is as much as to say, as *Asconditurus Repertor*. A finder out of hidden things. But these are over-venturous Opinions. For what this Man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged Time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were,

Moses.

L. i. c. 6.
lib. 4.

Lactantius writeth in this sort: *Hic scriptis libris*

*& quidem multis, ad cognoscendum divinarum rerum penetrantibus, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, isdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books, belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he ascribeth the Majesty of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God, and Father, which we do. The same Father also heareth not to number him among the *Sybs* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his Acknowledgments to those Idolatrous Fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, as for my self I am perwaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereto, was by Corruption infected. For this much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, Fons & Vita, Potentia & Lux, & Mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus ore procedit, perfectissimum existens, & Generator & Opifex, &c. God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the Fountain, and Life, and Power, and Light, and Mind, and Spirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful Nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Ficinus*) called *Tor maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquens est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. He runnam (saith *Ficinus*) prædica præfæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, the adventum Christi, hic futurum Judicium, Resurrectionem sancti, beatitudinem Gloriam, Aplica seculorum. This *Mercurius* foretold the Ruin of the old or superstitious Religion, and the Birth of the new Faith; and of the coming of Christ, the future Judgment, the Resurrection, the Glory of the Blessed, and the Torment or Affliction of the wicked or damned.**

To this I will only add his two last Speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volaterranus* out of *Seneca*. *Hæc enim ipse pulsus a patria, vix perigrinus & exul, nunc incolam repeto cunq; post paulum à vobis corporeis viniculis absolutus discedere, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Civitatem regressuri; ad quam universi Cives mortis condicione venturi sunt. His namq; solus Deus & summus Princeps: qui Cives suos replet suavitate mística; ad quam her, quam multis citam existimant, mors est parvis decenda quam vita. Hicitero, O Son, being driven from your Country, I have lived a Stranger and banished Man; but now I am repairing home, and again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (or in a short time) by being loosed from these Bonds of Flesh and Blood depart from you, see that you do not bewail me as a Man dead, for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all their Citizens (by the condition of Death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; in regard whereof this being, which others call a Life, is rather to be accounted a Death, than a Life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words with *Seneca*. O *Calum magni Dei sapientis opus, regis; O vox patris quam primam emittit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per innocentiam ejus corpus & Spiritum contra comprehendendum, miseriam meam; I adjure thee O Heavens, thou wife Work of the great God, and thee O Voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have Mercy upon me.**

But *Seneca* hath his Invocation in these words. *Obsecro te *Calum magni Dei sapientis opus, obsecro te vocem**

vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per augustum Senonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto. I beseech thee O Heaven, my Work of the great God, I beseech thee, O Voice of the Father, which he spoke first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

§. VII.

Of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that lived about those times.

There were also in this Age both *Æsculapim*, which after his Death became the God of Physicians, being the Brother of *Mercurius*, as *L. Vices* in *Vices* thinks in his Commentary upon *Agrippine*, de *Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious Art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any Familiarity with Devils, or ill Spirits; words indeed that seldom came out of his Mouth; however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophists* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophist* Poisoners, and *Incantators*: By *Hierome*, *Jannes* & *malicijs*, wife Men, and Evil-doers: and so by *Parabellus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The Greek it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural Magic, calling them *εμπεριστατοι*, workers by Drugs. The *Genevian*, Sorcerers and *Incantators*: *Junius Japientes*, *Præfignatores* & *Magi*. Magicians and Wife-Men here by him are taken in one sense; and *Præfignatores* are such as dazel Mens Eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not; as false Colours, and false Shapes. But as some Vertues and some Vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superstition having one Face and Countenance) so did the Works and Workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common Capacities, to be one and the same Art and Gift of Knowledge. For the Devil changeth himself into an Angel of Light: and imitaterh in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary, every work which furnourmeth the Wisdom of most Men, is not to be condemned as performed by the Help or Ministry of ill Spirits. For the Properties and Powers which God hath given to natural things, as such as where he alio bestoweth the Knowledge to understand their hidden and best Vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above Nature or Art: Which two Speculations of Works of Nature, and of Miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these Names; *Opus de Berebis*, & *opus de mercaia*: the one they call *Sapientiam Naturæ*, The Wisdom of Nature: The other *Sapientiam Divinitatis*: The Wisdom of Divinity: the one *Jacob* practised in the breeding the pious Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his Miracles wrought in *Egypt*; having received from God the Knowledge of the one in the highest Perfection, to wit, the Knowledge of Nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his Glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Alio *S. Augustine* saith that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*,

to the death of *Jefusa*, divers other famous Men lived in the World, who after their Deaths, for their eminent Vertues and Inventions, were numbered among the Gods: as *Diomifus*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were inflicted Musical Plays to *Apollō Delphicus*; thereby to regain his Favour, who brought *Barnabes* and *Scarcity* upon that part of *Greece*, because they refused not the Attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and fer it on fire: So did *Erithonius* institute the like Games to *Minerva*; wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of Oil, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

In this Age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the fame to whom the twelve Labours are ascribed, Native of *Yrithmia* a City of *Peloponessus*: (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philopstratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an Egyptian: *Mosistomus* fit, non *Thebanum* *Herculem*, sed *Ægyptium* ad *Gades* pervenisse, & ibi finem statuiffe *Terre* (saith *Philopstratus*) It is manifest that it was the Egyptian *Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which travelled as far as the *Sirens* of *Gades*, and there detremeth the Bonds of the Earth. In this time alio, while *Moses* wandred in the *Deserts*, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy forever they were that lived in the Days and Age of *Moses*, there was never any Man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things, whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an Infinite God) he so often appeared; never any Man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane Knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to Posterity by Letters, the Truth and Power of one Infinite God, his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the Creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the Punishment, Vengeance, and Eradication which followed it.

Syriacides calleth *Moses* the Beloved of God and *Syriac* 45 Men, whose Remembrance is blessed. He made 123 him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his Enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, served him his Glory, caused him to bear his Voice, sanctified him with Faithfulness and Meekness, and chose him out of all Men.

He is remembered among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*; by *Megasthenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long Lives which the Patriarchs enjoyed before the Flood, remembered by *Moses*, *Efiesus*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Ansilauus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the Historian, confirm. The Universal Flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascus*, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of Tongues, *Abydenus*, *Efiesus*, and *Syballa* have approved. *Berosus* alio honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Book of him. *Damascenus*, before cited, speaketh of *Abraham's* passage from

from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Books of *Moses*. *Eusepiemon* writeth the very fame of *Abraham* which *Moses* did. For, beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by Divine Power, he saith that *Abraham* was born in the tenth Generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Orion*, excelled all Men in Willdom; and by whom the Astrology of the Chaldeans was invented. *Isidorus* saith that *Abraham* was the first of the same Author) sic *Deo gratias fiat*, as *Divine Præcepto* in *Thyrium* vultu, ibi; habuitque: For his Justice and Piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his Commandment he came into *Phœnicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book and fifth Chapter speaketh reverently of *Moses*. There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirm the Books of *Moses*, as *Eusepiemon* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparatione* to the Gospel, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable Testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. *Moses enim affirmabat, docebatque, & Ægyptios non velle sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque, Afros & Grecos, qui Divi hominum figuram affixerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos & Terram & Mare continet, quod Cælum & Mundum, & verum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sine mentis, alicuius cujus verum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audet effigere. Proinde (omni simulacrorum effigie repudiata) dignum est Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum.* *Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, which attributed unto God the Images of Beasts and Cattel: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their Gods the shape of Men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the World, and the nature of all things, whose Image doublet; whose Man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are amongst us; That therefore (all dressing of Gods with effigies) a worthy Temple and place of Prayer was to be erected unto him, and to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.*

Now concerning the Egyptian Willdome, for which the Martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *Thas Moses was learned in all the Willdome of the Egyptians, and was mighty in Works and Words*; the fame is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Jamblicus*, *Philopstratus*, and *Eusepiemon* *Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, viz. Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is distinguished into *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, *Arithmetic*, and *Musick*, the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For *Geometry*, which is by Interpretation, measuring of Grounds, was useful unto them; because it consisting of infallible Principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their Fields and Limits, by the Inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflowed and confounded; so as no Man could know what in right beloged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomy*, the site of the Country being a level and spacious Plain, free and clear from Clouds, yielded them delight with Ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetic also, which is the knowledge of Numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated

or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The natural part of the Willdome, which handleth the Principles, Causes, Elements, and Operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetic Philosophy*; teaching that *matéria prima* is the beginning or all things; that of it all mixt Bodies and living Creatures have their Being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain foveat Heat, and temperate Influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that Rains proceed and be from mutations in the Air; that the Planets have their proper Souls, &c.

The Divine part of this Willdome, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the World had a beginning, and shall perish; that Men had their first Original in *Egypt*, partly by means of the temperateness of that Country, where neither Winter with Cold, nor Summer with Heat, are offensive; and partly through the Fertility that *Nilus* giveth in those places: That the Soul is immortal, and hath Transmigration from Body to Body: That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; That many of the Gods have been in the estate of Mortal Men, and after Death, for their Vertues, and benefits bestowed on Mankind, have been deified. That those Beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms when they obtained Victory, were adored for Gods; because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their Enemies. Moreover, the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and Worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Cheremus distributed the whole sum of this latter Egyptian Learning into three several sorts, viz. *Epiphora*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds; the one proper, which is expressed by Letters alphabetical in obscure and figurative Words; as for Example, where it is written, *The Isis* by the Beetle participateth the Beauty of the Hawk; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the Light of God; because Light is an Image of Divine Beauty. The other symbolical; or by Signatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitative, Tropical, and Ænigmatical; Imitative, which designeth things by Characters, like to the things signified; as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it self: Tropical or Transfèrent, which applies the divers forms and figures of Natural Bodies or Creatures, to signify the Dignities, Fortunes, Conditions, Vertues, Vices, Affections, and Actions of their Gods and Men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawk signifieth God; the figure of the Beetle signifieth the Sun; the picture of the Bird *Isis* signifieth the Moon; by the form of a Man, Prudence and Skillfulness; by a Lion, Fortitude; by a Horse, Liberty; by a Crocodile, Impudency; by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Ænigmatical, is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes; in which kind, the monstrous Image

all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if every Man might have served himself by any Evail or Distinction, *Yahusha* might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of *Equivocation*, or *Mental Reservation*. For what he swore, he swore in good Faith; but he swore nothing, nor made any Promise at all to the *Gibonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithless Subtlety of Man should borrow nothing in the future from his Example, who knowing well, that the Promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn it, were Worshippers of the Devil.

For it is not as faithless Men take it, that he which swareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and swareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his Presence, That this Promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promise in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; and therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and despise him. If he that without Reservation of Honour giveth a Lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superior, doth in point of Honour give the Lie to the King himself, or to his Superior; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promisseth in his Name, and makes him a Witness of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a Son to break the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break those Contradictions which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick Faith. For though it were 400 Years after *Yahusha*, that *Saul*, even out of Devotion, slaughtered some of those People defended of the *Gibonites*: yet God who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a continuing Famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Saul's* Sons were delivered to the *Gibonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous Distinction, or by a God-mocking Equivocation, to swear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary Intent: The Life of Man, the Estates of Men, the Faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and all Trials of Right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the Chains whereby Freemen are tied in the World, be torn asunder. It is by Oath (when Kings and Armies cannot pass) that we enter into the Cities of our Enemies, and into their Armies. It is by Oath that Wars take end, which Weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be, that makes an Oath thus powerful, but this: That he that swearth by the Name of God, doth assure others that his Words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witness, and in whose Presence he that taketh the Oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor Evailings, which play with the Severity of God's Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the best Answer. That he breaks no Faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath Faith and the Fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them Tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it self: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a Reverend Bishop which wrote that Story) that *Americ*, the fifth King after *Godfrey* brake Faith with the *Caliph Elabdels*, and his *Frigerians*, the *Sultan Samsar*; who being suddenly invaded by *Americ*, drew in the *Turk Syracus* to their Aid; whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Cross (the very Crofs say they, that *Christ* died on) give them Victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the Field as their last Refuge; seeing they had forsworn themselves in his Name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghost, That he that speaketh Lies, shall be destroyed, and that the Mouth which uttereth lies, slayeth the Soul: How much more perilous is it (if any Peril be greater than to destroy the Soul) to swear a Lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope that perfwaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great Victory over *Armas* the *Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to Peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the *Christians*, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the War. And though the said King was far stronger in the Field than ever; yet he lost the Battle with 30000 *Christians*, and his own Life. But I will say my hand: For this first Volume will not hold the repetition of God's Judgments upon Faith-breakers; be it against Infidels, *Turks*, or *Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of Oaths now-a-days, is rather made a matter of Custom than of Conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and as it is said in the Scripture, To be Thorns in their Eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War. For these Cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Yahusha*; but soon after his Death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforced to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest Access. And those of *Judah* were not able to be Masters of their own Valleys; because, as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoining unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of *Amorites*, or *Philistines*; as *Azazah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*, out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the Children of *Manassah* over *Jordan* expel the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachabites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, after *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Neghalims* possess themselves of *Beith-jerusha*, nor of *Beithanab*; but they informed those *Canaanites* to pay them Tribute. Neither did *Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acan*, *Abihah*, *Achik*, *Fethlah*, *Aphek*, and *Re-hob*, nor enforce them to a Tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kirman*, and *Nahab*, but received Tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwell in *Gazar* among the *Ephraims*; and among the Children of *Manassah*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Beith-bean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ilitani*, and *Megiddo*; yea, *Hierusalem* it self

self did the *Yahusha* defend above four hundred Years, even till *David's* time.

Now *Yahusha* lived one hundred and ten Years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this Life for a better. The time of his Rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the Continuance. *Yahusha* gives him five and twenty Years; *Seder Ollan Rabbi*, the Author of the *Hebrew Chronology*, eight and twenty; and *Maffius* six and twenty; *Adamianus*, cited by *Maffius*, fourteen; *Juvenius Lucidus*, seventeen; *Cyprianus* ten; *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty; and so doth *St. Augustine*; *Melanthius* two and thirty; *Codman* five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 Years from the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Yahusha* only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and as I think, a well approved Opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 Years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of Error such as have inserted Years between *Yahusha* and *Othomiel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight Years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Yahusha*: *Bunting* reckons it nine Years, *Bucheler* and *Reusner* but one, *Codman* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty; whereas following the sure direction of these 480 Years, there can be no void Years found between *Yahusha* and *Othomiel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Yahusha* by the Account already specified. The Prairies and Acts of *Yahusha* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where, among many other things, it is said of him, Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the Battles of the Lord.

That he wrote the Book called by this name, it was the Opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter vers. 26. And *Yahusha*

wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God; which seemeth rather to have been meant by the Covenant which *Yahusha* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord; which Promise *Yahusha* caused to be written in the Book of the Law; and of this Opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodore* doth likewise conceive that the Book of *Yahusha* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intitled *Liber Yahusha*; remembered by *Yahusha* himself; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*; for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his Opinion upon these words of the 26th Verse, And *Yahusha* wrote these words, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the People had answered *Yahusha*, The Lord our God will we serve, and his Voice will we obey; it followeth that *Yahusha* made a Covenant with the People, and wrote the same in the Book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Yahusha*, *Erichonius* in *Archie*, who taught that Nation to yoke Beasts together, thereby to till the Ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danau* (as it is said) flew the fifty Sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lycemus* who succeeded *Danau*, if the Tale be true. There lived also with *Yahusha*, *Phoenice* and *Cadane*, and near the end of *Yahusha's* Life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phoenice*, (afterwards married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpidon*. But *St. Augustine* reports this Ravishment to be committed by *Zeuxippe*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Demonax*, and *Demonax* to *Idemeneus*, who was an old Man at the War of *Troy*, and *Sarpidon* was in Person a young or strong Man at the same Trojan War; And so doth *Aristotle* reckon up in the Council of the *Greeks*, *Troilus* and *Penthus* for Men of Antiquity, and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Israel*, that were planted in the Borders of *Phoenicia*, with sundry Stories depending upon those places.

S. I.

The Proem to the Description of the whole Land of *Canaan*, with an Exposition of the Name of *Syria*.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Yahusha*, after whom the Commonwealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the Description of *Samaria*: But because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, wherein the greatest part of the Story pass, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographical description of those Regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood

and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper Portion; and do shew what Cities and places of strength were by the Jews obtained; and what numbers it pleased the Lord to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many Graces; they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all Power; and adored those deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina Bonitas* (saith *St. Augustine*) idem maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro; & misericordia inter temporalium adhibet severitatem, ne eternam iustitiam interueniat: The Divine Goodness is especially therefore

angry in this World, that it may not be angry in the World to come; and doth mercifully give Temporal Security, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal Vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-wealths; and to help me fall herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this Subject; among whom, because I find of great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own Reason, than to borrow any one of their old Patterns.

And because Canaan, with Palestine of the Philistines, and the Land of Og and Sihon Kings of Bashan, and the Arabian Deserts, were by final Provinces of Syria; it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so defend to this particular, now called the Holy Land.

Syria, now Syria, according to the latest Description, as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea to the Red Sea; and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called *Leucosyriani*, or white Syrians. But taking it shorter, and from the Coast of Cilicia, which is the North border, unto Idumea towards the South, Tigris towards the Sun-rings, and the Mediterranean Sea Westward; it then containeth, besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Petrea*, that Region also which the Greeks call *Asyriam*; the Hebrews for so *Aram-Naharaim* is expounded; also *Padian Aram*, that is, *Yugon Syria*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a Yoke.

Edessa, sometimes *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria, taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Calosyria*, which the Latines call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitful Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus* and *Anti-Lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Ladicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the Regal Seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of Syria. Adjoining to it was the Province of *Syphace*; or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zoba*; over which *Adadecor* commanded in *Solomon's* time. Then *Phenicia* and the People of *Syraphim*; and lastly *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*; of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judea* also a part; and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Serai* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judea*.

S. II.

Of the Bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the Promises touching this Land.

BUT that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phenicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Deserts* between *Idumea* and *Egypt*; bounded by the Midland Sea on the West, and the Mountains of *Herman*, *Gilead* and *Armon* towards the East; the same Hills which *Israhel* calleth *Tramontani* or *Tympanon* *Prolong Hipp*. The main of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Chechem*, & *Lingua apollonia* fuit *Canaan*; The Language was also called *Canaan*, both *Momani*; and after *Hebraica* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to *S. Augustine*. But *Arius* *Momani* not so well allowing

of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah's* Sons, which pass over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, faith he, is as much as *transitus*, or *transitus*, of gold or passing over. And because the Children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding; therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Heber*, as it were *passengers*, which is also the Opinion of *C. Sigebert*, and of *Enchirion* long before them both. It is *Enchirion*, and had also the name of *Judea* from *Juda*, and then afterwards intitled the Holy Land, because therein our Saviour *Christ* was born, and buried. Now this part of Syria was again divided into four, namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Serai*, or *Edumae*), *Galilee*, *Samaritan*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the Superior, called *Gentium*, and the Inferior; and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phenicia*.

Now besides these Provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the River of *Tigris* boundeth; having that *Phoenicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Herman*, *Gilead*, and *Armon*, otherwise *Traconis*, fell to the possession of half *Menelech*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also; as well because anciently possessed by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which *Eastmost* parts are again divided into *Bajan*, or *Batanea*, unto *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Masabi*, *Geffiri*, *Argees*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Geographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general; and by the names of *Tracemitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c., of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* as it is the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Menelech*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar until Ascalon (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Country North and South; then it followeth in the Text. And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorah; and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Lathai; by which words Moses setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. But in Deuteronomy it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written: All the places wherein the sole of your Feet shall tread shall be yours: your Coast shall be from the Wilderness, and from Lebanon, and from the River Perath, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Country North and South, this Description agreeth with the former; only Lebanon is put for Zidon: and the Wilderness for Gerar and Ascalon, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perath* be taken for *Euphrates*; then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petrea*, and the *Desert*, as far as the border of *Babylon*, which the *Israelites* never possessed; as at any time did go much as invade or attempt: And therefore *Yadusius* doth observe that, by the River *Perath*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*; taking light from this place of *Job*: *Behold I have divided unto you by lot tribus Nationes, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes from Jordan unto all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.**

And tho it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the Holy Land; yet *Yadusius* well noteth, if *Perath* in the former place

be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but for *gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not so any time enter so far to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious Cavil, as touching the Promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his Worship and service, he showed him self only to incline then within that Territory, which was for so many People exceeding narrow; but therein, and elsewhere, to subvert them unto those idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also served and obeyed. And here, the Promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the Inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, as long as the Heavens were above the Earth, was tied to those Conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other, than all Mankind could or can expect; who know that all sorts of Comforts, from the merciful Goodness of God looked for, as well in this Life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perlive in his Love, Service, and Obedience. So, in the 8th Verse of the 1st of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of God's Commandments, was a Condition joined to the Prosperity of *Israhel*. For therein it is written; Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the Land which the Lord swore unto your Fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the Heavens are above the Earth. For if ye keep diligently, faith he, all these Commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you; and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, tho it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's Commandments, and their falling away from the Worship of his All-powerful Majesty, the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional Promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon Obedience unperformed. Yet I cannot mislike that Exposition of *Melancthon*; For, faith he, *offendit promissionem precipuam promisse de hoc Politico Regno; Hic brevis est hic clausus Promissus non est de Civili Regno.* To which agrees that Answer, which *S. Hieronimus* made to a certain Heretic, in his Epistle ad *Dardanium*, who accused *S. Hieronimus*, that he overthrew the Reputation of the Jews Story, and brought the Truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegory, and ad *illam domat ad scriptum terram que in Calce est; (that is) Only to that Land of the Living which is in Heaven. Quoniam terra Judaeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudo habeat 160 miliarium, latitudinem vero 40, & in eis etiam regnantes in aeternum & opuscula sunt plurima, nunquam a Judaeis mutata, sed tantum divina pollicitationis promissa; Because the whole Country of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath*

160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth; and in these are Countreys, Places, Cities, and many Towns, which the Jews never possess, but were only granted by Divine Promise. In like manner the same Father *Peckher* upon *Ezra*, touching the blessings promised unto *Hierusalem*; where he hath these words; *De quo diffinitum Hierusalem nequaquam in Civitate Regine potendae, quo totius Provinciae deterrima est, & facissimis montibus operatur; & penuriam patitur, quia in eo calidissimum mare parvis, & variis ventis, Continuum Cyclonum extraxione solent; sed in Despectu ad quoniam dicitur Hierusalem stridit: tunc: From whence, faith he, we learn, that *Hierusalem* is not to be sought in that Region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole Province, and ragged, with craggy Mountains; and suffering the penury of Thirst: *Judas* it preferret in that Water, and supplieth the scarcity of Wells, by building Cisterns: but this *Hierusalem* is in God's hands; to which it is said, *Thy Builders have builded: In far S. Hieronimus*. Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expounded himself, *Nemque hoc dico in fugillationem terra Judeae, ut Hieronymus Synopsum meminit: aut quo asseram historia optatum: quo fundamentum est intelligentia scripturae, sed ut decutiam Superstitionem Judaeorum: qui Synagoga angustius latitudinem Ecclesiae praefertur. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur litteras, & non scripturas vivificant: offendunt terram promissionis latitudo, & male equantur: (faith he) say this is a defence the Land of *Judea*, as the Heretic *Synopsum* hath bele me) or to take away the truth of the History, which is the Foundation of Spiritual Understanding, but to beat down the pride of the Jews; which enlarge the Straits of the Synagogue, farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow only the killing Letter, and not the quickening Spirit, let them then the Land of Promise, flowing with Milk and Honey.**

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West bound in the place, *Deut. 1. 1. 24.* had his truth in the literal sense) that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense; yet nevertheless that *Hieronimus*'s Opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*; and that the Promise it self was never to lapse, much less the Plantation and Conquest of *Israhel*. And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *After*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in *Phenicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *After* for the first: of which Tribe, yet before I speak, I must admonish the Reader touching the Names of Places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many Names, by reason of the divers Fancies of Translators, are diversely exprest; so that to the unskillful they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want Vowels, the old Translators imagined other Vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly, because the Ancient exprest or omitted divers Consonants, otherwise than the later think fit.

he reads, *Forerit*, for, in *Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percuties* *Syris* in *Aphek*.

The next place along the Coast is *Sandalium*. first called *Schandium* by *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and for it on a Point of Land which extended itself into the Sea, between *Azob* and *Tyre*: which *Caille Baldine* the Irish rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this *Caille*, ariseth that most plentiful Spring of Water, which *Solomon* remembereth, called the *Well of Living Waters*: from whence, not only all the Fields and Plains about *Tyre*, are made fruitful by large Pipes hence drawn; but the same Spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short Passage, faith *Brochard*.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Azob*, *Joel* 12.20 and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achaph*, or *Azob*, or after *St Hieron*, *Achaph*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Jobab*, at the Waters of *Merom*.

¶ VII.

Of *Thoron*, *Gifcala*, and some other Places.

Farther into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdenario* built on the Eastermoft Hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the Excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasaunt. From this Castle, the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the Story of the Wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their Names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the Blessed *Virgin*, in which *Hampory* of *Thoron*, Confessor to *Baldvine* the Third, King of *Hierusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Affer*; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, *Cyfrum* *Lanferit*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Cyfrum* *Regium*, and *Belfort*. The fifth near the Sea, under the Hills of *Saron*; the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and Fellowship of the *Temonici*, or *Dutch Knights*, (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the *Saracens* possessed the belt part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Trolois* *Acin*. The first Fortrefs was, for Beauty and Strength, called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, near the City *Rama*: of which in this Tribe, *Job* 19.29. for which the *Vulgar* reads *Horma*, making the Article a part of the word, and mistaking the Vowels; from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine*, King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which *St Hieron* calleth *Chalab*; one of those that defended themselves against *Affer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob*, they place *Gabal*, (which *Heracl*, furnished the *Afcalonites* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of (*habol*, *Quid Syronum* *trivna* *dispicere* significat (faith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre*, was ill pleased

with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those Provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Other think this *Chabal*, or *Cabal*, containing a Circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land; the bordering *Affer* on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg*. 9. 11. that they were in *Regione limitis*; that is, in *limit Regions*, in the border of the Country: for it was not lawful, say they, to give to Strangers any part of the Possession allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2 *Chron*. 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David*, from *Syri Rechobai*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Gifcala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Gifcala* was made famous by *John* the Son of *Levi*, who from a mean Estate, gathering together 400 Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*; at such time as the *Romans* attempted the Conquest of *Judea*; by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Gifcala* (whereof he was Native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the Contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground: But being by *Josephus*'s Authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendered to *Titus* by composition. They find also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and ** Caded* (or *Cedela*); of the first was that *Syro-Phoenician*, whose Daughter *Christ* delivered of the Evil Spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Demetrius Macedonius* overthrew the Army of *Jennath*.

There are, besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Affer*, divers others; as on the South Border, and near the Sea, *Misfat*, or *Misfat*: within the Land ** Besara*, ** Bethadon*, and *Bethemer*, standing on the South Border, between *Affer* and *Zabulon*: on the North side, joining to *Syro-Phoenicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethalon*, the utmost of the Holy Land that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Cheli*, and then *Enech*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his Son *Enech*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chamon*, of which *Job* 19.28. where also we read of *Nehil*, *Rama*, *Alamelce*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Alcab*, or *Chelcab*, *Haddon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misfat*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Afferites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made *Judg*. 1.30. to which, out of *Jobab*, we may add *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pepper the description with them.

¶ VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of *Affer*.

The Rivers to the North of *Affer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Comis*, to which *Ziegler* joyneth *Lycens*, *Prolym*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea near *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon*: finding his Head notwithstanding, where *Prolym* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*.

Aff. Tab. 4. Tyre. It hath also a River called *Fons borvorum Libani*, which *Abricome*, out of *Brochard*, intruseth *Elephrus*: for which he saith cithet *Pliny*; and the first of *Macchabei* the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities prove *Elephrus* to be in *Affer*: for this River falleth into the Sea at the life of *Adonis*, not far from *Balabita*, witness *Prolym*; and therefore *Plinius* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *E-Valania*: which River boundeth *Phoenicia* on the North side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principal River of *Affer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gobanus*, *Chrysiastus* *Schor*, out of the Mouth and Papers of *Peter Lucifol* (which *Laigius* in this our Age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the main River, *Fons borvorum Libani*: and one of the Streams which runneth into it from the North side, *Naar*; and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the City adjoining of the same name; for *Elephrus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Abricome*, named *Geophus*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he, cithet the nineteenth of *Jobab*, but the word ** Ge* which is added there to *Geophus* is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Affer*, the River of *Belus*, remembered by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, faith *Pliny*: out of the Sands of this River are made the best Glass, which sometime the *Zidonians* practised; and how the *Venerians* at *Augana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a Branch of *Chudamin*; which it cannot be: for in *Golias* *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cadene*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the River of *Chifon*, taketh Water from *Chudamin*; but not in that fashion which *Plinius* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais* *Acin*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the South, between *Caiphas* and *Sicath*, witness *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and which *Schrot*.

* The word *Naar* is ambiguous, either for a Valley, or for a River: but this word *Ge*, is always a Valley, as a Branch of *Chudamin*; which it cannot be: for in *Golias* *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cadene*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the River of *Chifon*, taketh Water from *Chudamin*; but not in that fashion which *Plinius* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais* *Acin*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the South, between *Caiphas* and *Sicath*, witness *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and which *Schrot*.

* I have understood another Stream, *Job* 12.3. which running by *Petra* of *Araba*, falleth into the Lake *Serbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promised Land; whereabout they place *Rhinoceros*, for which *Cyriacus* taketh *Shichin* in that place of *Jobab*; but howsoever, whether this *Shichin*, *Job* 12.3. be a River or a City, it appears that this Name is found, both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Job* 19.26. and in the South bound, *Job* 19.33.

Besides these Rivers, there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living Waters adjoining to *Tyre*: and ** Mafersphor*, or after *St Hieron*, *Mafersphor*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoining, (they say) the Inhabitants, by seething the Water, make Salt therewith.

The Mountains which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Calofrya*; two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phoenicia*, and *Syria*, extend themselves far into the Land Eastward, four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that thence he giveth to the Valley of *Calofrya*; which those Mountains inclose: but *Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the Welt (where they begin at *Thersiphon*, or *Des facies*, near *Tripolis*) to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*; where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges, where they begin to part *Tracometis* and *Balsam*, from the Desert *Arabian*, are called *Herman*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*; the *Phoenicians*, *Syrians*, and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills; which running farther Southerly,

is in the Scripture called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Jeremy* proveth; *Galaad* is *mibi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of all those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the Name of *Tracometis*; and *Prolym* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountains bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but he giveth no reason for his Opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops; because, according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are covered with Snow all the Summer; the Hebrew word *Libanus* (faith *Weissenburg*) significeth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those Trees yield; because *Libanus* is also the Greek word for that *Sassa*.

Niger out of *Aphrodisia* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kind of Honey-dew, which is by the *Sen* coagulated into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the Latin word *Saccharum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* belittoweth on the Neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysiastus*, *Jordan*, *Elephrus*, *Leontis*, *Lycens*, *Adonis*, *Fons borvorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of *Affer*, are those Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful; but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nabo*, or the Mountain of *Abirin*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threecore miles distant.

S. IV.

The Tribe of NEPH TALIM.

¶ I.

Of the Bounds of *Naphthalim*, and of *Helipolis*, and *Abila*.

The next proportion of the Land of *Canaan*, bordering *Affer*, was the upper *Galilee*; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Naphthalim*, the Son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the Handmaid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400 Persons, able to bear Arms, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their Bodies in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their Sons 45400, besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of Age. The Land of *Naphthalim* took beginning on the North part from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adjoining, as far South as the Sea of *Gallilee*, bounded on the Welt by *Affer*, and on the East & South-east by *Jordan*. On the North side of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this Territory of *Naphthalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Hittites*) also inhabit; in which *Tract*, and under *Libanus*, was the City of *Helipolis*; which the height of the Mountains adjoining shadowed from the Sun, the better part of the day. *Postellus* saith it is called *Balber*: *Niger*, *Marbech*, and *Leontavins*, in *Bealebea*.

Of this name of *Helipolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldeans* *Paraphat*, otherwise *Demuth*, *Bethemer*, or after the *Latinis*, *Solis oppidum*, *Plin* 11.1. *Domus Solis*, The City of the Sun: into which, faith

S. VII.

The half of the Tribe of MANASSEH.

¶ I. Of the Bounds of this half Tribe; and of Scythopolis, Salem, Theria, and others.

The next Tribe which joineth it self to *Isachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manasseh*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasseh* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the 11th Son of *Jacob*. His Mother was an Egyptian, the Daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: in which *Manasseh*, with his Brother *Ephraim*, the Grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbered amongst the Sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve Patriarchs.

Of *Manasseh*, there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 32200 able Men: all which being counted in the *Deserts*, there entered of their Issue 52700 bearing Arms. The Territory which fell to this one half of *Manasseh*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East and *Dora* upon the *Mediterranean Sea* on the West, *Jezebel* on the North, and *Manabana* is the South border.

The first and principal City which stood in this Territory, was *Beisban*, sometime *Nysa*, faith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward, when the *Syrians* invaded *Asia* the *Leis*, and pierc'd into the South, to the uttermost of *Calvaryia*, they built this City anew, and very magnificent: and it had, thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Syrians* given it by the Greeks.

These barbarous Northern People, constrained the Jews to fight against their own Nation and Kindred, by wh. hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the Jews which they loved, and slew them all. *Stephanus* maketh it the utmost towards the South of *Calvaryia*: and *Siraboe* joins it to *Galilee*. It is feared between *Jordan* and the Hills of *Gilboa*, in *salone ad montes acrabatene*, *saith Ziegler*. But I find it in the East part of the Valley of *Jezebel* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* straiteneth it self again into a River, leaving the Sea or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithstanding, *Montanus* describes it far to the West, and towards the *Mediterranean Sea*, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicifan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This City was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the Children of *Manasseh* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it *Sane*, an Enemy, or *Beth-san*, the House of an Enemy.

Over the Walls of this *Bethsan*, the *Philistines* hung the Body of *Saul*, and his Sons, slain at *Gilboa*. It had, while the Christian Religion flourished in those parts, an Arch-bishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocese numbered by *Tyrius*, in *h. 14. cap. 12*. but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later Travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbish and the ruins of that City, goodly Pillars, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witness the stately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate Village.

From *Bethsan*, keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient City called *Salim*: which City, the ancient *Rabbins*, faith *Jerom*, do not find to be the same with *Jerusalem*: there being, in the time of *Jerom*, and since, a Town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before-mentioned; which if the place of Scripture, *Gen. 13. 18*. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *transiitque in Salem urbem Sichem*

(for which others read, *venit incolam ad Civitatem Sichemum*, making the word *Salem* not to be a proper Name, but an Adjective) yet the place *John 3. 13*. where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Enon* near *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which *S. John* speaketh, but contracted of *Shobalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *1 Sam. 9. 4*. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shubal*; of which we read, *1 Sam. 13. 17*. for as for that which is added out of *Cam. 6. 12*. of *Shulammis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem*, near *Enon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place *Salem*, they find *Betsech* the City of *Admichee*; *Josephus* Beeth, by calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* alsembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of *Jul. 13. 330000*, when he meant to relieve *Isabel-Gilead*, against *Nabab* the *Ammonite*, who would give them no other conditions of Peace, than to suffer their right Eyes to be thrust out. Near *Betsech*, is the City of *Babbar*, or rather *Beth-bar*, of which *Judg. 7. 24*. in the story of *Gideon*, and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited; in the Border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that Stone on which *Abimelech* the *Balfard* slew his 70 Brothers, (an heathenish Cruelty, practised by the Turks to this day); and not far hence between the Village of *Alphon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolemus* *Lathyrus* overthrow *Alexander* King of the *Jems*; and slaughtered, as *Josephus* numbeth them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 5000: after which Victory, as *Prology* past by the Villages of the *Jems*, he flew all their Women, and cauled the young Children to be fed in great Caldrons, that the rest of the *Jems* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be Men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the West, and on the border of *Issachar*, they place the Cities of ** Ener* of the *Levites*, * *2. 16. 4. A. A. and Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Jud. 7. 22*. placeth near *Junius* in *Ephraim*; it was the Habitation of *Heli* the *Prophet*, numbred among those places, *1 Reg. 4. 12*. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solemon*; to whose charge also *Tahanach* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first refused *Isachar*, to whose King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

In the body of this Territory of *Manasseh*, but somewhat nearer to *Jordan* than to the *Mediterranean Sea*, were three great Cities, to wit, *Therfa*, whose King was one of those that *Johna* slew; which the Kings of *Israel* used for their Regal Seat, till such time as *Samarra* was built. From hence 13 the Wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Asbia* to enquire of her Son's health; who knowing her, tho she were disguised, told her of her Son's death.

The second was *Thebes* near *Samarra*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame; in the assault of the Tower of this Town, whereto the Citizens retired, the *Balfard* *Admichee* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a Woman over the Wall; who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others set this City in *Ephraim*, near *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acraabata*, of which the Territory adjoining is called *Acraabata*, (one of the ten *Tetrarchies*, or Governments in *Juda*) for which *Jerom*, *1 Mac. 5. 3*. reads *Acraabata*; but in the *Greeks* it is *Acraabata*: *Isidore* calls it *Acraabata*. This City had one of the largest Territories of all *Palestine*, belonging to the Governor thereof. *Josephus* remembereth it often, as in his second Book of

of the *Jems* Wars, *c. 11. 25. 28*. and elsewhere.

The difference between a *Tetrarchie* and a *Torarchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City, with some lesser Territory adjoining; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Prætor* in Latin, and *Præfides* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom, and thereof so called. *Pliny* nameth 17 *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemphir*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Mushter*.

To the South-west of *Acraabata*, they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bithan*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Levites*: but *Junius* out of *John* 21. 25. and *1 Chron. 6. 70*. gathers, that these two are one; and that *Jubilee*, *John* 16. 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is *Jezebel* a Regal City, set at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboa*, towards the South-west: herein *Jezebel*, by a false accusation, cauled *Nabab* to be stoned, to the end he might possess his Vineyard joining to the City; which *Nabab* refused to sell, because it was his Inheritance from his Father. *Jerom* also was cauld unburied into the same field; for which his Mother *Jezebel* murdered him.

Toward the Sea, from *Jezebel*, is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whose aspect, as *Abimelech* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehoi*, when he had slain *Jeram*, he was wounded with the shot of an Arrow, of which wound he died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The Scripture calls this City *City of Gaber*, *Gen. 47. 27*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Josiah* was slain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a War unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affria* against the King thereof, by the Commandment of God; whom *Josiah* thought to resist in his Passage: it was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Mageddo*, often remembered in the Scriptures; whose King was slain among the rest by *Joshua*; yet they defended their City for a long time against *Manasseh*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorfeus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Mageddo*, he understandeth to be but a Branch falling thereinto. *Laicifan* and *Schroet* make a great confluence of Waters in this place; agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*; *Then Jungles the Kings of Canaan* in *Tanaach*, by the Waters of *Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the *Torrent* so called.

But being that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Schafte*, or *Samarra*; and *Sirab* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria* *Palestine*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Prology* sets down *Chorfeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Juda*, this River running East and West parallel with *Samarra*: it is very probable that this *Torrent* called *Mageddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Prology* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorfeus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimere* at this day.

¶ II. Of Cæsaria Palestine, and some other Towns.

FROM *Mageddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterranean Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria* *Palestine*: first, the Tower of *Sirab*: the same

which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: tho *Prology* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppa*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the World: For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polished Marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates, he forced a Harbor of great capacity, being in former times an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the *Merchants* haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables & Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not bin found in any Kingdom, nor in any Age: which, because the Materials were fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceeded their belief, I have added *Josephus* own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locum incommensuratum*

*correctior, circulum portus circumdedit, quantus patere magna classis recipere sufficeret: Et in viginti miliarum profundum, per gradum Asia demisit, quorum plerique gradum quinquecenta longissimi, latitudinis vero octiduum, dividuntur: mox per seipsum quadam extenta majora, minoris alia. To mend this inconvenience of place (saith *Josephus*) he compass it in a Bay where in a year Fleet might well ride: and to draw great forces, every fathom deep: wherof some were fifty fathoms long, 18 foot broad, and nine foot thick, and some longer, and some lesser.*

To this he added an arm or caule of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: thereto he strengthened with a Stone Wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Draufus*, after the name of *Draufus* the Son in Law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intitled the City it self, *Cæsaria* of *Palestine*: all which he performed in 12 years time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archibishopric, commanding twenty others under it, faith *Tyrius*.

St. Jerom nameth *Theophilus*, *Enochus*, *Acacius*, *Euzorius*, and *Gelasius*, to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by *S. Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. *S. Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the *Præfides* *Felix*: unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on, to celebrate the *Quinquennales*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was stricken by an Angel unto death, faith *Josephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Nephth Dor*, as some read, *John* 1. 20. called (saith *Adrianus*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Joshua*. But *Junius* for in *Nephth Dor*, as in tradition *Dor*: and so the Vulgar, in *regnum Dor*, although *1 Reg. 4. 11*. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephth Dor*: The *Septuaginta* in the place of *Joshua* call it *Nephth Dor* and in the other of the Kings, *Nephth Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *John* 12. 23. *Judg. 1. 27*.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of thole 12 Principities, or *Sirarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Tymon* upon *Asac*, 15. 11. placeth it between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the River *Chorfeus*: for so some name the River *Chorfeus*, of which we have before spoken already.

Into this City, for the strength thereof, *Tyrius* died by *Antiochus* the Son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 120000 foot-men, and 8000 Horse: the same peridious villain, he received 200 talents for theranion of *Jonathan*, *Macchabeus*, whom he had taken by treachery, and then flew him: and after him flew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had

also a Bishops seat of the Diocese of *Cæsaria*.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capernaum*, *Gaba*, and *Galgali*: for besides that *Capernaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they find in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gaba*, *Hierome*, in *locis Hebraicis*. But this famous *Galgali*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say it was, whose King was slain by *Joshua*.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Machabees*, it was called *Capthasalamas*: in the Fields whereof *Judas Machabeus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judea* by a traitorous Jew, called *Alcinus*: who contended for the Priesthood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was *St. Paul* carried pri-

soner from *Jerusalem*, conducted by 470 Souldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In aftertimes the Army of *Godfrey of Bullioign* attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by *Baldwin*. It was honoured in those days with a Bishops seat; but it is now a poor Village, called *Asfar*, faith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three days preferred in the Body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Nabbusa*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius the Roman*, wafted with fire and Sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* belied them, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Near unto it is the Mountain of *Adiab*, the Steward of King *Achab*; wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

S. I.

The Bounds, and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdom: and of the Invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five Tribes, of *Asfer*, *Nephthim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasseh* possess the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Ami Libanus*; have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many Volumes of excellent Learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen Princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Cosmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Cæsariote*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthofia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Prology* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthofia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranean Sea*, as far as the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Maggedda*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppa* within it: *Corvinus* and *Bidenus*, *Joppa* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia aqua prisca appellata* (faith *Bedeus*) *que nunc Palaestina Syria dicitur*: It was called *Phœnicia* of old (faith he) *which now is called Palaestina* of *Syria*.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-side of *Judea*, and *Palaestina*, even unto *Pelusiump*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Calosyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Prology's* description, who was seldom deceived in his own Art. It had in these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthofia*, *Tripolis*, *Borrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolemais* (or *Acon*) *Dorra*, and *Cæsaria Palaestina*: and by reason of its many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it antiently commanded the Trade of the Eastern World: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterranean Sea*.

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first Son of *Canaan*: and the

people then subject to that Family were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Joshua's* time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region, afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Pandora Wars*. But in process of time the City of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built; and people.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Joshua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an Egyptian Thebæ, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his Sons *F. 17.* *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cadmus* and *Curtius*) and built and possessed the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, to wit, the new *Tyris*; and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his Sister *Europa*, taught the *Greeks*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stola her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiter's* transformation into a Bull, by whom that beast was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabrinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the Successors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Abdrubal*, *Hanniball*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

*Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poscit,
Impletur, mox pater am: quam Belus & omnes
A Belo, solus.*

*The Queen anon commands the weighty Bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massie Gold)
To flow with Wine. This Belus us'd of old,
And all of Belo's Line.*

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grandfather to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Neptune* by *Lithia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Son of *Talgamus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* his

time, faith *S. Augustin*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor* successful living at once with *Joshua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Son. But instead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of Letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of Learning in *Moses's* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian; yet it is very likely that either he came to have his own Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*, who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Joshua* conducted over *Jordan* to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red Sea, and by the ten Plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male Children at the same time; could not at the first know had so many powerful Nations to defend it; the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers; yet *Egypt* having such Vessels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garison the Sea-coast; or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistines*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Joshua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joshua* called the strong City *Accho*, after word *Ptolemais*, *Accho*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those days.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: Secondly, by this, that *David* & *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: Thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Regulus*, defended it self thirteen years against a King of Kings, *Nebuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* found of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyris* the Son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it self, though *Calisthenes* derives it, as *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greeks* from the word *Phœnix* of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phœnix* the Son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his Son in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterward professed and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Ethiopians*; to wit, from the South and Superior *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinity and Philosophy; and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and Learning, acknowledging nothing from

the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his Sons were *Africains*; whence *Lucan*,

*Phœnices primi (fame si credider) ausi,
Monsæran vultus vocem signare figuris.
Phœniciani fuit (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.*

Lucan. l. 5.
3.

And that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and a *Phœnician*.

*Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum; nam Cadmus & ipse Athen. 1.
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.* Dign.

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned Men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of their Antiquities. The *Thurians* again subscribe to none of these reports; but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them, when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*, *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and *Oculus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bards* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their Sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of Learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*: the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most both in *Egypt* and *Assyria*, and he himself was brought up in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first Age, and before the general Flood, either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all Wildom and Understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there were found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, antiently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans*, a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutcheons, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations: *For a naturalis communis, & generalis, &c. Natural Laws* are common, and general.

Juriscon.

S. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the Books of *Zeno*, *Sachonius*, *Musæus*, and others of that Nation, being now where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*. *Agenor* lived at once with *Joshua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Greeks* besieged *Tyre*, *Phœnis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Jeremies* time, and while *Jehoiakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrans* had a King apart: for *Jeremy* speaketh *C. 23. v. 3.* of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of several Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes's* Fleet or rather, as I suppose those 300 Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Perfians*: for being broken into *Regals*, and petty Kings in *Terræ* time they were subjected by *Nebuchadonisor*, of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembered, *Jeremias* prophethed.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tennamus*, remembered by *D. Siculus* in his fourthenth Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, & that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Græcians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130 years, and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this Man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of retribution, because (saith *Curcius*) he rather submitted himself by the indignation of his Subjects (who forelaw their utter ruin by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *Abenians*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a Man of ill living, and molt voluptuous: also that he appointed certain Games and Prizes for Women-Dancers and Singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *St. Hieronymus* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perfians* were near him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himself, wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, the also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessor of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Elephibius* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith: but this Citizen, no less virtuous than rich, desired: *Elephibius* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented unto him *Balaminus*, whom *Curcius* calls *Abdominus*; *Justine*, *Abdominus*; and *Plutarch*, *Alyonius*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wife Man, and exceeding just.

These were the chief Kings of *Zidon*: whose Estate being afterwards changed into Popular or Aristocratical, and by times and turns subjected to the Emperors of the East, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Asher*.

The Kings of *Tyre*: who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of our *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a defence of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrans*; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, do in no sort a-

gree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibulus is the first King of the *Tyrans*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemulus*: the same perchance that the Son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and sixth Chapter, C. 45. speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrans*.

To this *Abibulus*, *Suron* succeeded: if he be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Justine*, P. 1. p. 8. out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay 120 Tal. his Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *1. Sam.* 8.3.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiron*. He entered into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedar, with Malons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Philistines*. The fame was he that so greatly afflicted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with Cedar, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of Money, but also he toyed with him in his enterprize of the East Indage of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrans* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 Talents of Gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josephus's* Antiquities, the 7. and 8 Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus's* third book, in *Tatian's* his Oration against the *Græcians*; and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent: and to despise the twenty Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defendeth himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his Daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asherah*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years.

Balazarus, whom *Theop. Antiochenus* calleth *Bathor*, succeeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned seven years, according to *Josephus*.

Abdasturus the eldest Son of *Balazarus*, governed nine years, and lived but twenty years according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned twelve years, and lived 54, who being slain by the four Sons of his own Nurfe, the eldest of them held the Kingdom twelve years.

Asturnus Brother to *Abdasturus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned twelve years.

Asturnus, or *Arharinus*, after *Theophilus*, a third Brother, followed *Asturnus*, and ruled nine years, and lived in all fifty four.

Pheltes the fourth Son of *Balazarus*, and Brother to the three former Kings, flew *Asturnus*, and reigned eight Months, and lived fifty years.

Ithobalus (or *Ithobalus*, in *Theophilus*) Son to the third Brother *Asturnus*, who was the chief Priest of the Goddes *Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his Father, and slaughtered his Uncle *Pheltes*: and reigned thirty two years, the same which in the first of Kings chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Jezabel* *Abah* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor* the Son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, Brother to *Jezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned six years, and lived in all forty five.

Mattinus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but nine years (saith *Josephus*) he had two Sons, *Pycmarion*, and *Earcus*, and two Daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pycmarion reigned after *Mattinus* his Father forty Years, and lived fifty six. In the seventh Year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 Years and 8 Months after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 Years after

after *Troy* was taken, and 143 before *Rome*: & therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pycmarion* covetous of *Sichus* his riches, who had married his Sister *Elisa*, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe *Justine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be disposed of her Husband's Treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as afore said: whom when *Pycmarion* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers tears, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barea* accompanied his Sister, and afflicted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barea* in *Africa*, so long race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her manlike acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Eulens succeeded *Pycmarion*, and reigned thirty six years: the fame that overthrow the Fleet of *Salamasser*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five Years, but in vain.

After *Eulens*, *Ethobalus* governed the *Tyrans*, who wanted himself to be as wife as *David*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Eckard*) of whom the Prophet writteth at large in his twenty eight Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nebuchadonisor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* thirteen Years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobalus*, and reigned ten Years a tributary, perchance, to *Nebuchadonisor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: first by *Ecnibulus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Aharis* the Priest, *Mitonus*, and *Gerasius*, who held it among them some seven Years, and odd Months: after whom *Balazarus* commanded therein as a King for one Year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* four Years after him *Irom*, sent thence also twenty Years. In the seventeenth of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perfia*.

S. III.

Of *Bofius* his conceit, that the *Edumæans* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the *Tyrans*, and that the *Tyrans* from them received and brought into *Phœnicia* the knowledge of the true God.

Of the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrans*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozias* that hath written a Treatise at large, intitled, *De ruinis Genium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yet is all things under Heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozias*, enforcing here hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrans* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to prove this his assertion, I suppose the *Tyrans* to have been *Edumæans*, descended from *Ely Jacob* Brother: first it can hardly be believed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (besides the proof which the Scriptures built give of *Hiram* good affection, when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural Arguments; whereof the frontlet is their pedigree and descent: being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Ely* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*.

That the *Tyrans* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more deliquit than weight: partly by authority. For *Sorabe*,

Herodotus, *Pliny*, and others, witness, that the *Tyrans* came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Islands, called *Tyru*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Ejofabab*, or under the *Amalekites*, who defended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Ely*, whose chief City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the Son of *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrans* originally were *Edumites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the Children of *Israel*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the Worship of *Astartis* the Idol of the *Sidamians*: That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customs of the *Græks*. That in *Temas* a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an University, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozias*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deserves but very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrans* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Ely* brought up his Children, it is no where found written: but that himself was a profane Man, and disavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms express. That his Posterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the twenty fifth Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edumites* were perpetual enemies to the House of *Israel*, have only when *David* & some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David's* unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely, it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance between *Tyru* and Mount *Sair*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *David*; even then when *Job* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edumites* were so ill treated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wildom of *Eliphas*, the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* punished, for being such as *David* in his own days found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphas* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Hu*, the Country of *Job*: and to *Swah* the City of *Bildad* the *Shu*: as both such *Chenogaphers* who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text maketh manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wisdom all the People of the East: not the Inhabitants of Mount *Sair*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is, which lay due South from *Edom* had a Son called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those days to take name of their Sons, no where find. And *Ismael* also had a Son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike that *Teman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seventh Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Mishmies*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. He that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Ismael* was, which durst give battle to the Host of *Abrah*, wherein were 60000 able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of *Ely* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been, if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so great?

greatly surely Mount Seir and all the Regions adjoining could not have held them. But we no where find that Edom had to do with Amalec, or allited the Amalekites, when Saul went to root them out. For Amalec, is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of Edom: but a Nation of Itself, if distinct from the Ishmaelites. The like may be said of Midian, that the Founder thereof being Son to Abraham by Cetura, doubtless was no Edomite. And thus much in general for all the *Seignior* of the Red Sea coast, which Bozium imagines the Edomites to have held: if the Edomites in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Esfangaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses*' time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For *Moses* himself saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of Edom: within which limits had Midian stood, *Moses* must needs have known it: because he had sojourned long in that Country: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into Egypt.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable soever are needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83 *Palm*, Edom, Amalec and Tyre, are named as distinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidonians being one peoples all good Authors shew, and Bozium himself confesseth were *Canaanites*, as appears *Gen. 10. 15*, 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their Lands given to the Children of *Israel*, *Jos. 29*. because they were ever Idolaters, and of the cursed Seed of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wife Sonwe* cannot infer that he was of *David*'s Religion. The Turk hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astarte*, and drew *Solomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-pelted, being otherwise apt to yield Silks as the *Andarion* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser, for who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had; with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessary Policy, which enforced Tyre to hold League with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Abah*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Amatites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and recarry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the Red Sea, and back again to Tyre: So that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off all their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Seamen, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their Adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns, which his Father had taken from the *Philistines*, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant as a Man of Peace to employ his Father's Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the Conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning Workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and Instruments of Pleasure.

As these Passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of Piety in the Tyrians: so those other Proofs which Bozium frames Negatively upon particular Examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no Man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the Greeks, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased Divine Honours: which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his House obtained, but his own many Misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single Examples. Every salvage Nation hath some whose Wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil People. Neither did the moral Wisdom of these Men express any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of Greece; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good Argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, that *Carthage*, *Urica*, *Lepus*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which, I think, the Islands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry, from *Solomon*'s Time onwards, is acknowledged by Bozium, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancy he is peremptory, that he filth Men of contrary Opinion, *impious* politics, as if it were impertinent to think that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue, and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral Honesty, with temporal Happinefs. Doubtless this Doctrine of Bozium, would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostate*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: What may be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in Rome, as fast as Rome it self grew; and was enlarged with some new Superstition, almost upon every new Victory? How few great Battles did the Romans win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one Nation, save only that of the Jews, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jews, they rejected, upbraiding the Jews with him, as if he were unworthy of the Roman Majesty. Shall we hereupon enforce the lead and foolish conclusion, which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the Primitive Church; That such Idolatry had caused the City of Rome to flourish; and that the decay of those Abominations, did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if Prosperity were a Sign or Effect of true Religion. Such is the blind Zeal of Bozium, who writing against those whom he fallily terms Impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such infidelity is usually found among Men of his humour; who having once either foolishly imbraced the Dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own Brains, any strange Chimeras of Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their Zeal, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transposed with the like intemperate Ignorance.

Great

Great pity it is, that such mad Dogs are often-times encouraged by those, who having the command of many Tongues, when they themselves

cannot touch a Man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an Hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim; and of the Kings of the Ten Tribes, whose Head was Ephraim.

S. I.

Of the memorable Places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now past over *Phoenicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoining; which is that of *Ephraim*, sometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of *Israel*. *Ephraim* was the second Son of *Joseph*; whose Issues, when they left Egypt, were in number 45000; all which dying in the Deserts, (*Joseph* excepted) there entered the Holy Land of their Children, grown to be able Men, 22500, who sat down on the West side of *Jordan*, between *Manasse* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the East and West.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samarra*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amri*, or *Omri*, King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Scheff*, or *Asyph*, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*. This City is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first Building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the Ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble Pillars, with other hewn and carved Stone, in great abundance, among the Rubbish.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sons of *Hycan*, the High Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod*, the Son of *Antipater*; who, to flatter *Cesar*, called it *Scheff*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliem*, and *Abdias* buried; and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Gracian* Monks.

Near *Samarra* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name; on the top of which Mountain *Jerobam* erected one of his Golden Calves to be worshipped; with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the Restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Napalasa*: It was destroyed by *Simon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their Sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelech* evened with the Soil. *Jerobam* raised it up again; and the *Damascens* a third time call it down.

Under *Sichem*, towards the Sea, standeth *Pharaton*, or *Pirathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judg of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built, as it is said, by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City, *Judas Machabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Zylus*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Sanir*, of which *Jos. 10.* and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Josiah*: it is also mentioned *Alt. 9. 35.* And of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name; which beginning at *Casaria Palestina*, extendeth it self almost the Coast as far as *Joppe*, faith *Adrichom*. Tho indeed the Name *Saron* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Casaria* and *Joppe*, but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*; for so *St. Jerome*, upon *Ezay 35.* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father, in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*; understanding thereby a Plain near *Lidda*: which *Lidda*, in his time, was called *Diopolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Topharchies* of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity, (or the third after *Pliny*) where *S. Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region, from *Amir* to *Joppe*, *Saron*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the Romans, those Ravens and Spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common Weals, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms, who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own Glory, troubled the whole World: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diopolis* (faith *Will. of Tyre*) was *S. George* of this S. beheaded, and buried: in whose Honour and Memory, *Justinian* the Emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his Tomb: these be *Tyrius* his words; *Relicta a dextris locis martiris Antipatrides & Joppe, per late patetent planitiem Eleutheriam pertransientes, Liddam que est Diopolis, ubi & egregii Martyrii Georgii ejus; hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quidem ad honorem ejusdem Martyrii pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta edificari preceperat, &c.* They having left (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea Towns *Antipatris* and *Joppe*, passing over the great open Plain of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diopolis*; where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr *S. George* is at this day shewed: whose Church, when the Gothic and Orthodox Prince of the Romans, High and Mighty *Justinian*, had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far *Tyrius*, by whose Testimony we may conjecture, that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, but rather some better Christian; for this of *Alexandria*, was slain there in an uproar of the People, and his Ashes cast into the Sea, as *Amianus Marcellinus* Reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the

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In the time of *Ezekiel* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being straitened in their own Territories, pallied to *Geder*, as it is *1 Chron. 4. 39.* (the same place which *Josh. 15. 36.* is called *Gedera* and *Gederobabaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the *Ilseu* of *Cham*; where they feared themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Samson* the chiefest; unto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Rivers are *Bejor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shebar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

§. III.

The Tribe of *Juda*.

OF *Juda*, the four Son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600; all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the Defarts. And of their Sons, there entered the Land of *Canaan* 70500 bearing Arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number, was the greatest Territory given, called afterward *Judaea*; within the bounds whereof, were the Portions allotted to *Dan*, and *Simoon*, included.

And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the Children of *Juda*, who had a kind of Sovereignty over them; as *Succoth*, *Carathianim*, *Lachis*, *Bejsefmes*, *Tiglas*, *Bertheba*, and others.

The multitude of People within this small Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the Witnesses of the Scriptures had not warranted the Report. For when *David* numbered the People, they were found five hundred thousand fighting Men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many: But I will remember the chiefest of them; beginning with *Arad*, or *Flarna*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judaea* from *Idumaea*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites*, as they passed by the Border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*; and took from them some Spoils, and many Prisoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Israelites*, the Sons of *Ken*, the Kinmen of *Moses*, obtained a Possession in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwell between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontier toward *Idumaea* and the South, *Afcesu Scorpionis*, or *Acraabim* is placed, the next to *Arad*; so called, because of Scorpions which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acraabim*, *Jerom* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acraabathena*, was denominated; of which we have spoken in *Madanes*.

On the South side also of *Judaea*, they place the Cities of *Jagar*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Alpha*, *Yelmam*, and *Afor*, or *Chafzor*, most of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Judaea*, of which the Defart and Forrell adjoining took name; where *David* hid himself from *Saul*.

After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Narkah*, and *Afenona*, or *Hafson*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumaea*, towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemab*, *Amam*, the

other *Afor*, or *Chafzor*, *Betoloth*, and the two *Seches*: of all which, see *Josh. 15.* also *Carith*, by *Josh. 15. 25.* called *Kerith*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iscariath*, as it were a Man of *Carith*. Then *Hethan* the abode of *Samfon*, which *Rebubam* redified. Beyond these, towards the North border, and towards *Elushepropla*, is the City of *Yether*, or *Yathir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In *S. Jerom's* time it was called *Yethir*, and inhabited altogether with Christians: Near unto this City was that remarkable Battle fought betwixt *Asa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the Field a Million of fighting Men; and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the Victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from *Yether*, standeth *Jarmuth*, whose King was slain by *Jehoiada*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Maresa*, the native City of the Prophet *Micha*: Between it and *Odalla*, *Judas* *Macchabeus* overthrew *Gorgias*; and sent thence 10000 *Drygans* of Silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odalla, or *Hadallam* it self, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Jehoiada*, and the King thereof slain. *Jonathas Macchabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Seila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* sometime hid himself, and which afterward he delivered from the Assaults of the *Philistines*: near which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried; whose Monument remained, and was seen by *S. Jerom*.

Near it is *Hebron*, sometime called the City of *Abrah*, for which the vulgar hath *Carathabre*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the City of four; because the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but supposed; and it is plain by the places, *Josh. 14. 14.* and *15. 13.* and *20. 11.* that *Abrah* here doth not signify four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whose Son, as it seems, *Anak* was; and *Achimam*, *Shephai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Josh. 14. 15.*) were the Sons of this *Anak*, *Numb. 13. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquema*, Chain worn for ornament: and it seems that this *Anak*, enriched by the Spoils which himself and his Father got, wore a Chain of Gold, and so got this Name: and leaving the Custom to his Posterity, left also the Name: so that in Latin the name of *Anakim*, may not amiss be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*; built seven years before *Taan*, or *Tana* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given; to wit, the Villages adjoining, and the rest to the *Levites*. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they find *Elmushepropla*, or the free City, remembered often by *S. Jerom*. Then *Eglon*, whose King *Dabir* associated, with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Jerusalem*, *Joloth*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Jehoiada* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emam*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government, or Prefidencies of *Judaea*. In the sight of this City, *Judas Macchabeus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Georgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an Earthquake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishop's Seat, of the Dioceses of *Cæ-Broch-Bethsaria* of Palestine.

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From *Emam* towards the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederobabaima*, of which, and of *Gederobab*, * *Jos. 15. 26.* & *41.* Then *Secha*, to which *Jehoiada* followed the Slaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great Strength in the Valley of *Jerusalem* or *Turpinne*: As the *Vulgar* relate, it near unto *Suez*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*. It revolted from the Subjection of the *Jews*, while *Jeram* the Son of *Jehaphat* ruled in *Jerusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Jehoiada* utterly spoiled.

On the other side of *Emam*, towards the East, standeth *Bethbar*, otherwise *Beisjora*, and *Bethjor*; one of the strongest, and most fought for places in all *Juda*: It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethjor* (the House on the Rock, or the Stronghold). It was fortified by *Rebubam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabeus*. *Lysias* took it, and *Antiochus* Eupator by Famine: *Jonathas* regained it: And it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Bethleem is next unto it within fix miles of *Jerusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*, sometime *Ephrata*; which Name, they say, it had of *Caleb's* Wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. 38. 16.* Of this City was *Abelam*, or *Isaac*, Judge of *Israel*, after *Jephthah*, famous for the thirty Sons, and thirty Daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethleemite*, who with his Wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the Famine of *Juda*, in the time of the Judge, with whom *Ruth*, the Daughter-in-Law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*, and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the Honor to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*: And therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same Name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem-Juda*.

From *Bethleem*, some four or five miles, standeth *Thecoa*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: And to this place adjoining is the City of *Bethsacaria*, in the way between *Bethsara* and *Jerusalem*; on whose Hills adjoining the glorious guilt Shields of *Antiochus* shined like Lamps of Fire in the Eyes of the *Jews*. The City of *Betec* was also near unto *Bethleem*, which also *Adom-betec* commanded; who had, during his Reign, tortured seventy Kings, by cutting off the Joyns of their Fingers and Toes, and made them gather Bread under his Table: But at length the fame end befel himself by the Sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him Prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great Estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent Cattle of *Heredium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble Steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adjoining to the Defart of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Climax* *Jerusalem*, where in the time of *Jehoiada*, the *Jews* stood and look'd on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maffacing one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*; near which place is the Valley of *Blessing*, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange Deliverance.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the dead Sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Rebubam* and *Tjibar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*; so called,

from *Segor*. See in *Gen. 10. 5. 9. p. 11. principium in Herod. Gen. 19. 32. Herod. in Ope. Herod. Chafasbanam, 2. Chron. 20. 2.*

because *Lot* in his Prayer for it, urged that it was but a little onwhence it was called *Tjibar*, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2.* In the *Romans* times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: In *Herom's* time *Balezana*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Engaddi*, first *Ajalonchamar*; near unto which are the Gardens of *Bellamun*, the best that the World had called *Ophehnamun*: The most part of all which Trees, *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, sent for out of *Juda*; and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Antony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and preferred unto her; which the replanted near *Helipolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chaloplaomer* and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judaea*, and one of the Prefidencies thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jefaz*; not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the City of *Abichan*, the Wife of *David*, the Mother of that *Amnon*, whom *Abalam* slew: Also, as some think, the City of *Amale*, *Abalam's* Lieutenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an Error, grounded upon the nearness of the words, *Israel*, and *Jefaz*: And because the *2 Sam. 17. 25.* *Amale's* Father is called a *Jefazite*, who first of the *Chron. 2. 17.* is called an *Israelite*: Indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography sheweth, that *Amale's* Father is not said to be of the City *Jefaz*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Israelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills, or Mountains, as those of *Engaddi* upon the Dead Sea, and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emam*, and end near *Tophna*; and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simoon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*: At the Foot whereof, was that Oak of *Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which *St. Hierome* calleth in *Fire-tree*; and faith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mount, called *Collis Achilla* on the South side of *Ziph*; on the Top whereof the great *Herod*, including the old Cattle, erected by *Jonathas Macchabeus*, and called *Masfada*, garnished it with seven and twenty high and strong Towers; and therein left Armor and Furniture for an hundred thousand Men, being, as it seemeth, a place unaccessible, and of incomparable Strength.

In the Valley afterward, called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*: This Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim* and *Gomorra*, destroyed with Fire from Heaven for their unnatural Sins.

§. IV.

The Tribe of *Reuben*, and his Borders.

† I.

The Seats and Bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* won from *Sehon*, King of *Heshbon*.

ON the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob's* Sons inhabited of whose Children there were numbered at Mount *Sina*, 46000, who dying with the rest in the Defart, there remained to possess the Land *Promisid* 47000 bearing Arms. But before we speak of these or the rest that inhabited the East-side of *Jordan*, something

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of their Borderers, to wit, *Midian, Moab, and Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of *Abraham's* Kindred came many mighty Families; as by *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, the Nation called *Israel*, and after ward *Jesus*: By *Elsu*, or *Edom*, the *Idumeans*: By *Ismael*, the eldest Son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: And by *Keturah*, his last Wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham's* Brother's Son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: All which being but Strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possessed by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them defended) these Illustrious and Alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Aegypt*, inhabited the Frontier Places adjoining.

Elsu and his Sons held *Idumea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South. *Ismael* took to the South-east part of the Dead Sea: Stretching his Possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia the Desert*, as far as the River of *Tigris*, from *Suez* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the left of the Coast of the Dead Sea, leaving a part to *Midian*; and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Abirim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chebon*.

Ammon late down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possessed the Tract from *Rabbah*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilead*, and without them as far forth as *Arer*, though in *Moab's* Time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: For the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jabok*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the Border between the River of *Jabok* and *Danab* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: All which Territory on the East-side of *Jordan*, and on the East-side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possessed by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants, weakened and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory, and ancient Possession of the *Zamzumim*, or *Zurim*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest; and by them an easy way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the Border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sebon*, or his Ancestor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abirim* and *Jordan*; and this happened not long before *Moses* Arrival upon that Border, when *Vabai* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab*, when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the Son of *Vabai*, but his Name was *Balaac*, the Son of *Zippor*. And it may be, that those Kings were Elective, as the *Idumeans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Aegypt*, it was in the possession of *Sebon*, of the Race of *Canaan*, by *Amorites*; and therefore did *Jephthah*, the Judge of *Israel*, justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*; because (as he alleged) *Moses* found them in the Possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the Hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*,

who (saith *Jephthah*) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: Whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And left any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthah's* time should make Claim to these Countries; whereas *Moses* in the place, *Numb. 21. ver. 26*, rather accuses them to have been the ancient Possession of the *Moabites* than of the *Ammonites*: It is to be noted, that *Deut. 3. 11*, *Ammonites*: It is said, that the Iron Bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbah*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*; it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him, or his Ancestors, given to the *Ammonites*, as much as *Sebon's* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were feared so confidently together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the Sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the Reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief in *Jephthah's* time: For sometimes the one Nation, sometimes the other of all those Borderers acquired the Sovereignty: And again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the Mountains of *Gilead* or *Gilead*, and as far South as *Arer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking Advantage of the time, they fought to recover it. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sebon* at *Jabok*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their Possession which lay about *Arer*, Kings of the *Amorites*, having displaced both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains.

For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. ver. 24*, that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sebon*, from *Arnon* to *Jabok*, even unto the Children of *Ammon*; so as at this time the River of *Jabok* was the South Bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountains; whereas anciently they had also Possessions over *Jabok*, which at length the *Gadites* possessed; as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Joshua*, *ver. 25*, appears.

† II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemith*, for which the *Psalmist*, without any *Shew* of *Warren*, readeth *Jeshth*. The *Psalmist*, or *Hereme* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36, and 37, of 21 *Jef* being wanting in the old *Hebrew* Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedemith* for *Kedemith*, which *Kedon* by writing, slip into *Jeshth*.

This City which they gave to the *Levites*, imports her Name to the *Desart* adjoining; from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sebon*. In the same place of *Jeshth*, where this *Kedemith* is mentioned, the *Psalmist* for *Beiser* or *Beiser*, reads *Beiser* in *Isoludine* *Misur*, without any Ground from the *Hebrew*: Whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misur*, in the Border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemith*, near the Dead Sea (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of Note, *Lela*, or *Leshab*, of which *Gen. 10. ver. 19*, the *Greeks* call it *Callitrois*; near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet Water, all which, soon after their Rising, being joined in one Stream, do make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all Contractions of Si-

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news: To which *Herod* the Elder, when he was despatched of all other-Help, repaired; but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Maachurus* in this Tribe. The like Fountains are found in the *Pyrenes*, and in *Peru*, called, the *Baths of the Kings*. The other Town is *Machurus*, the next between *Lela* and *Jordan*, of all that part of the World the strongest Inland City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain, every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannaeus*, who made it a Frontier against the *Arabians*; but it was demolished by *Gabinus* in the War with *Archelaus*, (saith *Jephthah*). It was thither (saith *Jephthah*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: His Army looted after being utterly overthrown by *Antas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this Murder never prospering. Not far from *Machurus* was *Beiser*, or *Bosra*, a Town of Refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it *Levitas* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in Honour of *Livia*, the Mother of *Tiberius Caesar*.

To the North of *Levitas* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*, where the Children of *Israel* embraced the Daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*; and where *Phineas* pierced the Body of *Zimri* and *Cobi*, with his Spear, bringing due Vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their Sin: And from hence *Jesus* sent the Discovers to view *Jeshth*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Jef. 18. irrigabit Torrentem Setim*. The *Valgar* hath *torrentem setimuram*; and *Junius*, *callem cedronem*; expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*, but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, *Psal. 62. 13*.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses*, called the Plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomy* to the People, a little before his Death, is in the beginning of the same Book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South, it had the great Desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the East, it had *Chasbun*, and *Dirabab* of which two, the former is that *Gazara*, of which *Proslum* in *Palaestina*, the latter was a Traat belonging to the *Nabathaei*, in *Arabia Petraea*, where was * *Machab*, of which *Gen. 16. 29*, by the Geographers, called *Madava* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North, it had *Leban* (in *Junius* Edition, by the Fault of the Print, *Lamban* *Deuterom. 1.1*) the same which the Geographers call *Livias*; and some confound it with *Lavias*, of which even now we speak.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses*, called the Plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomy* to the People, a little before his Death, is in the beginning of the same Book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South, it had the great Desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the East, it had *Chasbun*, and *Dirabab* of which two, the former is that *Gazara*, of which *Proslum* in *Palaestina*, the latter was a Traat belonging to the *Nabathaei*, in *Arabia Petraea*, where was * *Machab*, of which *Gen. 16. 29*, by the Geographers, called *Madava* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North, it had *Leban* (in *Junius* Edition, by the Fault of the Print, *Lamban* *Deuterom. 1.1*) the same which the Geographers call *Livias*; and some confound it with *Lavias*, of which even now we speak.

Of which also we read in the Wars of *David* against *Haron* the *Ammonites* 1 *Chron. 19. 7*. Also 1 *Macc. 9. 36*. *Esa. 16. 2*. See before c. 9. 7.

Also on the same North side, towards the Confines of *Callosra*, it had *Thepel*, whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Callosra* stood; which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over again, or near unto *Supb*, for which the *Valgar* hath the *Red Sea*; as also *Numb. 2. 14*, it translateth the word *Supb* in like manner whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy*, there is no Addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to signify the Sea; and yet the Scripture, when this Word is so to be taken, useth the Addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Supb*, or *Supb*, which doubtless was about these Plains of *Moab*, towards the Dead Sea; where the Country being full of Reeds, was

therefore thus called: As also the *Red Sea* was called *Mar Supb*, for this reason.

The place in these large Plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those Divine Exhortations, some say, was *Beitabara*, where *John* baptized, which in *Jef. 1. 22*, the Story of *Isaiah*, is called *Beitabara*. *Jephthah* 1. 22, says, it was where after the City *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place for *Abila*; which was the same as *Abel-shaim*, in the Plains of *Moab*, *Numb. 32. 49*. (that some call *Abel-shaim*, and *Abel-shaim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that part of *Numb. 10. 10*, *10*, *10*, and last place of the *Israelites* encamping in the time of *Moses*. This place is also called *Sittim*; in which Word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from *Cedars* than from *Thorns*, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the Wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

Towards the East of these Plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities of *Nabo*, *Baal-Maan*, *Sibma*, and *Heshon*, the chief City of *Sebon* and *Elial*, and *Kiriathab*, the Seat of the *Gittim* *Enim*. Of these two first of *Moab*, *Moses* seems to give a Notice, that the Names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* Idolatry. For *Nabo* (signified of which *Junius* *El. 46. 1*, reads *Deu. 20. 16*) was the Name of their Idol Oracle, and *Baal-Maan* is the *Habitatio* of *Baal*. Of the same Idol was the Hill *Nabo* in these parts denominated; from whose Top, which the common Translators call *Phalgab*, *Moses*, before his Death, saw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which Story *Junius* does not take *Phalgab*, or *Pisgab*, for any proper Name; but for an Appellative, signifying a Hill: And so also *Vatibab*, in some places, as *Numb. 21. 20*, where he notes, that some call *Pisgab* that Top which looketh to *Jeshth*, and *Hair*, as it looketh to *Moab*, which Opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the Name of the City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Jef. 12. 29*, called *Abelab-Pisgab*, which is as much as *decussus Pisgab*, to wit, where the Waters did run down upon *Pisgab*. In the same place of *Jeshth*, there is also named *Ber-peur*, as belonging to *Reuben*: So called from the Hill *Peur*, from whence also *Baal*, the Idol, was called *Baal-peur*, which, they say, was the same as *Prispar*; the chief place of whose Worship seems to have been *Bamith-Pisgab*, of which also *Jef. 13*, in the Cities of *Reuben* and *Benjamin*, *Numb. 22. 47*, they read the *high places* *hith* 29. of *Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Belak* first brought *Belshazzar*, to curse the *Israelites*.

† III.

Of divers Places Bordering Reuben, belonging to Midian, Moab, or Edom.

THERE were besides these divers places of Note over *Arnon*, which adjoined to *Reuben*; a amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*, to whom *Saul* gave his Daughter *Mical* from *David*: But *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*; gathering so much out of *Jef. 10. ver. 29*, where it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better Reason, perhaps, out of *Numb. 21. v. 29*, we may say, that *Mathians* and *Nababai* were in these Confines of *Reuben*, though which places the *Israelites* pass after, they had left the Wolf called *Beer*. Then *Dilababam*, which the Prophet *Jeremias* threatened with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

Madian also is found in these parts; the chief of the *Madianites* in *Moab*; but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the Red Sea, wherein *Jehro* inhabited: For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding Overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*, at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters. Their five Kings, with *Balaam* the South-fayer, were then slain, and their Royal City, with the rest, destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jehro* was Prince, or Priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham*, their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful Travels, through the *Deserts*, and were in all that Passage their Guides. In the South Border of *Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the Chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Sela*, which is as much as *rupe* or *perra*. It was called *Tadibeth*, as appears by the place, 2 Reg. 14. It was built (saith *Josaphas*) by *Rezem*, one of those five Kings of whom it was called *Rezem*. Now they say, it is called *Crac* and *Mosera*.

The *Soldans* of *Egypt*, for the exceeding Strength thereof, kept therein all their Treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; of which it is the first and strongest City. The same, perhaps, which *Pliny* calleth *Nabathæa*, whence also the Province adjoining took Name; which Name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabathab*, the Son of *Abraham*, by *Kezura*. For *Nabathæa* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petraea* (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Province which is neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan*, inhabited by *Israel*, whose People *Prohm* called *Pharanites*, instead of *Israelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cushites*, *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, *Israelites*, *Edomites*, *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hur*, *Sin*, and of *Og*, King of *Bashan*, were parts of *Arabia Petraea*; though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desert belonged to the *Amalekites* and *Israelites*: All which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calleth *Hagarim*, of *Hagar*.

This City *Petra*, *Scavrus* besieged with the Roman Army; and finding the place in few impregnable, he was content, by the persuasion of *Antipater*, to take a Composition of Money, and to quit it. Yet *Amalas*, King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the Valley called *Salimarus*) was also this City. *St. Hieron* finds *Ruth* the *Moabitess*, to be natural of this City. In the time when the Christians held the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, having before been under the Greek Church. It is feared not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died; and on the other side, towards the North, is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the thirty eighth Station. *Adrichom* describeth the Waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*; and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: But the Waters of *Nimra*; or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) re-fers the Plains of *Moab*: And the Confluence of those Waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrians* and *Perfians* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Shaweb*, which is the King's Dale, where *Abraham* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Jerusalem*. And

at the same time *Melchisedec*, King of *Salem*, also encountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either near *Beilan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Jerusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: And therefore *Save*, which was also called the King's Dale, could not be in these parts.

† IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

Now, because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Alpharaitis*, and the Salt-Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh Water) also the Sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea of the Plains, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this Story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof: For it is like unto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no Outlet, or Dis-burthening. The length of this Lake *Josaphas* makes 180 Furlongs (which make two and twenty Miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in Breadth, which make eighteen of our Miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late Years seen this Sea, did account it (saith *Westfalem*) eight Dutch Miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length, and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in Breadth. Of this Lake, or Sea, *Tacitus* makes this Report; *Lacus est immensis ambitus, speciemque saporemque corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis piffior: neque vento impellitur, neque piffis aut fuetas aquis volucres patitur incertum unde suspensa ut silido ferantur, periti imperitque nandi perinde attolluntur. Dicitur quod sit in eo, et (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt Taste; of small infectious, and pestilent to the Borders. It is neither moved, nor raised by the Wind, nor endureth Fish to live in it, or Fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilful of swimming, as well as the skilful, are born up by this Water. At one time of the Year it catcheth up *Bismen*; the Art of gathering which, Experience (the Finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the Trimming of Ships, and the like Business.*

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The Fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with Lightning; of which the Ruines remain, the Ground looking with a sad Face, as having lost her Fruitfulness: For whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it Fruits or Flowers, when they come to Ripeness, have nothing within them, but moulder into Ashes: Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by Experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples, or Oranges, which do still grow on the Banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good Colour on the Out-side; but being cut, have nothing but Dirt within. Of the *Bismen* which this Lake catcheth up, it was by the Greeks called *Alpharaitis*. *Velespan*, desirous to be satisfied of these Reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their Hands also bound behind them; and notwithstanding, they were carried on the Face of the Waters, and could not sink.

† V.

† V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within Arnon, Reuben posselt.

Of the Kings of *Moab*, whose Country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* posselt (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sebon* the *Amorites*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Numbers*, vers 14. nameth *Vabek*, which seemeth to be the Ancestor, or Predecessor of *Balaac*, the Son of *Zappor*, which *Balaac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For, fearing to contend with *Moses* by Arms, by the Examples of *Sebon* and *Og*, he hoped, by the help of *Balaam's* Cursings, or Enchantments, to take from them all Strength and Courage, and to cast on them some pestilent Diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the Spirit of God, blest *Israel*, contrary to the Hope and Desire of *Moab*; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him Service, he advised *Moab* to send *Midianitish* Women among the *Israelites*; hoping by them, as by it Instruments of Mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen; but in the end, he received the Reward of his falling from God, and of his evil Counsel, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named; saving that we find in the first of *Chron.* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the Men of *Chazebai*, and *Tophai*, and *Sareph*, all being of the Issue of *Judab*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: But as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*, to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these Mens Governments are no where extant, or remaining: Or as others, *hee prius fore*; these Families of *Judab* were once thus famous: But now their Posterity chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the Help of *Ammon* and *Amalec*, maltreated *Israel*, and commanded them eighteen Years; which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own Houle, and afterwards ten Thousand of his Nation. What Name the King of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made War, it is not manifest; for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an Enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him, knowing that *Saul* sought his Life.

After this, *David* himself entered the Region of *Moab*; but not likely in the same King's time: For he slaughtered two parts of the People, and made the third part tributary: Whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab* is my wash-pot, ever *Edom* will I cast my Shoe; meaning, that he would reduce them to such an Abjection, and appoint them for base Services: And that he would tread down the *Idumæans*.

The next King after *David's* Time, of the *Moabites*, whose Name liveth, was *Mefha*; who falling from *Judab* (perhaps in remembrance of the Severity of *David*) fastened himself to the Kings of *Israel*; and paid Tribute to *Ahab* 100000 Lambs, and 200000 Rams, with the Wool: Who revolting again from *Israel*, after the Death of *Ahab* was invaded by *Jehoram*; with whom joined the Kings of *Judab* and *Idumæa*; and being by these three Kings preft and broken, he fled to *Kir barelib*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the King's Name; when

that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* invaded *Jehoshaphat*. And by reason of some private Quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious Victory over them all, without either Blood or Wound. Also in the time of *Jeremias* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab*, which is not named, which was after *Mefha* of *Moab* many Decades: For *Mefha* lived with *Jehoram* and this *Moabite* in *Zedekias* time, fourteen Kings of *Judab* coming between, who waited three hundred and odd years.

§ V.

Of the memorable Places of the Gadites, and the Bordering Places of Ammon.

The Territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*; whereof all that part which joined to the Mountains, was sometime in the Possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Arzor*. Of the Children of *Gad*, the seventh Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the Hand-maid of *Leah*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deserts* 45550. and of their Sons, there entered the Land promised 45000. bearing Arms: From the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, the River of *Jabbok* divided them: From *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hebron*, *Elbeke* and *Aphek*.

The chief City of *Gad*, was *Arzor*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath-Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the Learned *Junius*, attending diligently to those Words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab Hivahero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon*, or *Circuite ipsa que est in flumine*; Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the Bank of the River, (as also in like manner, *Jof. c. 12. v. 2. and c. 13. v. 9.*) thinketh, that *Harob*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites*, (as *Num.* 32. 34. it is said, that they built it) was indeed feared near *Har* of the *Moabites*; but diverse from it. For that *Har* was never posselt by *Moses*, it is plain, *Deut.* 2. 9. where God, forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, he hath given *Har* for an Inheritance to the Sons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harob*, which is said in the same places to be on the Bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*; the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numb.* 21. 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers Streams, where, or among which, *Har* is feared: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jof. 13. 25*, where *Harob* is said to be feared before *Rabbath*; which *Rabbath*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbath* of the *Ammonites* (for they fear not *Harob* near it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by *Rabbath*, here we must understand *Rabbath* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*; and so we must needs distinguish it from *Harob*. And as for *Har*, (which also gave the Name to the Coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people, called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer*, and his Associates: But *Harob*, by the Interchange of Times, suffered many ancient Changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sebon*, and from him by the *Israelites*; and from them, as it seems in the Story of *Tephiba*, by the *Ammonites*; and from the *Ammonites* again, by the *Israelites*, under the Conduct of *Tephiba*. In *St. Hieron's* Time, the greatest part of this City perished by an Earthquake,

recovered again much of their lost Possessions and thrust the Sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Deserts. And as the Kings, or Captains of *Peria* and *Affrica* (remembered in the 14th. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great Conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sebon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take Opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites* forsook the Worship of the living God, and became idolatrous and licentious, they taking the Advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their Possessions; and were some time their Masters, some time their Tributaries, as they pleased, or displeased God; and according to the Wisdom and Vertue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabbah*, was the Iron Bed of *Og* found, nine Cubits of Length, and four of Breadth. The City was taken in *David's* Time, and the Inhabitants slain with great Severity, and by divers Torments. At the first Assault thereof *Urias* was shot to Death, having been by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an Assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished, and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his Affairs had ill Success afterward even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore; or which, as some suppose it, was used to be set on the Head of their Idol, weighing a Talent, which is sixty pound weight after the common Talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others.

The Mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolemy* calleth the Hills of *Hippusa* City of *Calabria*; and *Strabo* * *Trachones*, the same which continue from near *Damascus* to the Deserts of *Moab* and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: For from the South part, as far Northward as *Ashtarab*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward, they are known by the name of *Hermon*; for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Sibiron*; but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others *Seir*; of which name all those Hills also were called, which part *Judea* and *Idumea*: And lastly, they are called *Libanus*; so for the Prophet *Jeremias* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the Head of *Libanus*. These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good Pastures, and have many Trees, which yield *Balfamum*, and many other medicinable Drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the Waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: Others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Ammon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

§ VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites won from *Og* the King of *Baſan*.

This Tribe of *Gad*, posselt half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* won it, it was in the possession of *Sebon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust

the Issues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachinon* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Orbaid* the first Judge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. *Jephtha* Judge of *Israel* had a great Conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nabas*: who Besieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right Eyes. The reason why he tendered so hard a Composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left Arms, which could not but shadow their left Eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their Rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nabas*, as it may seem, became the Confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul's* time, though *Jephtha* thinks that this *Nabas* was slain in the Battle, when *Saul* raised the Siege of *Jabes*, *Asa*, c. 5. who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Ammon succeeded *Nabas*; to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his Establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and flayed the half of their Beards. But afterward notwithstanding the Aids received from the *Aramites* Subject to *Adadecar*, and from *Israhel*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were over-turned: their chief City of *Rabbah*, after *Philadelphus* was taken, the Crown which weighed a Talent of Gold was set on *David's* head, all such as were Prisoners *David* exchanged with strange severity, for with Saws and Harrows, he rare them in peices, and cast the rest into Lime-kilns.

Jehoshaphat Governing *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their Neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jehoiachim's* fort to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, an hundred Talents of Silver, ten thousand measures of Wheat, and ten thousand of Barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites* of whose name we read was *Baalis*, the Confederate of *Zedechias* after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* fell *Israel* of the Blood of the King of *Juda*, to lay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§ VII.

Of the other half of *Manasse*.

The rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the Land of *Hes* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machari*, and *Auramitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*, of which those three latter Provinces defended themselves against them, for many Ages. But *Batanea* *Ptolemy* leaveth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the of *Eliaz*, as it is in the 1 Kings 16. 1. and of *Tobias* Tob. 1. 2. it lay on the left to the Tribe of *Neph* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob. 1. 2.* and was possessed by Colonies of *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his Victory over the *Amalekites* and *Philistines* in those parts: it is gathered out of the 1 Chron. 10. whence it appears that it was part of *Judea*, of which Chap. 7. 5. 4. 5, and 6.

Deſer

Deſert: and all these other Provinces before named with *Peraa* and *Juraea*, he nameth but as part of *Calabria*, as far South as *Rabbah* or *Philadelphia*; likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad* and *Reuben*, laying the Land near the Dead Sea, he makes part of a *Arabia Petraea*: For many of these small Kingdoms take not much more Ground than the County of *Keni*.

Baſan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Baſanitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc*, to the (a) *Machari* and *Gessuri*; and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest Woods of all that part of the World; especially of Oaks, which bear Malt, (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, *Hail*, O ye Oaks of *Baſan*) and by reason hereof they bred for many Swine, as (b) 2000 in one Herd were carried head-long into the Sea, by the unclean Spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it three-score Cities, walled and defended: All which, after *Og* and his Sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own Name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes (c) *Buza*, otherwise *Berenice*: By *Seleucus*, King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the Name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*, in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son *Alexander* the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by *Alexander Jannaeus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jew*-Laws; but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, said *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (d) *Julius Macchabaeus*, where he set on fire the (e) Temple of their Idols, together with all those that fled thither for Sanctuary; and near it they placed the Castle of *Carnaim*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong City of *Ephraim* near *Tyrus*, which refusing to yield him by Assault, (f) *Julius Macchabaeus*, was forced by him by Assault, and taken, and burnt with great Slaughter.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabes*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besieged by (h) *Nabab*, King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (i) elsewhere mentioned. In Memory whereof, the Citizens (k) recovered, embalmed, and buried the Bodies of *Saul* and his Sons, which hung despitely over the Walls of *Bethan* or *Scythopolis*. (l) *Gadara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, feated by *Pliny* on a Hill near the River *Hermon*, which River *Orontes* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the Foot of the Hill there spring forth also hot Baths, as at *Machari*. *Alexander Jannaeus*, after ten Months Siege, wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it; and *Gabinus* (m) made it one of the five Courts of Justice in *Palestine*. *Jerusalem* being the First, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the Third, *Jericho* and *Sepphoris* in *Galilee* the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the Tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonitis*, accused him to *Julius Caesar* of many Crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Caesar*, fearing the terrible (n) Revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves. To the East of *Gadara*, they place *Sebi* (o) in which *Jephtha*, *Ant.* 5. 13. faith, *Jephtha* was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*,

Jud. 12. 7. *Septulius* est in *Croitate* [sic] *Gilead*, (for in *una Croitate* *Gilead*) imagine *Gilead* to be the Name of a City, and to be the same with *Sebi*. In like manner following, the *Vulgar*; 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Caphor* for *Chabon*: The same *Adrieconis* imagineth it to be *ampla* or *firma Gileaditarum Croitate*; so of one City, *Heison*, or *Cheson*, which they call *Elhehon*, the chief City of *Sebon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more. This *Caphor* in *Manasse*, and a City in *Gad*, which he calleth *Cathos*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the Back of a Camel) which *Jephtha* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Golanitis*, over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West-side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*. See this in *Jephtha* his fourth Book of the *Jewish* War, where he describes the place by Nature to be almost invincible; and in the Story of the Siege, sheweth how *Vespasian*, with much danger of his own Person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable Accidents; and how at length, after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping down the Rocks, with their Wives and Children, to the Number of five thousand, thus perished; besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*; so that none escaped, save only two Women that hid themselves.

About four Miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Jephtha* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolemy* gives the Name to the Hills that compass the Plains in which it standeth: So that it may seem to have been of no small Note. It is feated far from the Hill-Country: On the East of the Lake, as also *Pliny* noteth lib. 5. cap. 15. It was restored by *Pompey*; after by *Augustus* ad. *Jeph.* Bell. desc. to *Herod's* *Tetrarchy*: It was wasted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their Rebellion: When 19 by many Mallices of their Nation, they were enraged against their Borderers.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrebi* or *Edras*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: And near unto this his Regal City, it was that he lost the Battle and his Life. It stood in *S. Hieron's* time; and had the name of *Ador* or *Adra*. Not far from these Towns near *Jordan*, in this valley foot *Gersa* or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the *Gergessites*, descended of the fifth Son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergessites* we read *Matt.* 8. 28. *Matt.* 9. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their Coasts; where casting the Devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the Herd of Hogs: In which Story for *Gergessites* or *Gergessins*, *S. Luke* and *S. Mark* have *Gadarens*; not as if these were all one (for *Gergessa* or *Gessia* is a distinct Town in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities Neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This City received many changes and calamities; of which *Jephtha* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annii* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*; and 1000. of the ablest young Men put to the Sword, and the City burnt. In the year 1120. it was re-built by *Baldwin* King of *Damascus*; and in the same year recovered by *Baldwin* de *Burgo* King of *Jerusalem*, and by him utterly razed. Near unto *Gergessa* is the Village of *Magadan*, or after the *Syriac* *Mageda*, or after the *Greek* *Magada*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a Sign from Heaven; the same place

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Cap. 1. 25

in *ita* *jud.*

Jeph. Bell.

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CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, the chief Borderers of the Israelites, that dwell on the East of Jordan.

§ I.

Of the City of Damascus, and the divers Fortunes thereof.

DAMASCUS of all other in this Border, and of that part of the World, was the most famous, excelling in Beauty, Antiquity, and Riches, and was therefore called the City of Joy or Gladness, and the House of Pleasures, and is not only remembered in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrews, faith Josephus, think it to have been built by Huz the Son of Aram; of which Opinion S. Jerome upon Isaiah seemeth to be; though in his Hebrew Questions he affirmeth that it was founded by Demareus, the Son of Eliezer Abraham's Steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that Name, as appears by Abraham's calling this his Steward Eliezer of Damascus. David was the first that subjected it to the Kingdom of Judea, after the overthrow of Adadecer their King; but in Solomon's time, Rezon recovered it again, though he had no Title at all or Right to that Principality: But David having overthrowen Hadadecer King of Sobeus, (otherwise Syria, Soha or Zohab) Rezon or Rezon with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded Damascus, and possessed Damascus it self, and became an Enemy to Solomon all his Life.

The next King of Damascus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from David, and Joab, when they slew all the Males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Taphnei the King of Egypt's Wives Sister, of whom Taphnei in Egypt was to call'd. This Adad returning again became an Enemy to Solomon, all his Life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence out. In the line of Adad that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Assyrians and then the Grecians succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with Waters from the Rivers of Abanab, and Parpar; whereof one of them Prophane Writers call Chyrarabon, the Golden River. Jeronimus takes it for Adonia. The Country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheat, and all manner of excellent Fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle built, as it seems, by the Florentines, after it became Christian: The Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Against this City the Prophets Amos, Isai, Jeremy, and Zacharias, Prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of Stones.

In the time of the last Rezon, and tenth King of the Damascenes, Teglatphalassar invited by Achaz King of Judah, carried away the Naturals of Damascus into the East, leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Jeronimus upon Isai, which thing was performed by Salmesar according to Jeronimus, in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecie. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after when Syria fell into the Hands of the Romans, it was taken

by Metellus and Lollus. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: S. Jerome living, as he affirmeth upon the Acts, it was the Metropolis of the Saracens being taken by Hasmar their King from the Romans, in the year of our Redemption 636. And in the year 1147. Conrad the third, Emperor of Rome, Lewis King of France, Baldwin the third King of Jerusalem, Henry Duke of Austria, Brother to Conrad, Frederick Barbarossa afterward Emperor, Theodorick Earl of Flanders, and other Princes assembled at Prolomius Aem, on the sea coast, determined to recover Damascus; but being betrayed by the Syrians they failed of the Enterprize.

In the year 1262. Hala the Tartar incompassed it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Walls, and threatened extrem torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place; but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, Asab the Son of Hala was by his Father made King thereof.

In the year 1400. Tamberlain Emperor of the Partians, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it and put all to the Sword, filling the Dirch with his Prisoners, those that retired into the Castle, which seem'd a place impregnable, he over-top'd with another Castle adjoining; he forbore the demolishing of the City in respect of the Beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. Gates or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanthorns of Gold and Silver; but while he invaded Egypt they again surprized Damascus. Lastly in his return after three Months Siege he forc'd it; the Mahometans prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired Mercy: But Tamberlain commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their Houses, knew them not by the Foundations. And as a Trophy of his Victory he raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the Heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repopled by the Soldan of Egypt, with a Garrison of Mammalukes. And in the Year 1517. Selimus Emperor of the Turks wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians; in whose Possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans, and Christians, of all Neighbouring Nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their Power.

NOW be it that Damascus were founded by Huz the Son of Aram, or by Damascus the Son of Eliezer Abraham's Steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till David's

time. For it stood without the Bounds of Canaan; and therefore neglected by Moses, Joshua, and Judges, as impertinent to that Story: But were it to that it had some Reguli, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as David overthrow Adadecer Prince of Sobeus or Syria Zoba; the same Nation which Pliny calleth Nubei, inhabiting between Batanes and Euphrates. Now the better to understand the Story of those Syrian Princes, whom from after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land there were three chief Principalties whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of Israel, namely Damascus or Aram, Sobeus or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath Zoba, of which these were the Princes in David's and Solomon's times: Rezon or Rezon of Damascus, Adadecer of Syria Zoba, and Tobu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the Cities subject to Adadecer when David invaded him, though when Saul made War against Zoba, Damascus was not named. And as Josephus affirmeth the Leader of those Succours, which were levied and sent to Hadad Hezer from Damascus, had the Name of Adad: who was in that Battle slain with 22000. Aramites of Damascus; whereof, as of the overthrow of Adadecer, Rezon the Commander of his Army, taking advantage made himself King of Damascus: Adadecer and Hadad of Damascus being both slain. About the same time Tobu King of Chamath or Iruza, hearing that his Neighbour and Enemy Adadecer was utterly overthrowen, sendeth for Peace to David, and presenteth him with rich Gifts, but in Solo faith S. Hierome; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited; but they for the most part were in League and Peace with the Judeans and Israelites.

But to return to the Kings of Syria, I mean of Syria as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing Damascus, Soha or Zoba, and Chamath or Iruza, to which I may add Geshur, because it is so accounted in the 2. of Sam. 15. as joining in the Territory to Damascus (for Syria at large is far greater, of which Palestine it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our latter Writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba, and Damascus.

Some account Rezon, other Adad of Idumea: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that David having invaded that Region, and left Joab therein to destroy all the Male Children thereof: Adad of the Kings Seed, fled into Egypt, and was there Married to Taphnei the Queens Sister as before; who hearing of David's death, and of the death of his Captain Joab (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he returned again, and as Benising thinketh, this Adad did expel Rezon out of Damascus; and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise.

For as I take it, Adadecer the Son of Rebo, whom Saul invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the first of Adads, who forsaking his Fathers Name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the title of Adad, the great God of the Assyrians, faith Macrobius, which signified Oneness or Unity. I also find a City called Adada in the same part of Syria: of which whether these Princes took the Name or gave it, I am ignorant. For Adadecer,

Ben-adad, Eli-adad were the same Name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adjoined. And that Adadecer was of greatest power, it appeareth, first because it is against him, that David undertook the War; Secondly because he levied 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damascus; as out of his proper Dominions: for had the Damascenes had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his Name; Thirdly, because Syria Zoba, of the most of which Adadecer was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of Arabia the Desart as far as to Euphrates, according to Pliny, and the greater part of Arabia Petraea according to Niger. Whoever was the first, whether Adadecer, or Adad of Idumea, Rezon was the second: Who was an Enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon. Besides the evil that Adad did, the evil that Hadad did, seemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumea, lately returned out of Egypt, to wit, 23. years after he was carried thither.

The third King of Damascus, and of Zohab both, was Hecion; to Hecion succeeded Tabremmon, or Tabremmon; to him Benbadad, as is proved in the first of Kings. For Asa King of Judea, the Son of Abiam, the Son of Roboam, the Son of Solomon, being vexed and invaded by Baasas, the Successor of Nadab, the Son of Jeroboam, sent to Benbadad, the Son of Tabremmon the Son of Hecion King of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to invade Israel (while Baasas sought to fortifie Ramagaim Asa; thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of Israel) who according to the desire of Asa, having received his Presents, willingly invaded the Country of Naphtalim, and took divers Cities, and spoils thence: Asa in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which Baasas had brought to fortifie Ramagaim, and converted them to his own use.

This Benbadad's Father Tabremmon was in League with Asa; and so was his Father Hecion; for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benbadad, his Son; though it seemeth that the Gold and Silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon invaded Israel, before the enterprize of his Son Benbadad, it is conjectured. For Benbadad when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as followeth. The City which my Father took from my Father, I will restore; and thou shalt make Streets or Keepers of the Borders, for thee in Damascus; as my Father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the Argument it self were of much importance) because Tabremmon was Father indeed to Benbadad which invaded Baasas, at the request of Asa. But this Benbadad that twice entered upon Achab; and was the second time taken Prisoner, was rather the Son of Benbadad, the first of that name, the Confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than the Son of Tabremmon. For between the Invasion of Benbadad the first, in Baasas's time, and the siege of Samaria, and the overthrow of Benbadad by Achab, there past 49. years, as may be gathered out of the Reigns of the Kings of Israel. So that if we allow 30. years of Age to Benbadad, when he invaded Baasas, and after that 49. years, ere he was taken by Achab, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that Benbadad, at such an Age, would make War. Besides all this, the first Benbadad came with no good pump, but the second Benbadad vaunted, that he was followed with 32. Kings; and therefore I resolve that Benbadad the Son of Tabremmon invaded Baasas and Omri, and Benbadad the second invaded Achab, at whose Hands

this *Benbadad* received two notorious Overthrows; the first at *Samaria*, by a Sally of 700 *Israelites*; the second at *Aphec*, where with the like Number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000 of

1 Reg. 20. the *Armaties*, besides 27000, which were cruſt by the Fall of the Wall of *Aphec*. and this *Ben-hadad*, *Achab* again ſeteth at Liberty; to whom he rendreth thoſe Towns, that his Father had taken from the Predeceſſor of *Achab*; but being returned, he refuseth to ſurrender *Ramoth-Gilead*, a Frontier Town, and of great Importance. Now three years after (for ſo long the League laſted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invadeth *Gilead*, and affliggeth the City, being aſſiſed by *Tebſopbat*. The *Armaties* came to ſuccor and fight, in which *Achab* is wounded and dieth that night.

2 Reg. 5- After this, *Benhadad* fentheth the Commander of
1 Reg. 6- his Forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the Son of
Achaz, to be healed of the Leprosy; and though
Elishaeus had healed him, yet he picketh Quarrel
against *Joram*: And when *Joram*, by *Elishaeus* his
Intelligence, had escaped his Plot, he sent Men
and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is afore-
2 Reg. 6- said.
After *Benhadad* begetteth *Samaris* again, and
3 Reg. 7- sacrifices there, his first Wife, *Jezebel*, and be-
come a fickeness, and fentheth *Achaz* to depart.
3234- Home a fickeness, and fentheth *Achaz* with great
Gifts to *Elishaeus*, to know his Estate, if he might
live. *Achaz* returning, fmothereth him. *Zemarais*
and *Cedreus* call this *Benhadad*, *Adar*, the Son of

§. III.

*Of the later Kings, and Decay, and Overthrow
of their Power.*

AFTER *Hazael*, *Bembadad* the Second, or rather the Third of that Name, the Son of *Hazael* reigned in *Damascus*, who fought against *Israel* with ill Success: For *Joaz*, King of *Israel*, the Son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Bembadad* in three several Battels; and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Afterward this *Benbadad*, the Son of *Hamezel*,
then succeeded three others of the same Name,
of whom the Stories are lost; only *Nicholau Da-*
masenus: cited by *Joseph*, makes mention of
them: And in one of these King's Times it was,
that *Jeroboam* the Second, the Son of *Joaz*, re-
covered *Damascus* it self, to *Judah*, saith the *Ge-*
nevis; but better in *Jonius*, *uxque recuperatus* that is,
Damascum, & *Camatham Jebusa*, pro *Jerusalem*: that is,
And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus, and
Camatha of Judaea: For these Cities sometimes con-
quered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe
of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this Conquest upon the *Adams* was performed; the first of these three *Adams*: then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoa* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benbadad*, the Son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Jffael*; and so left his Kingdom to his Son, *Jeroboam* the Second: It seemeth, that this *Jeroboam*, without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprise, instantly followed his Father's good Fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razim, or Rezin, after *Jezebel* *Rafes*, after *Zorana* *Euzim*! In the 10th. *Abad*, maketh League with *Pekah*, or *Phacek*, King of *Israel*, against *Abazak*, King of *Juda* : Both carry away a great number of Prisoners. After this they both behead *Abazak* in *Jerusalem*; but in vain. Then *Abad* alone invadeth *Eloth*; and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Abad* brought *Togelaphasser* against *Rezin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*; with whom ended the Line of the *Adadis*; and the Kingdom of *Damascus*; the *Assyrians* becoming Masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adadis*, as they rejoined in order, are thus reckoned :

1. *Adadexer*, the Son of *Rebob*.
2. *Razin*, the Son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hexion*.
4. *Tabremmon*.
5. *Bembadad*, who invaded *Baalsha*.
6. *Babal*, the Second, taken Prisoner.

6. Benbadad the Second, taken prisoner by Achab, whose Elifha foretold with Tears, of his Adversity; the fame who overthrew *Joram*; King of *Jisrael*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazeel*, which preceded *Benbadad* the Third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazeel* which took *Gad*, and compounded the War with *Joab*, made the Expedition thirty Years, and perhaps more, after the first *Hazeel* *Joram* the Son of *Achab*, King of *Jisrael*. For *Joab* began to reign in the seventh Year of *Joash* King of *Jisrael*; and after he had reigned twenty three Years, the Temple was not yet repaired after

XL. of the Kings

after which (and how long we know not) it is said, that *Hazeel* took *Geib*, and turned his Face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some Proof, that *Hazeel* which took *Geib*, was not the same with *Hazeel* that murdered *Bendadad*, because he could not at that time but be of good Years, being, as it seemeth, the Second Person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Bendadad's* Men of War. To which *Hazeel*, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. *Benbadad* the Third, who *Joash*, King of *Israel*, thrice overthroweth.

9. *Rezin*, or *Rezin* the last, who joyned with *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz*, King of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Tiglatpalsar*.

Now between *Benbadad* the Third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholas Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

§ IV.

Of other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

Of *Gellur* we find two Kings named to wit, *Talmi*, and his Father *Ammurib*. To *Talmi*, whose Daughter *David* married, it was that *Aylalo*, who was his Maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephora*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Calofria*, there are two named, *Rabob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadeer*, and *Adadeer* himself; and it is plain, that after his Death, the Seat of the Kings of *Soba*, was transferred to *Damascus*, a City better fitting their Greatness. After, *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalties. And the Race of these Kings of *Syria*, (which became so potent, and joynted *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the Defeat of *Arabia*, with other Provinces, into one, under *Rezin* the second of *Assyria*, as it began with *David*, to it ended with *Rezin*) at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For when King of *Judea*, waged the *Afflyrians* against *Tadmor*, King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin*, the last King of *Damascus*, which *Teglati* first invading *Pado*, King of *Israel*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self; and did put to Death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants Captive. This was the second time that the *Afflyrians* attempted *Israel*: For first, *Pbul Belochus* entered the Borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who stop'd the Enterprize of *Pbul*, with a thousand Talents

of Silver: For this *Phul Belochus*, whose Pedigree we will examine hereafter, being faineate warm as yet in his Seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his Companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*; having besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and stirring Prince, was content to take the Composition of a thousand Talents of the King of *Israel*, for that purpose time. But his Son *Teglab*, following the purview of his Father's Beliefs, and finding to excellent an occasion, as the War begun between *Israel* and *Juda*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his Neighbour *Razin* being also warring at that War and waited in favour thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz*, King of *Juda*, his Impreit and Entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his Path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as before remembred) and then with great Ease posselt himself of the Cities of *Nephthelim*, leading with him a great part of the People Captive. And his Son *Salmansar*, whom *Prohm* calleth *Nabonazar*, after the Revolt of *Hofa*, forced *Semaria*, and rent that Kingdom afunder. So as the Line and Race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the Race and Monarchy of *Syrian* *Adams* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglab* slaughter'd; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hefsa*, whom *Salmansar* overturned, happened near about a time; that of *Ninus* in the days of *Belochus* and the other two in the days of *Teglabphallair*, and *Salmansar* his Son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Adas* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz*, yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Sinnacerib*, the Son of *Salmanser*, in vain, and preferred for the time by God, miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Jerusalem* and the Temple burnt, an hundred thirty two years after the Captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*; the Destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth Year of *Hofaz*; that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zababab*. Now the Temples of *Affyr* and *Babelyn*, in the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanser*, to the last of *Babylony*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labyrinth*; in the last about two hundred Years. After these, the Persians, from *Cyru* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about two hundred Years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire; and his Successors the *Seleucia* reigned therein, till it became subject to the Power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in Possession of the *Turks*. The first to be shewn upon this Plate, is that of the Nations bordering upon the *Jafraites*, with whom we have most to do, both in War and Peace, being the only People, whose History in those antient Times, carried an assured Face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Jerusalem.

§ I.

Of divers memorable Places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mizpa, Bethel, Rama, Gohah and Gibba.

OF the Tribe of Benjamin, the Twelfth and youngest Son of Jacob, whom he had by Rachel, there were numbered at Mount Sinai, Thirty five thousand able Bodies; all which perishing in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their Inheritances, Forty five thousand, fit to bear Arms: And these had their Territory on this side Jordan, between Judea and Ephraim. The Cities within this Tribe, nearest Jordan, are Lod, Hadid and Ono; of which Lod and Ono were built by Shemud, a Benjaminite: They were all three re-inhabited with Benjaminites after the Return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, Nehemiah 11. 35, and Esdras 2. 35, where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemiah, a City called Lodhadid. This Hadid, or Chadiid, was rebuilt by Simon Machabeus.

Samar, or Tisamar, named of Tisamar, one of the Sons of Canaan, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land Iudath Jericho, one of the Tiberides, and the last of Judea; seated in a most fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm trees; and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the Time of Joshua, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the Time of Ahab; in whose days Chiel of Bethel laid the new Foundation of it, in the Loos of Ahab's son Elidef, and built the Gates of it in the Loos of his youngest Son Segub, according to the Curse of Joshua; in which, and other respects, Hosea 12. 14. calleth Joshua a Prophet. In after times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and re-built by Adrian.

To the South east of Jericho, stood a Hamlet of the Levites, of which Jos. 21. 18. To the South, Betharaba, of which Jos. 15. and c. 18. Then that Gilgal, of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where Joshua first eat of the Fruits of the Land; circumscribed all those born in the Deserts, and celebrated the Passover.

The Reason of the Name, or rather a memorable Application of the Etymology of this Name, (for it seems by the place Deut. 11. 30. that the Name was known before the coming of the Israelites into Canaan) is noted Jos. 9. Of Jericho, which is noted Jos. 9. Of Jericho, because their Forefathers (the People being there circumscribed) were tumbled down the Hill; which from thence was called Collis Præcipitum. This Gilgal was also called Galiath, as appears by comparing the places, Jos. 15. 7. & 18. 17. For it was in the Borders of Jordan, of which Jos. 22. 13. and Galiath signifieth Borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hills, Garizim and Hebal; upon the one of which the Blessings, and on the other the Cursings were to be read to the People, both being the Mountains of Ephraim. Further, for the Situation of this Gilgal, it is to be noted, that both it, and Mizpa of Benjamin (of which also we read in the Scripture) were seated about the middle of the length of the

Land of Canaan; For which reason Samuel chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give Judgment to the Israelites; of which two (Gilgal as is said) was near Jordan on the East side of this Tribe; and Mizpa near the West Sea, towards the Land of the Philistines.

The Third place, which is named with these two, whither also Samuel used yearly to come, is Bethel; which also was seated in this Tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gilgal which was the first place, where the Ark rested, after they pass over Jordan (from whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to Kiriat jeharim, and at length to Jerusalem) here in Gilgal it was that Josiah pitched up the twelve stones, which were taken out of the Channel of Jordan when it was dry, that the Israelites might pass over it by which Story, as it is set down Jos. 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed over Jordan, they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit many other memorable things, it was that Samuel hewed Agag the King of the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mizpa, whither also Samuel came yearly to give Judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held, as that for the revenge of the Levites wife against Gibba, and the Benjaminites, Jud. 20. 1. and another against the Philistines, 1 Sam. 7. 12. Thither also Judas Machabeus gathered the Jews (when Jerusalem was possessed by the Heathen) as it is Mac. 3. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; Quia locus Oratiæ fuerat Mizpa antea Israeli. Touching this Mizpa, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: Mizpa of Judea, of which Jos. 15. 38. Mizpa of Gilead, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of Gad: Mizpa of the Moabites, where David for a while held himself, commending his Parents to the King of Moab, 1 Sam. 22. 3; and lastly, this chief Mizpa of the Benjaminites. And as in this place the chief Meetings were held, both before Jerusalem was recovered from the Jebusites, and also in the time of the Machabees (as we have said) when Jerusalem was held by the wicked under Antiochus, so also in the time of Jeremias, after the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, Gedaliah, whom Nabuchodonosor left in Jeremias, Governor over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; until (to the great hurt of the Jews) he was slain by the Treason of Izedab, one of the Royal Blood of Judea, as it is Jeremias 41.

It was no other than this Mizpa of Gilead, of which Jos. 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, Versu Orientem: For Joshua notes the three quarters North, West and East, to which he followed the Canaanites; whereof Adrichomius, and others, out of this place, imagine a Mizpa, or Mizpa (as they write it) in the Tribe of Affer.

Near unto this Mizpa (the Scripture mentioneth) 1 Sam. 7. Beth-car, after called Aben-Hezer, that is, the stone of help: where Samuel pitched up the Pillar of Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistines.

Touch

Touching Bethel, which (as it seems) was the third place where Samuel held his chief Meetings for the ministering of Justice, that it was anciently called Luz, and how it was taken by the Hittites of Joseph (though it belonged to the Portion of Benjamin, as it is Nehemiah 11. 31. and Joshua 18. 22.) and how another story called Luz, near adjoining to it, was built by the Man of the City, which showed the Entrance to the Spies, as it is Joshua 2. and of the occasion of the Name from Josiah's Vision; and how Jeroboam, by erecting one of his Calves here, of Bethel (which signifieth the House of God) made it (a) Beth-aven, that is, the House of Vanity, Hos. 4. 15. and to 5. as also other memorable things of this place; they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The Territory of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great Victory of Abia against Jeroboam (of which 2 Chron. 14.) was taken from them, and adjointed to the Kingdom of Juda; and to it continued, as appears by the Story of Josiah, which performed the Prophecies against the Altar of Bethel, 2 Reg. 23. whence those Coasts, 1 Mac. 11. 34. are called Apherama, which Greek Word signifieth as much as, A thing taken away, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three Segimities, or Prefectures, which Demetrius, in his Epistle mentioned, as added by him to the Dition of the Jews, out of the Samaritan Country. A part of it, as appears, a Chron. 13. 19. was Ephraim, which Jos. 18. 23. is called Ephraim, belonging to this Tribe of Benjamin.

Not far from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, Rama, Gibba and Gebah. Of the Name Rama, (b) it is noted already in the Description of Bethel, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high Situation: But where as they find out Rama in the Tribe of Juda (as it seems, because Matthew 2. it appears that it bordered Bethlehem) and also out of Brechard and Breidenbach, make Silo to have been called Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabulon; and these three have no Warrant in the Scripture. Of Rama, in the Tribe of Affer, as it seems, we have Testimony, Jos. 19. 29. and of another in Nephthali, Jos. 19. 36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount Ephraim, 1 Samuel 25. 1. which more often is called (c) Ramatha, and 1 Samuel 1. Ramathaim Tophim; for which the Septuagint have Aramatthaim; taking the Aride added in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think Josiah of Arimathea, Matthew 27. 57. was denominated.

The Jews out of the County of Samaria; this lying toward the East to Jericho, and Juda toward the West; and Apherama (of which even now we speak) lying in the midst, between the two other. A sixth name it seems there was in the Tribe of Simeon, toward the South, and which Jos. 19. 6. 7. called Ramath of the South, and otherwise it is called Ram.

Of a fourth Rama, we read 2 Reg. 8. 29. which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which is most often mentioned, is Rama of Benjamin, seated, as we said, near Bethel, the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes; for which Cause Baasha, in the time of Aza, King of Juda fortified it, to hinder those that he did fly from him to Aza. Of this Rama, or Ramatha, I should rather think that Josiah was, that buried Chusai, because it was nearer to Jerusalem, and after the

Captivity belonged to Juda, as it appears, Esd. 2. 26. where in that it is joined with Gebah, it is plain, that he speaks of that Rama, with whose Stones (after Baasha had ceased to build it) Aza (as it is 1 Reg. 23. 22.) built Gebah adjoining to it, both being in Benjamin. And as Rama was the South border of the Ten Tribes, so was Gebah the North-border of the Kingdom of Juda; whence 2 Reg. 23. 8. we read, that Josiah, through all his Kingdom, even from Gebah, which was the North border to Beer Sheva, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City Gibba, which was the City of Sael (the Wickiades of which City, in the time of the Judges, had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) Adrichomius confounds with Gebah, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguishing, Josiah 10. 27. of which word (d) Gibba, in another form Gibbath, he imagineth Gabaath, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The Vicinity of this City also to Rama of Benjamin, appears, Jude 19. 13. where the Levite with his Wife, not able to reach to Rama, took up his Lodging near at Gibba. By that place of 1 Samuel 22. 6. it seems, that there was in this Gibba some Tower or Citadel, called Rama, where Junius reads, in for which cause, for in Rama; but it may be, that the Name of the King's Palace in this City was Rama, (for this word is oft-times an Appellative, signifying a Hill) but not placing it in Benjamin, where the words adjoining upon this Text, and which was in the Mountains of Ephraim.

as it seems, that in Rama of Samuel, the Name of the chief place where Samuel with the Colledge of Prophets abode, was Naath. The great City of Haa, overthrow by Joshua, which Jos. 7. 2. is placed near Beth-aven, upon the East of Bethel, was in this Tribe, as is proved, Nehemiah 7. 10. 30. though it be not named by Josiah, chap. 18. for it was burned by him, and laid waste, as it is, Josiah 8. 28. In Josiah's time in turremulum perpetuum. Another City of chief Note, reckoned, Josiah 18. 25. in this Tribe, was Gibbon, the chief City of the Hevites, whose Cunnings, to bind the Israelites by Oath to save their Lives, is set down, Josiah 9. whence they were reckoned among the Netimim, or Proselytes, and were bound to certain public Services in the House of God; which Oath of saving their Gibonites, broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a Famine, as 2 Samuel 21. 1. This Gibbon, or Gibbon, with Admon and Jethai (of both which we have spoken) were 2 Samuel 1. Ramathaim Tophim; for which the Septuagint have Aramatthaim; taking the Aride added in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think Josiah of Arimathea, Matthew 27. 57. was denominated.

fore it was destroyed by Saul, which was of Nob, which is noted, Josiah 8. 28. and in Josiah, Nehemiah 9. 31. and though in the time of Sael, the residing place of the Ark was in Kiriat jeharim, yet by the lamentable Tragedy of Blood shed, which Saul raised in this place (as it is set down, 1 Samuel 27. and 22.) in the Judgment of Junius, it is proved, that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, Nehemiah 9. 31. was a place of Fame, of which Josiah 10. 28. where also he nameth Gallim and Migron in this Tribe. In Micmas, Saul had his Camp, 1 Samuel 13. 2. (when he left Gibba to Jonathan) and there also was Jonathan Machabeus his Abode, 1 Mac. 9. 73. Of Gileala in Galilee, Josephus often maketh mention; but of any here in Benjamin, which they

The word Netimim, or Netimim, is a Hebrew word, which signifies Proselytes, or Strangers, and is used in the Scriptures to denote those who were converted to the Jewish Religion.

they make the Natal Place of St. Paul, whence (they say) when it was taken by the Romans, he failed with his Parents to *Thauris*: Of this I find no good Warrant. Other Places of less Importance I omit, and come to the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Princes and Governors of this City; a great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence, *Joshua* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

§ II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

See in the higher part of *Manasse*.

At what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princess of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are, who imagine, that *Melchisedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham's* Time. But according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedec* encountered *Abraham* (in his return from the Overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Perjan* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made Prisoner) flandeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*; bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Manasse*, and by the *Greeks*, *Solima*.

Jerusalem, (whenever, or by whom built) was a Principal City in *Joshua's* Time; yet not so renowned as *Hazer* the Metropolis (in those Days, and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Admolech* (whom *Joshua* slew) was then King of *Jerusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: For how long soever they held it before *Moses* his Time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost four hundred Years after him, even till *David* wan it; and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusites* (the Children of *Jebus*, the Son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And to much did that Nation rely on the Strength of the Place, as well as upon its Name. And so much did that Nation attempt it, they bragg'd, that their Lame, and Blind, and impotent People should defend it.

David, after he had, by God's Assistance, possessed it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great Encrease of Circuit; strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle, and beautified it with many Palaces, and other Buildings, changing the Name from *Jebusalem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hierosolima*. After *David's* Time, *Solomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly: For, besides the Work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations; the Palaces, Gates and Walls, could not anywhere in the World be exempl'd: And besides that it had an Hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants, the Women and Children not accounted. The Ditch had Sixty Foot of Depth, cut out of the very Rock, and Two hundred and fifty Foot of Breadth, whereof the like hath seldom been heard of either since or before.

After the Death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishac*, King of *Egypt*, and his Predecessor, having lived for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Jerobam*, *Solomon's* Servant; and both married to *Egyptians*; the State by the one disturb'd, by the other broken, *Shishac* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entered *Jerusalem*, and sack'd it; and became Master, not only of the Riches of *Solomon*, but of all those Spoils which *David* had gotten

from *Adad*, *Tebu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sack'd, and a part of the Wall thrown down by *Joa* King of *Israel*, while *Amalek* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*. 2 King 14.

Not long after, *Achaz*, the Fifteenth King of *Juda*, impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglaballazar* with the Treasures thereof. And *Manasse*, the Son of *Ezekiah*, the Son of *Achaz*, by the Vaunts made by *Ezekiah* to the Embassadors of *Meredach*, lost the Remain, and the very Bottom of their Treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Juchin* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these God's gentle Corrections and Afflictions; but persisting in all kind of Impiety, filling the City even to the Mouth with innocent Blood, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchadnegar*, as his Scourge and Revenger, with making this Glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls, and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the Dust, carried away the Spoils with the Princes and People; and crush't them with the heavy Yoke of Bondage and Servitude full seventy years; inasmuch, as *Sion* was not only become a torn, and plow'd up Field, *Jerusalem* a Heap of Stone and Rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a Grove, or Wood of Thorns and Briars; but (as *Hierom* speaketh) even the Birds of the Air scorn'd to fly over it, or the Beasts to tread on that defiled Soil.

Then seventy Years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews*, by the Grace of *Cyrus*, returned, the Temple was rebuilt, though with Interruption and Difficulty enough, and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls, or other Defences, for some Sixty and odd Years, till *Nebuchadnegar*, by the Favour of *Artaxerxes*, rebuilt them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Babylas*, or *Vagabul*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*; after, by *Prismasus* the First; then by *Anisochus* Epiphane; and again by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed; though *Craesus* in his *Parthian* Expedition, took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the Damages which it sustained by the Violence of Sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the Industry or Bounty of good Princes, the voluntary Contribution of the People, and the Liberality of Strangers. Before the Captivity, the People of the Land, through the Exhortation of Godly Kings, made many and large Offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The Wrong done by *Prismasus* Legi to the second Temple, was requited by the Bounty of his Son *Prismasus* Philadelphus. The Mischief wrought by *Anisochus* Epiphane, and his Followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the Losses, which either the City, or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the Reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple; and with many impetuous Works, did to adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious, than they had been in the Days of *Solomon*.

§ III.

§ III.

Of the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing Estate, it was, at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*; and after his Death and Ascension it to continued about four Years: But then did *Titus* the Roman, being stirr'd up, by God, to be the Revenger of *Christ* his Death, and to punish the *Jews* sinful Ingratitude, encompass it with the Roman Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the Siege at such time as the *Jews*, from all parts, were come to the Celebration of the *Passover*; so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts, and no manner of Provision or Store for any such Multitudes. An extreme Famine, with the Civil Dissention, oppress't them within the Walls; a forcible Enemy assail'd them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in wait for the Destruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it, who also burnt the Temple, when *Nebuchadnegar* took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the Consummation of the Victory, Eleven hundred thousand Souls; and the City was to beaten down, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the Desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such Place or Habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers (Works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for Lodgings for the Roman Garrison, as that thereby their Victory might be the more Notorious and Famous: For by those Buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might Judge what the rest were; and their Honour be the greater and more shining that there once became Victorious.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judea*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the City; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at Peace, and Tributaries to the Roman State; but after Sixty Five years, when they again offered to Revolt, and Rebel, *Aluis Adrianus* the Emperor slaughtered many Thousands of them, and overturned those Three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himself had foretold; That there shall not stand one Stone upon another, of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his Fury was appeas'd, and the Prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood *Moran Calvary*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and enclosing of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great Capacity, and called it after his own name, *Antia Capitolina*. In the Gate toward *Bethel*, he caus'd a Sow to be cut in Marble, and fix in the Front thereof, which he did in despite of the *Jews* Nation; making an *Edict*, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare to much as to behold it, from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palestina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. years.

It was afterward in the 636. year after *Christ*,

taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 500. and odd years.

In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which *Godfrey*, when he was Elected King thereof, refus'd to be Crowned with a Crown of Gold, because *Christ*, for whom he fought, was therein Crowned with Thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Successors of *Godfrey* Eighty Eight years: till in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladin* of *Egypt*: And lastly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*; the Turks call our the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Constantinople*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone, that hath so often times been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in several Times and Ages, suffered the same Shipwreck. And it hath been Gods just Will, to the end others might take Warning, if they would; not only to punish the impiety of Men, by Famine, by the Sword, by Fire, and by Slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possess; of the Walls and Building, yea of the Soil, and the Beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that Land, sometime called Holy, hath in effect, lost all her Fertility, and Fruitfulness; Witness the many Hundreds of Thousands, which it fed in the days of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding Stony and Barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with Fire from Heaven, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very Soil it self hath felt, and doth feel the Hand of God to this day. God would not spare the Beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, nor any small number of them, to be Sacrific'd to himself; neither was it enough that *Abom* himself was stoned, but that his Moveables were also consumed and brought to Ashes.

§ IV.

Of the Vain and Malicious Reports of Heathen Writers, touching the Ancient Jews.

OF the Original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diversely and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm that while *Isis* Govern'd *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Jeropolymus*, and *Judas* led thence a great Multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the Neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the Waters. But *Justin*, of all other most Malicious, doth derive the *Jews* from the Syrian Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith he, was the first; and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Isaac*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Isaac* had Ten Sons, among whom he divided the Land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his Eldest, who had the greatest Portion. The youngest of the Sons of *Isaac* he calleth *Joseph*; who being brought up in *Egypt*, became Learned in Magical Arts, and in the Interpretations of Dreams, and Signs prodigious, and this *Joseph* (saith he) was Father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul Diableness, and least

they should infect others, were Banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these Men thus Banished, when in the *Deserts* they suffered extream Thirst and Famine, and therein found relief the Seventh day; for this cause ever after observed the Seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a Branch of their Religion. He addeth also, that they might not Marry out of their own Tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and such like Fables hath *Jos. f. 17.*

Cornelius Tacitus, doth as grossly belye them in affirming, That in the inmost Oratory of their Temple, they had the Golden Head of an *As*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the fifth Book of his own History truly confessed of the *Jews*, that they worshipped one only God: And thought it most prophane to represent the *Deity* by any Material Figure, by the shape of a Man, or any other Creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or Representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Lamea*, the first Parents of the *Jews*.

Cited by
Stephanus
in *Judas*.

Claudius Iolas draws them from *Judeus*, whose Parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans*, or *Lacedemonians*, challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Jos. f. 18.* Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine Letters; though wrested and perverted, according to the Custom of the Heathen. For so have they obfuscated and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Flood; and given new Names to the Children of *Adam* in the first Age; to *Noah* and his Sons, in the Second;

and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*; all which fainings, as touching the *Jews* and their Originals, *Jos. f. 19.* *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: And so *Chaldeans* Originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greek Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, from *Abraham*; having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the Son of *Heber*, in *Caleb*, f. 63. the Sixth descent. Their ancient Names were first changed by the two Grand-Children of *Abraham*; for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the Name of *Judas*, the Son of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jews*; as also for a time in the Name of *Ephraim* the Son of *Jos. f. 20.* *Jos. f. 20.* the chief of the *Patriarchs* of the Ten Tribes; the rest of the Ten Tribes were comprehended, but were first rooted out when the Kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their Names, though they suffered the same Servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

The Government which this Nation underwent, was First paternal: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were Secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moses* and *Josua*, by a Policy Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his Successors, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their Government under Judges, after the death of *Josua*; with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the Death of Joshua, to the War of Troy; which was about the time of Jephtha.

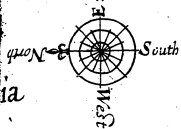
§. I.

Of the Inter-Regnum after Joshua's Death: and of Othoniel.

WHEN *Josua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the High Priest, held Authority over the People, and ordered that Common-Wealth: It pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward established) to undertake the War against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became Victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew ten thousand, but made *Adonibezek* Prisoner; the Greatest and Cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*. This Tyrants Cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the Torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him, but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods just Judgment against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess, during this *inter regnum* (or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Ashalon*, *Ekeron*, and *Jersalem*, which they burnt, and the *Iebusites* afterward re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in exprets words, that any one Person commanded in Chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did; yet it seemeth, that *Caleb* was of greatest Authority amongst them, and that he with the advice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their Wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good success which followed their undertakings witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* Governed, as appears *Jos. 10. 39.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains; for the performance of which enterprize, he promised his Daughter *Achisab*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger Brother



Saccæa

The desert Arabia

Arabia the stonie

Agubeni

Agræi

Sauæ or Saba from whence the Sabæans sprung



ther after the conquest: whose behaviour in that Service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest Reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his Preferment and Election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made War with their Borderers, from whom they only recovered the Mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, because they had Chariots of Iron.) The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories; in which War they laboured with variable Success: for as the house of *Jesse* recovered *Bethel* or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries; and forced them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites* un mindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously afore-time defended them, and made them Victorious over their Enemies (the Elders being also confirmed, who better advised them in the Interregnum) did not only joyn themselves in Marriage with the Heathen Nations; but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Astarte*, with other the dead Gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*; whom *Chusban Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his People, and to raise up *Orbaniel* to be their Judge and Leader; who by God assisted, delivered his Brethren from oppression, and enforced the *Aramites* to return into their own *Deserts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoining; after which the *Israelites* had peace Forty years, during all the time of *Orbaniel's* Government. This *Orbaniel* is thought by *Tyrtamus* to have been the younger Brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the Book of *Judges* he is twice called *Orbaniel* the Son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger Brother. Others do rather interpret those Words (*Caleb's* younger Brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Caleb's* Daughter should Marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore, that *Orbaniel* should have been the meanest of the Kindred. Wherefore we may better think, that he was the Nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very Words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the Son of *Jephunneh*, and *Orbaniel* the Son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger Brother; that is, he was not Brother to *Caleb*, but his younger Brothers Son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable to Marry with his Cousin German *Caleb's* Daughter.

How long it was from the Death of *Jesse*, to the Government of *Orbaniel*, it cannot be found; but it seems to have been no short time: For many Wars were made in that space against the People of the Land. *Laili* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of Opinion, that between the times of *Jesse* and *Orbaniel*, that Civil-War broke out, between the *Benjaminites* and the rest of *Israel*; for the forcing to Death of the *Levite's* Wife. For it is written, that in those Days there was no King in *Israel*, but every Man did that which was good in his own Eyes. And as *Juda* led the People against the *Canaanites*, during the Inter-regnum, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have been when *Jesse* was

Dead, and before the Government of *Orbaniel*; especially, considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such Oppression of Strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a Civil-War; if their Power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this Action, wherein they so weakened the Body of their Estate, by Effusion of Blood, that in many Ages, they could not bring into the Field such numbers, as formerly they had mustered against their Bordering Enemies.

§. II.

Of the Memorable things of this Age, in other Nations; And of the difficulty in the Computation of times.

Here lived in this Age of *Orbaniel's* Pandion, or *Pandarus*, according to *Homer*, the Fifth King of *Athen*; who began to Rule in the Twentieth Year of *Orbaniel*, and Governed Forty Years. He was Father to *Erichon*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philemela*, so greatly mentioned in Fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*; of whose Daughter *Semele* was Born, *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*; under whom *Linos* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Mela*, *Paphos*, and *Tharso* were built.

Ila and *Dactylus* flourished in this Age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genfis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubal-Cain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* Governed *Thebes*; whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehud's* time. But *St. Augustine* making a Repetition of these Fables, which were deviled among the *Grecians*, and other Nations, during the Government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose Parentage there is a little Agreement. *Vives* upon the Thirteenth Chapter of *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and the Eighteenth Book, hath gathered all the Opinions of this Man's Progeny, where he that desires his Pedigree may find it. *Laetantius* and *Ensebius* make him Native of *Attica*: and the Son of *Elenfus* King of *Elenfus*; which *Elenfus*, by careful Industry, had fed the People of that Territory, in the time of a great Famine. This, when upon the like Occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the People, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow an Engraven or Carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return, and to relieve his People with Corn, from some Neighbour Nation; it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the Air.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Orbaniel*, and after him with the rest of the Judges, and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the Chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which, would require the whole time of a long Life; and therefore, I desire to be excused, if in these Comparisons I err with others of better Judgement. For whether *Ensebius*, and all that follow him, or his Opposites (who made themselves to Conserver with these Ancient Kings, and with the very Year when they began to Rule) have

Gen. 4. 24
Whence
came the
Name of
Vale: by
Apothec
of the two
first Let-
ters. Age
de civil.
Dei l. 18
C. 13.

Jud. 1.
19.

Jud. 1.
25.

Jud. 1.
32.

Jud. 3. 10.

2608.

2648.

Jud. 17.
18. and
19.

have hit the mark of time, of all other the least doubt off, and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the Ancientest Chronologers have borrowed Light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but Conjecture: Secondly, because their own Disagreement and Contention in those elder Days, with that of our own Age among the Labourers in times, is such, as no Man among them hath yet so edified any Man's Understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted, after what Pattern to erect his Buildings.

This Disagreement is found not only in the Reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in Computation of those times, which the indisputable Authority of Holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abraham's* Birth; and after in the times of the Judges, and the Oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the Egression, to the Building of *Solomon's* Temple, in the *Persean* Empire, the seventy Weeks; and in what not? Wherefore the account of times may suffer Examination, the Arguments are opposite, and Contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have fought by to many ways to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the Clouds more condense than before. I can therefore give no other warrant, than that other Men have done in these Computations; and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise, than as a borrowed Knowledge, or at least a private Opinion; in which I submit to better Judgements. Nam in *Priscis rebus Veritas non ad Unguem querenda. In Ancient things we are not to require an exact Narration of the Truth*, says *Diondre*.

§. III.

Of *Ehud's* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tereus*, *Tantalus*, *Tityus*, *Admetus*, and others that lived about those times.

After the Death of *Orioniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them; to perform which, he joined the Forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of Misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his Grace and his Displeasure) these Heathen Neighbouring Nations, had an easy Conquest over *Israel*; whom God himself exposed to those Perils; within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable Estate they continued full Eighteen Years, under *Eglon* King of the *Amorites*, and his Confederates. Yet as the Mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his Ears from their crying Repentance; but raised up *Ehud* the Son of *Gera* to deliver them; by which their Man, though stamined in his Right-hand, yet confident in the Justice of his Quarrel; and fearing that the *Israelites*, were so few in numbers, to contend with the Head of those Valiant Nations; he resolved to attempt upon the Person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following Victory; especially giving his Nation no time to re-establish their Government, or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Wars. According to which Resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Ambassador to *Eglon*, laden with

Presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private Access upon the pretence of some Secret to be revealed; he pierced his Body with a Poniard; made of purpose, with a double Edge; and shutting the Doors of his Closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army consisting of 10000. able and strong Men; whereof not any one escaped. After which Victory, and that *Sanger* his Successor had miraculously slain 600. *Philistines* with an Oxe Goad; the Land and People of *Israel* lived in Peace, unto the end of four score Years, from the Death of *Orioniel*; which term expired in the Worlds Year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her Husband, and with her two Sons, travelled into *Moab*; and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the Four score Years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orion* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Plato*, stole *Proserpina*, as he walked to gather Flowers in the Fields of *Hippodamium* in *Sicilia*; or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chloris*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This Steal being made known to *Pyrrius*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her; but *Plato* or *Orion* (whom others call *Aidoneus*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened upon *Pyrrius*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him; and by strength took and mastered the Dog *Cerberus*; whereof grew the Fable of *Hercules* his delivering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zetes*, as I take it, hath written this story, somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrius*, faith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidoneus*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the Mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a general Name also for all fair Women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidoneus*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrius* were both taken; and because *Pyrrius* was the principal in this Conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of Affection or Inforcement, the one was given for Food to *Aidoneus* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held Prisoner; till *Hercules* by the Intigation of *Eurydice* delivered him by a strong hand. The *Molossians* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a People of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*; of which Mountains, *Oeta* is one of the most Famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossians* in *Thessaly*; but these are Neighbours to the *Calapaei*, faith *Plutarch* in his Greek Questions.

The Rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*; taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the Fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having Married her Sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her Sister, forced her in the passage, and withal cut her Tongue that she might not complain; perwading *Progne* that his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way; all which her Brother-in-law's merciless Behaviour towards

wards her, *Philomela* expressed by her Needle upon Cloth, and sent it *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* caused her only Son *Tis* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her Husband, so direct as it appeared to be some ordinary Food; of which when he had eaten his fill, he caused his Head, Hands, and Feet, to be presented unto him; and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets fained, that he was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*; and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built near the Rocks *Megi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the Name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulis*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* War, that this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odryseus*) but that *Phoen* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulis*, was in *Pandion's* time inhabited by *Thracians*; of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion* to have amity with his Neighbours, made him his Son in law; so it is good to believe, faith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens*, made that Alliance with a Neighbour King from whom he might have succour rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdom of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says: *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in ea circum regine Hirundines*; As if a Swallow remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and to her Sister, did for ever hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætes* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made Mad by *Juno*; and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be confined a to the Plough; for in those Countries, where the Ground was light, they did use often to Plough with Kine.

In the Forty Seventh year of *Ehud*, *Tro* began to Reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own Name; about which time *Phlegon*, the chief Priest of *Apollon Delphos*, devised the *Horacal* Verse. Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*; whom *Erichon* makes King of *Phrygia*; and also of that part of which the People were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the Fable, that some Poets have applied to the passion of Love; and some to the Covetous that dare not enjoy his Riches. *Erichon* calls this *Tantalus* the Son of *Jupiter*, by the Nymph *Plata*, *Dionysius* and *Diadmus* in *Zetes*, give him another Mother. He was said to be the Son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his Ascendant, brokering Widom and Riches. It is said that when he made a Feast to the Gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own Son to be slain and drest for the Banquet; of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the Shoulders; whereby was signified, That those men which seek after divine Knowledge, prefer nothing on Earth before it; no not the care of their own Children, of all else the most dear. And where it was devised, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his Lips, and yet suffered the Torment of Hunger and Thirst, it was meant thereby, That

though he abounded (by reason of his Riches) in all delicacy of the World, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacis ceptat
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in Water seeks
for Water and doth miff,
The fleeting Fruit he catcheth at:
His long Tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the Secrets of the Gods: That is, because he taught Widom and Virtue to Mortal Men; which Story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this Fable otherwise and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in Riches, being Thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against *Cato* saith,

Tantalus à labris fletum fugientis ceptat
Flumina, quod vides? mutato vultu de te
Fausta narratur.

The Thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch
at Streams that from him flee.
Why laughst thou? the Name but chang'd,
the Tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the Gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

Immortalitatem quid furatam,
Cæcitas conviciis
Nectar Ambrosiaque dedit.

Because that stealing Immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give
To guests of his own age to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, That the Secrets of Divinity, ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneft Meats in a foul Stomack, are therein corrupted; so the most high and reserved Mysteries are often perverted, by an unclean and defiled Mind.

To you it is given (faith *Christ* in *Mark*) to know the Mystery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without all things, he doeth in Parables. So is it fained of him, that he expended all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of *St. Paul*. *Quod si Paulo licuisset esseri ea, quorum ipse cognitionem celum terram, & aquas ad illud progressu suspenderat, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius confiteretur*: If *Paul* might have uttered the things, the knowledge, whereof the third Heaven; and his going thither did bring unto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, faith *Reclius*, thought it not the part of a wife-man, *Assio* *lyram* exponere, et mysteria, quæ ita reperiunt, ut sui tubam, & silem gratularetur, & unquam a Scytharum arcu silentium indicat discipulis, ne vulgo divinum artem patefcerent, quæ mediando facilius, quàm loquendo apprehenduntur. To set an *Ass* to a *Harp*, or to teach a *Mystery*, which he would handle as a *Swain* doth a *Trumpet*, or as a *Jay* a *Vial*, or *Scythians* with unlearned *Elite*, for an Ornament. Wherefore he commended silence to his Disciples,

ciples; that they should not disclose Divine Mysteries to the common sort, which are after learn by Meditation then by Babeling. And therefore did the Egyptians Communicate their Mysteries among their Priests in certain Hieroglyphick Letters, to the end that their Secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar; and that they might bestow the more time in the Contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the Contemporaries of Aod, or Ehad, with him it is also said, that Tityus lived whom Apollo loved, because he fought to force his Mother Leteo. Esoporus hath it thus, that Tityus was the Son of Elara, the Daughter of Orchomenus; which Elara being beloved of Jupiter, to avoid Juno's revenge, he hid Elara in the Earth, where she was delivered of Tityus; whose Mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the Son of the Earth. Pausanias speaking of the Grave of this Giant, affirms that his Body occupied the third part of a furlong. But Thallus had a louder lye of his stature out of Homer.

Hom. Od. 11. Ποσειδάωνος νέον Τίτυρον παρ' Ἰγέρτα Τέρτα. Ἀλκίαν ἀνὰ κίστερ' ἔπεισε Δέω.

Nine Furlongs stretch'd lies Tityus,
who for his wicked Deeds
The hungry Birds with his
renewing Liver daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of Pampeia, a City in Phoeia, it was fabled by the Poets to the terror of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by Birds, and yet still lived, and had his Flesh renewed.

Admetus King of Thessaly lived also in this Age, whom it is said that Apollo first served as a Herdman, and afterward for his Excellent Wit was by him advanced; but having slain Hyacinthus he crost the Hellespont, saving with Neptune, where together with Neptune, he was entertained by Laomedon, and got his Bread by working in Bricks, for building of the Walls of Troy, not by making the Bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp; according to him in Ovid which saith;

Ilion officios, formataque turribus alio
Mœnia Apollinea struunt Camore Iyca.

Strong Ilium thou shalt see
with Walls and Towers high
Built with the Harp of Wife
Apollo's Harmony.

Thus the Poets; but others, that he laboured with his Hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the Labyrinth in Greece, all the Megarians Witness, faith Pausanias.

In these days also of Ehad, or (as some find it) in the days of Deborah, lived Perseus the Son of Jupiter and Danae, by whose Soldiers (as they failed out of Peloponnesus) to seek their adventure on Africa side. Medusa the Daughter and Successor of Phorcus, being weakly accompanied as the Hunted, near the Lake Triton, was surpris'd and slain; whose Beauty when Perseus beheld, he caused her Head to be imbalanced, and carried into Greece: the Beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the Beholders so astonished which beheld it, as therefore grew the Fiction, that

all that looked on Medusa's Head, were turned into Stones.

Cecrops the second King of that name, and 7. King of Athens, and Acrisius the 12, or after Eusebius, the 14. King of the Argives, began also his Reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Judge; of which the first Ruled 40. Years, and the 16. English in Chron. being the Son of Glaucon, the Son of Sisyphus, who initiated by Danae or Salmakia the Wife of Perseus of the Argives, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her Husband that he offered to force her: Whereupon Perseus sent Bellerophon into Lycia, about some Affairs of Weight, between him and his Son-in-law Phobates; giving secret Order to Phobates to dispatch him: But Phobates thinking it dishonourable to lay violent Hands on him; imposed him against Chymæra, a Monster, vomiting or breathing Fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pitying his Innocency, sent him the winged Horse Pegasus, sprung up of the Blood of Medusa, formerly slain by the Souldiers of Perseus in Africa, to transport him; a Horse that none other could Master or Bridle but Minerva: Upon which Beasts Bellerophon overcame Chymæra, and performed the other Services given him in Charge; which done, as he returned toward Lycia, the Lycian law in Ambush to have slain him; but being Victorious also over all those, he arrived to Iobates in safety; whom Iobates for his eminent Vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters, and afterward with his Kingdom: After which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to fly up to Heaven upon his Pegasus; whose Pride Jupiter disdainful, caused one of his stinging Flies to vex Pegasus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his Back, into the Valley of Cilicia, where he died Blind; of which Burthen Pegasus being discharged (as the Fable goes) flew back to Heaven; and being fed in Jupiter's own Stable, Aurora begg'd him of Jupiter to ride on before the Sun. This Tale is diversely expounded, as first by some, that it pleased God to relieve Men in their innocent, and undeserved Adversity, and to cast down those which are too high-minded: According to that which is said of Bellerophon; that when he was exposted to extrem Hazard, or rather certain Death, he found both Deliverance and Honour; but waxing over-proud and Presumptuous in his Glorious Fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of Sorrow, and ever-during Misery. Secondly by others, that under the name of Chymæra, was meant a cruel Tyrant of the Lycians, whose Ship had in her Prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-Ship, and a Dragon in the Stern, of which three Beasts this Monster Chymæra was said to be compounded, whom Bellerophon purified with a kind of Galley of such Swiftness, that it was called the flying Horse; to whom the Invention of Sails (the Wings of a Ship) are also attributed. Many other Explications are made of this Tale by other Authors; but it is not unlikely, that Chymæra was the name of a Ship, for Virgil calleth one of the greatest Ships of Æt.

Plaut. in
clavis
lib. 1.

L. 4. v. 8.

Homer in
Hymno ad
Apoll.

Lib. 8. v. 15. d. 18.

d. 15.

Paus.
in Att.

Titus a
Lake of
Africa,
which Pili-
us calleth
Pallanion.
Diodor. in
perp. Hist.

The invasion of India by Liber Pater, is by some related to happen in this age: But St. Augustine makes him far more ancient; placing him between the coming out of Egypt, and the death of Joshua.

About the end of the 80. years, ascribed to Ehad, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who gave name to Peloponnesus in Greece, now called Morca.

§. IV.

Of Deborah and her Contemporaries.

AFTER Israel had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of Gods deliverance by Ehad, and after him by Samgar, the rest began to return to their former neglect of Gods Commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the Parents of idleness Security; so is Security as fruitful in beggering and bringing forth both Danger and Subversion; of which all Estates in the World have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their Sins were again ripe for Punishment, Jabin King of Hazor, after the death of Ehad, invaded the Territory of Israel, and having in his Service 900. Iron Chariots, besides the rest of his Forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up Deborah, the Prophetess, who encouraged Barac to levy a Force out of Nephthaliim, and Zabulon, to encounter the Canaanites. That the Men of Nephthaliim were more forward than the rest in this Action, it may seem to have proceeded, partly from the Authority that Barac had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common Grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because Hazor and Harosheth the chief holds of Jabin, were in Nephthaliim. So in the days of Joshua, the Gileadites took the greatest care, because the Ammonites with whom the War was, pressed most upon them, asking their Borders. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of Ehad to deliver Israel from the Ammonites; and by the Counsel and Courage of a Woman, to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the Valiant Sisera by Jael the Kenite's Wife: So was it his Will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty Assyrian Nebuchodonosor, who was a King of Kings, and resolute, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his Brutish Melancholy; and changed his matchless Pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punished by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of Sennacherib by his Angel; or as he did the Egyptians in Moses's time: sometime by dead Bodies, as when he drowned Pharaoh by the Waves of the Sea; and the Canaanites by Hail-stones in the time of Joshua: Sometimes by the Ministry of Men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, Chedorlaomer, and his Companions, by the Hostile Servants of Abraham. He caused the Edomites and Ammonites to set upon their own Confederates the Army of the Edomites; and having slain them to kill one another in the fight of Jahazaphar; and of the like, to these a Volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did Deborah the Prophetess speak unto Barac in these words: But this journey that thou takest, shall

not be for thine Honour for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hands of a Woman. In which Victory all the strength of the Canaanites Jabin fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that Jabin himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the Fourth of Judges.

After all which Deborah giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his Powerfulness, and great Mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereto Israel was brought for their Idolatry by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations in these words: Was there a Shield or spear seen Jabin among Forty Thousand of Israel? Sie also sheweth, how the Israelites were fervered and amazed, some of them confined over Jordan, and durst not join themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead; that the Amorites kept the Sea-coast, and forlook their habitations towards the Land; and the Children of Dan who Neighbour'd the Sea, crept into their Ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were disperfed, and all in effect lost. She then curseth the Inhabitants of Ramoth, who dwelling near the place of the Battle (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist Israel, and then blest Jael the Wife of Hader the Kenite, who killed Sisera in her Tent; shewing the Ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Family of Hader were enforced in that miserable time of Subjection, to hold correspondence with Jabin the Canaanite; yet when occasion offered them means, they witnesseth their Love and Faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she denideth the Mother of Sisera, who promised her Son the Victory in her own hopes; and fancied on her self, and described the spoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praises and thanks to God only Victorious.

From the beginning of Jabin's oppression, to the end of that peace which Deborah and Barac purchased unto Israel, there passed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of Argos, which had continued 144. years, was Translated to Mycena: The Translation of this Kingdom Vices out of Pausanias writeth to this effect: After Demaus, Lynceus succeeded in Argos, after whom the Children of Abas the Son of Lynceus divided the Kingdom; of which Acrisius being eldest held Argos; it fell: Prætor his Brother possit Epiphora or Corimb, and Trymbis, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea, there being many Monuments in Trymbis, which witness Prætor's possession, faith Pausanias.

Now Acrisius was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the Son of his Daughter Danae; whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower; to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is fained that Jupiter turned himself into a Golden Shower, which falling into her lap, begat her with Child: The meaning whereof was, That some Kings Son, or other Worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with Gold; and enjoyed her, of whom Perseus was Born; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (faith Cræsus) or in shewing his Grandfather the invention of the Distaff, or leaden Ball, flew him unwillingly. After this Perseus, to avoid the infancy of Parricide in Argos, changed Kingdoms with his Uncle Prætor; and Built Mycena. This imprisonment of Danae, Sophocles reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a Brazen Vault, under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close Custody Horace hath this witty observation.

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Incus

Inclusam Danaen, turris abena,
Robustæque fores, & vigilans Canum
Tristes excubie, muneribus satis
Nocturnis ad adulterium:
Si non Acrisium Virginis abdite
Cassidem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus
Riffissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Conversio in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perventura amat sacra, potentius
Ista fulmineo.

The brazen Tower with Doors close bar'd,
And watchful Bandogs frightful guard,
Kept safe the Maidenhead
Of Danae from secret love:
Till smiling Venus, and wife Jove
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a Golden Shower,
The God into her lap did power
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Through guards and stony walls to break,
The Thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Then is a golden Treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives were these,

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first Year of Jacob, and the Sixty-first of Isaac; from which time, to the end of Sthenelus; Caesar mis-reckoneth 400 years. This Kingdom before the Translation, Eusebius accounteth to have flood 544 years, others but at 417. It was the Daughter of this Inachus, whom the Egyptians called Isis.

Phorcæus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piræus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Cretopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lyncæus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the Translation to Mycene, Mar.
Scotus finds these Kings.

Perseus,
Sthenelus,
Euristheus.

The Sons of Pelops by Hippodamia;
Atreus by Europe had Agamemnon
Thyestes, and Menelaus.

Agamemnon,
Euristheus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Penthius and
Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, and the last; beginning with Euristheus; and ending with Penthius. In Tisamenus's time the Heraclidae returned into Peloponnesus, of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debra, were Midas who reigned in Phrygia; and Las who built Ilium; with others mentioned in our Chronological Table, as Contemporaries with Debra.

§. V.

Of Gideon, and of Dadalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this Age.

Debra and Barac being dead; the Midianites afflicted by the Amalekites infested Israel. For when under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any Quiet or Prosperity; the Judge was no sooner Dead, than they turned to their impious Idolatry. Therefore now the Neighbouring Nations did to Israel in a short time (the Hand of God being withheld from their Defence) as to save themselves, they crept into Caves of the Mountains, and other the like Places of hardest access: their Enemies possessing all the Plains and fruitful Valleys; and in Harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their Cattle destroying all that grew up, covering the Fields as thick as Grass-hoppers; which servitude lasted Seven Years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up Gideon the Son of Joash, afterward called Jerubbaal; whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hear him in his Enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: As also how it pleased God by a few select Persons, namely 300. out of 120000. Men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts: Each of these 300. by Gideon's Appointment carried a Trumpet, and Light in a Pitcher, Instruments of more Terror than Force, with which he gave the great Army of their Enemies an Alarm; who hearing so loud a Noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many Pitchers broken) to many lights about them, esteemed the Army of Israel to be infinite, and stricken with a sudden Fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken; and were slaughtered in great Numbers, two of their Princes being made Prisoners and slain. In his return the Ephraimites began to quarrel with Gideon, because he made War without their Assistance, being then greedy of Glory, the Victory being gotten; who (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the Enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But Gideon appealing them with a mild answer followed after the Enemy, in which pursuit being tired with Travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his Enemies, he desired relief from the Inhabitants of Succoth, to the end that (his Men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two Kings of the Midianites, which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations which had invaded and wasted Israel; to wit, Oreb and Zeeb, which were taken already, and Zeeb and Salmanna which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of Succoth, sought the like relief from the Inhabitants of Peniel, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these Places he threatened therefore the Revenge, which in his return from the Prosecution of the other two Princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the Flesh of those of Succoth with Thorns and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants

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and City of Peniel: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their Brethren the Israelites, especially after so great a Victory, if I may presume to make conjecture; it seems likely, first that those Cities set over Jordan, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the Moabites, and Ammonites, and Midianites, into Israel, had either made their own peace with those Nations; and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that Zebo and Salmanna were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the Future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all Ages. For there are Multitudes of Men, especially of those which follow the Wars; that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praiseworthy Actions, for the Honour and Safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary Success. And such Malicious Hearts can rather be contented, that their Prince and Country should suffer hazard, and want, than that such Men as they dislike, should be the Authors or Actors of any Glory or Good to either.

Now Gideon, how or wherefore it were that he refreshed himself, and his weary and hungry Soldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former Victory to the utmost; and finding Zebo and Salmanna in Karkor (suspecting no farther attempt upon them) he again surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining; having put to the Sword in the former attempt 120000. and whilst he took Zebo and Salmanna Prisoners; whom because themselves had executed Gideon's brethren before at Tabor, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request flew them with his own hands: His Son, whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this Marvellous Victory, he took revenge of the Elders of Succoth, and of the Citizens of Peniel; forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his Brethren the Israelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own Children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of Cruelty and Mercy are never left unsatisfied; for as he flew the Seventy Elders of Succoth with great and unusual Torments, so were his own Seventy Sons all, but one, Murdered by his own Bar-bard Abimelech. The like Analogy is observed by the Rabbin, in the greatest of the Plagues which God brought upon the Egyptians, who having caused the Male Children of the Hebrews to be slain, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own First-born by his Angel, and drowning Pharaoh and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a World of Examples might be given, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the People reverence Gideon in the present for this Victory, and their own Deliverance, as they offered him the Sovereignty over them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; I will not Reign over you, neither shall my Child Reign over you, for the Lord shall, &c. But he desired the People that they would bestow on him the Golden Ear-rings, which every man had gotten. For the Israelites, neighbours, and mix with the Midianites used to wear them: the weight of all which was a Thousand and Seven Hundred Shekels of Gold, which makes of ours, 2380.

pounds, if we follow the account of the Shekles Vulgar. And because he converted that Gold into an Ephod, a Garment of Gold, Blew Silk, Purple, Scarlet, and fine Linen belonging to the High-Priest only, and set up the same in his own City of Ephra or Ephra, which drew Israel to Idolatry, the same was the destruction of Gideon and his House.

There was another kind of Ephod besides this of the High-Priests which the Levites used, and so did David when he chased the Am; and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of Linen only.

Now if any Man demand, how it was possible for Gideon with 300. Men to destroy 120000. of their Enemies; and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember that although Gideon with 300. gave the first alarm, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Army came into the slaughter, and pursuit, for it is written; That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephthali, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites: For this Army Gideon left in the Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his Enemies, who with the noise of his 300. Trumpets came after him to the Execution.

There lived with Gideon Agens the Son of Pandion, who Reigned in Athens; Euristheus King of Mycene, Atreus and Thyestes the Sons of Pelops, who bare dominion over a great part of Peloponnesus, and after the death of Euristheus, the Kingdom of Mycene fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Atreus who holding his Brother in Jealousy, as an Accompter both of his Wife and Crown, flew the Children of Thyestes, and causing their flesh to be dreid did therewith Fealt their Father. But this cruelty was not unrevengeed. For both Atreus and his Son Agamemnon were slain by a base Son of Thyestes, yes the Grand-Children, and all the lineage of Atreus died by the same Sword.

In Gideon's time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of Dadalus and Icarus: Dadalus they say, having slain his Nephew Atreus, fled to Minos King of Crete for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for Minos a Labyrinth like unto that of Egypt. A reward he was faine to have framed an artificial Cow for Pasiphae the Queen, that she, being in Love with a fair Bull, might by putting her self into the Cow fastise her lust, a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless Emperor Domitian exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the People of Rome in his Amphitheatre; of purpose as may seem to verifie the old Fable. For so it appears by those Verses of Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable Show as a goodly Pageant in those vicious times.

Junctam Pasiphaen Diis credite Tauris
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cælar longæva venisæ
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Pasiphae, Servius makes a less unhoneit construction of it, thinking that Dadalus was of her Counsel, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretary of Minos called Taurus, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with Child, and that she being delivered of two Sons, the one resembling Taurus, the other her Husband Minos, it was faine that she was delivered of the Menster Minotaur half a Man,

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and half a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cos* King of *Sicily*; in which passage he made such Expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned Wings for himself, and his Son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with Boats, which had Oars only, *Dadalus* framed Sails both for his own Boat, and for his Sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new Invention, *Learn* bearing himself over-bold was over-born and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with Legs, Arms and Hands; whereas those that preceded him, could only present the Body and Head of those Men, whom they cared to counterfeit, and yet the Workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the Images of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the Son of *Apollo*, and *Tersibolus* who instructed *Thamirus*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moon's Course, and of the Generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp.

Again, in this Age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Odipus* are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great Robber by Sea and Land, was by the *Corinthian* Army led by *Odipus* overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of Riddles to those whom she mastered, was meant by the Rocky and inaccessible Mountain near *Thebes* which she defended, and by *Odipus* dissolving her Problem, his Victory over her. She was painted with Wings, because exceeding Swift, and with the Body of a Lyon for her Cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable, did not the time improve it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the Wife of *Cadmus*; who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the Sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despiteful part, with her own Troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp War upon the *Thebans*, till by *Odipus* overthrow. About this time did *Minos* thrust his Brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp War with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his Son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He sought himself of *Megara* by the Treason of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every Year seven of their Sons; which tribute *Thebes* released, as shall be shewed when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thala*. In the end he was slain at *Camērion* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dadalus*; and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Gyant, who was said to have 60. and odd Cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a Body found by *Sertorius* the Roman in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*; yet for my self I think it but a low lye. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning Wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth; and because he cast so many Men to the Ground, he was feigned to be the Son of the Earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Augustine*

affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*; but of *Lybia*; and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Esopi* in *Plato* expoundeth to be a fabel Sophister. Ch.

VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

About the Eleventh Year of *Gideon*, was that Famous Expedition of the *Argonauts*; of which many Fabulous Discourses have been written, the Summ of which is this.

Pelias the Son of *Neptune*, Brother by the Mother's side to *Asius*, who was *Jafon's* Father, reigning in *Iolcus* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one Shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jafon* to him, who coming hastily, lost one Shoe in passing over a Brook: Whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? To which question, when *Jafon* had briefly answered that he would find him to *Colchis*, to fetch the Golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that Service. Therefore *Jafon* prepared for the Voyage, having a Ship built by *Argus*, the Son of *Phryxus*, by the Counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest Men of *Greece* to Sall with him: As *Typhus* the Master of the Ship, *Orpheus* the Famous Poet, *Caistor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telemachus* and *Peleus*, Sons of *Æacus*, and Fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged Sons of *Boreas*, *Amphicrates* the great South-layer, *Mylæus* of *Calidius* that slew the great Wild-Boar; *Acalophus* and *Jaleonum* or *Almenus* the Sons of *Atreus*, who were afterwards at the last War of *Troy*, *Latrus* the Father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a Warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lyncus* the Sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caistor* and *Pollux* slew *Caistor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lyncus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with Lightning.

These and many other went with *Jafon* in the Ship *Argo*; in whose Prow was a Table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could Speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the Women of which Island, having slain all the Males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* Life, were nevertheless contented to take their Pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*, where dwelt a People called *Doliones*, over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that looting thence by Night, they were driven by contrary Winds back into their Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones*, to be the same Men; but rather taken for some of their Bordering Enemies, by which means they fell to blows, inflicting much that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many Tears they solemnized his Funeral. Then departed they again and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the Son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hydra* the Darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Mysia*, called *Cius*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argo*: From *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bithyrians* the Ancient

inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amicus* the Son of *Neptune* was then King. He being a trusting man, compelled all Strangers to fight with him, at Whod-batts, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by *Pollux*. The *Bithyrians* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmysus*, a Town in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a South-layer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* were said to be a kind of Birds, which had the Faces of Women and foul long Claws, very filthy Creatures, which when the Table was furnished for *Phineus* came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the Victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured.

When therefore *Phineus* craved his advice, and direction for their Voyage: You shall do well (saith he) first of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to ask my Counsel. Whereupon they caused the Table to be covered, and Meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accustomed pranks; when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged Young Men saw this, they drew their Swords, and pursued them through the Air; some say that both the *Harpies* and the Young Men died of weariness in the fight, and pursue. But *Apollonius* saith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the *Yobites*, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advised them what of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of Winds running therrup, did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them into the passage; and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her, if not then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the Pigeon had on his bill a piece of other Tail, they observed the next opening of the Rocks and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, only the end of the Poop was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the Tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have: Good Will; for the Gods; say they, had decreed that after the passage of a Ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Marianthi*, a people inhabiting about the Mouth of the River *Partholus*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Blindus* a South-layer of their Company was slain by a Wild Boar; also here *Triphis* died, and *Atreus* undertook to fear the Ship. So they passed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucasus*; and came to the River *Phrygius*, which runs through the Land of *Colchis*. When they were entered the Haven, *Jafon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming; desiring him to deliver the Golden Fleece, which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to do, if he alone would yoke together two Brazen-footed Bulls, and plowing the Ground with them, sow Dragons Teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sow at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out Fire; *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whilst *Jafon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medea* the Daughter of *Æetes*, fell in to a most vehement Love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in Magic, she came pri-

vily to him, promising her help, if he would assure her of his Marriage. To this *Jafon* agreed, and confirmed his promise by Oath. Then gave he to him a Medicine, wherewith the bad him to annoint both his Body and his Armor, which would preserve him from their violence; further the told him, that Armed Men would arise out from the Ground, from the Teeth which he should sow, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, the bad him throw Stones amongst them, as soon as they came up together, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jafon* followed her Counsel; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their Ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Jafon*, and brought him by Night to the Fleece, which hung upon an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where they lay it was kept by a Dragon, that never slept. This Dragon was by the Magic of *Medea* cast into a sleep: so taking away the Golden Fleece, the went with *Jafon* into the Ship *Argo*: having with her, her Brother *Ablyrtus*.

Æetes understanding the practices of *Medea*, provided to pursue the Ship; whom when *Medea* perceived to be at hand, she flew her Brother, and cutting him in pieces she scattered his Limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his Daughter to pass: the parts of his Son he Bured in a place, which thereupon he called *Toni*; the Greek word signifieth *Drooping*. Afterwards he sent many of his Subjects to seek the Ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not back *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*, which is *Poin Italy*.

Jupiter offended with the slaughter of *Ablyrtus*, vexed them with a great Tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the *Ilands Ablyrtides*, there the Ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them, and said, That the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Cora*, from the Murder of *Ablyrtus*. Now they thereupon Sailing between the Coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and along the Coast of *Eubœa*, came to the Ile of *Ætea*, wherein *Circæ* dwelt, who cleansed them: Thence they Sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sung to allure them into danger; but *Orpheus* on the other side sung so well that he befayed them. Only *Butes* swam out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carried to *Lyliæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having past the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the Stragling Rocks which seemed to cast out great force of Flares and Smoak. But *Theseus* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sicily* where the beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Coryra* the land of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the Men of *Colchis*, that had been sent by *Æetes* in quest of the Ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his Will, betook themselves to new habitations; some of them dwell in the Mountains of *Coryra*, others in the *Ilands Ablyrtides*, and some coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the Ship

Esop. in Ch.

Arg. de ii. Di. l. 18. c. 12.

term, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggerly, mutable, and ungrateful Multitude, in the end banished. Some say *Polycrates*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on Shells, which was a device of his own.

Strab. lib. 10.
Paus. in Cor.

In Egypt.
Helen.

Jud. 10.2

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was Fifteen Years Old, from *Aphidna*, which *Cypris* and *Pollux* over-turned, when they followed after *Thebes*, to recover their Sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Thebes* begat her with *Child* at *Argos*, where she erected a Temple to *Lucina*; but her Age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex factis fructum tulit ille petunt*, &c. The Rape *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Isis*, who governed *Israel* Twenty two Years, to whom succeeded *Jephthah* or *Jephthah* Six Years, to whom *Ishmael*, who ruled Seven Years, and then *Habdon* Eight Years; in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Thebes* had a Child by her: in the first of *Isis*, (at which time we must count her no less than Fifteen Years Old; for the Women did not commonly begin to young as they do now,) she was then at least two and Fifty Years old, at the Destruction of *Troy*; and when she was stolen by *Paris* eight and thirty; but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunsing* with *Halicarnassus* do in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first year of *Demophon* King of *Athen*; the Successor of *Menestheus*, the Successor of *Thebes*, Seventeen days before the *Summer Tropic*; and that about the Eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Hellepont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there; and in the next Spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Levinum*. But *S. Augustine* hath it otherwise, that when *Polypides* governed *Sicyon*, *Menestheus* *Athen*, *Tautanes* *Affria*, *Habdon* *Israel*, then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty Ships the remainder of the *Trojans*; but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

Euseb.
Chron. Eccl.
lib. 1.

August. civ.
del. 1. 18.
c. 19.

In *Sicyona* *Phaestus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thebes*. His Successors, *Adrastus* who reigned four Years, and *Polypides* who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Isis*; so is also *Menestheus* King of *Athen*, and *Aeneas*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Affria*, during the Government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitres*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the Son of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Ammenesis*.

§ VII.

Of the War of Thebes which was in the Age.

IN this Age was the War of *Thebes*, the most Ancient that ever *Greek* Poet or Historian wrote of. Wherefore the *Romane* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this Objection.

— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, semperque aeterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojae,
Non alias alij quocunque creatae post.

If all this World had no Original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troy*'s last Fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder War.

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very Salvage, the Inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes; and no Man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore Merchandize and other Intercourse they used little, neither did they Plant many Trees, or sow more Corn than was necessary for their Sustainance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of Money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of Gold and Brass by the worth in Cattle; saying that the Golden Armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100. Bees, and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by Land and Sea were common and without shame, and to steal Horses or Kine was the usual Exercise of their great Men. Their Towns were not many, and thereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Myrae* the Principal City in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable; briefly, *Greece* was then in her Infancy, and though in some small Towns of that half Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietness within their narrow Bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them; yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider, what *Thucydides*, the greatest of their Historians, hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his History. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle Chroniclers use when they want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Frights, or dry Summers, and other such things which no Man cares to read; so did they, who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Ruins which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*; or else rehearse Fables of Men changed into Birds, of strange Monsters of Adultery committed by their Gods, and the mighty Men which they begat; without writing ought that favoured of Humanity, before the time of the War of

Thebes; the brief whereof is this: *Oedipus* the Son of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been cast forth when he was an Infant, because an Oracle foretold what evil should come to pass by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by Marriage of the Queen *Jocasta*, called by *Homer* *Epicaste*; on whom, not knowing her to be his Mother, he begat two Sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his Parents, he understood the grievous Murder and Incest he had committed, he tore out his own Eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife and Mother did hang her self. Some say, that *Oedipus* having his Eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his Sons, because they suffered their Father to be cast out of the Town, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sons made this Agreement, that the one of them should Reign one Year, and the other another Year; and so by course interchangeably; but this appointment was ill observed. For when *Polynices* had after a Years Government resigned the Kingdom to his Brother; or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had Reigned the first year, he refused to give over the Rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the Son of *Talaus* then Reigned, unto whose Palace coming by Night, he was driven to seek Lodging in an Out-House, on the Backside.

There he met with *Tydeus* the Son of *Oeneas*, who was fled from *Caldon*; with whom striving about their Lodging, he fell to blows. *Adrastus* hearing the noise, came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the Shield of *Tydeus* a Boar, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembered an old Oracle, by which he was advised to give his two Daughters in Marriage to a Lion and a Boar; and accordingly he did bestow his Daughter *Ergia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deiroke* upon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose levying an Army, and assembling as many Valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was desirous among others to carry *Amphiarus*, the Son of *Oicleus*, a great Sooth-sayer, and a Valiant Man, along with him. But *Amphiarus*, who is said to have foreseen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains should escape, save only *Adrastus*, did both utterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and periwaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eryphile* the Wife of *Amphiarus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that she should cause her Husband to assist him. The Sooth-sayer knowing what should work his destiny, forbade his Wife to take any Gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her Eyes so precious a Jewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controversy, between *Amphiarus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of Compromise put unto the decision of *Eryphile*, either of them being bound by Solemn Oath to stand to her appointment: She ordered the matter so, as a Woman should, that loved a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was more difficult to foresee than avoid Destiny, fought such comfort as Revenge might afford; giving in charge to his Sons, that when they came to full age, they should kill their Mo-

ther, and make strong War upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his Forces, of which, the Seven chief Leaders were, himself, *Amphiarus*, *Capanus*, and *Hippomedon* (instead of whom some name *Merchus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopaeus* the *Aetolian*, Son of *Melaeger* and *Asiantia*. When the Army came to the *Nemeas* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they desired to help them to some Water, the having a Child in her Arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring; but e're she returned, a Serpent had slain the Child. This Woman was *Hippyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom the would have faved when the Women of the Isle flew all the Males by Conspiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* Life. For such her piety, the *Lemnian* Wives did sell her to *Pyrras*, and the *Pyrras* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemea*, whose young Son *Ophelet* or *Archemorus*, the did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When upon the Childs Death he hid her self for fear of her Master, *Amphiarus* told her Sons where they should find her; and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent, which had slain the Child, and in Memory of the chance, did institute Solemn Funeral Games called *Nemeas*, wherein *Adrastus* won the prize with his Swift Horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with Whorl-bats, *Amphiarus* at Running and Quoting, *Polynices* at Wrestling, *Parthenopaeus* at Shooting, and one *Ladaeus* in Darting. This was the first Institution of the *Nemeas* Games, which continued after Famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are who think, that they were ordained in Honour of one *Opheletus*, a *Lacedaemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slain the *Nemean* Lion: But the common Opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From *Nemea* the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Cithaeron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what merite was in the *Thebans*, he made many Challenges, and obtained Victory in all of them, not without much Envy and Malice of the People, who laid Fifty Men in Ambush, to intercept him at his return to the Army, of which Fifty he slew all but One, whom he sent back to the City as a Reporter and Witness of his Valour. When the *Argives* understood how revolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time Seven Gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger, could scarce Muster up more Thousand than *Thebes* had Gates) did compels the Town. *Adrastus* quartered before the Gate *Homolidae*, *Capanus* before the *Oggian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenus*, *Amphiarus*, at *Proetia*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchusa*, *Parthenopaeus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hippisla*. In the mean Season, *Eteocles* having Armed his Men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took Advice of *Tiresias* the Sooth-sayer, who promised Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menaeus* the Son of *Creon* a Principal Man of the City, would vow himself to be slain in Honour of *Mars* the God of War. So full of Malice and Pride is the De-

vil, and so envious at his Creator's Glory, that he not only challenge Honours due to God alone, as Oblations and Sacrifices with a Divine Worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves, and our Children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded Mens Understandings, and bewitched their Wills with Ignorance and blind Devotion. And such abominable Sacrifice of Men, Maids, and Children hath he exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Germans, Cyprians, Egyptians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through Ignorance or Fear they were most filled with Superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he wax less impudent in Cunning, though not less malicious in deferring the continuance of such barbarous Inhumanity. For King Diphilus in Cyprus without advice of any Oracle, made the Idol of that Country reit contented with an Oxe instead of a Man. *Theribon* forbade human Sacrifices in *Africk*; and crucified the Priests in that Groves where they had prafticed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown Men of Hay instead of the living, yet among the Salvages in the *West Indies* their cruel Offerings have been prafticed of late Ages; which as it is a sufficient Argument, that *Satan's* Malice is only covered and hidden by this subtilty among civil People: So may it serve as a probable Conjecture of the Barbarians then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menecius* as soon as he understood, that his Death might purchase Victory to his People, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the Gates of the City. Then was a Battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing Ladders to the Walls, got up upon the Rampart; whence, when he fell or was cast down, or (as Writers have it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this Battle, which caused both sides to desire that *Ereclus* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in single fight; whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another Battle was fought after their Deaths, wherein the Sons of *Athacus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the Sons flew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the seven Princes; *Parthenopaeus* being another of the seven (who was said to have been so fair, that none would hurt him when his Face was bare) was slain by *Ambidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the Son of *Nepeme*; and the Valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*; yet ere *Tydeus* died, the Head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiarus*, which he cruelly tore open and swallowed up the Brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Jupiter* that remedy for his Wound, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him; whereby perhaps was meant, that his Honour, which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly Rage, that he shewed at his death.

The Host of the *Argives* being wholly defeated, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarus* fled; of whom *Amphiarus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the Earth, near to the River *Ilmenus*, together with his Chariot, and to loit out of Mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead Carcasses or drowned in the River; and his Body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good Horse *Arian*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercy, he made Supplication for their Aid to recover their Bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the Government of *Thebes*, after the Death of *Ereclus*, would not suffer the Bodies of the *Argives* to be buried; but caused *Antigone*, the only Daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had fought out and buried the Body of her Brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon's* Edict. The *Athensians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did lend forth an Army under the Conduct of *Thesius*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the Bodies of the *Argives* to Sepulture; at which time *Ecadene* the Wife of *Capaneus*, threw her self into the Funeral Fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the Sons of those Captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any less revenge should be taken of their Fathers Death, than the ruine of the City; wherefore ten years after having levied Forces, *Aegialeus* the Son of *Adrastus*, *Dymodes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaeus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Eurypius* of *Meistheus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmaeon* the Son of *Amphiarus*; with whom also went his Brother *Ambidicus*. *Apollo* promised Victory if *Alcmaeon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another Oracle he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the Son of *Ereclus*, then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the Battle, and slew *Aegialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) by *Alcmaeon*. After this disaster the Citizens began to desire Composition; but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their Wives and Children away from thence by Night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Ephica*. The *Argives* when they perceived that their Enemies had quieted the Town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the Walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by *Thersander*, the Son of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the City from utter Destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII

§. VIII.

Of Jephtha, and how the Three hundred Years which he speaks of, Jud. 11. vers. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, A. C. 1. 20. 1. Reg. 6. 1. together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.

AFTER the Death of *Jair* (near about whose times these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose Government, and that of *Tholo*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law, and Service of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoining, and embraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Mosabites*, and *Ammonites*; with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*; so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforced to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base Born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of Godly Compassion, than of devilish Hatred and Revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon Condition that they should establish him their Governour after Victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammon's* Right, and fortified the Title of *Israel* by many Arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the War; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them; and did not only beat them out of the Plains, but forced them over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Emath*, and *Abel* of the Vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the Holy-Land. After which Victory it is said, that he performed the vain Vow, which he made, to Sacrifice the first living Creature he encountered, coming out of his House to meet him; which happened to be his own Daughter, and only Child, who with all patience submitted herself, and only desired two Months time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the Issues of her Father ended; but the other opinion that she was not offered, is more probable, which *Borrows* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the Children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* Victory, otherwise making way to their future Calamity, and to the most grievous Slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had contended with *Gideon*. *Jephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himself against their Fury, in the encounter slew of them Two and Forty Thousand, which so weakened the Body of the Land, as the *Philistines* had an easie Conquest of them all not long after: *Jephtha* after he had Judged *Israel* Six years died; to whom succeeded *Izraan*, who Ruled Seven years. After him *Eloa* was their Judge Ten years: in all which time *Israel* had Peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Eloa*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* Account

of the times *Jud. 11. 28.* (where he says that *Israel* had then possessed the East side of *Jordan* 300. years) to speak somewhat of the times of the *Judges*, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scripture, touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: The first is in this dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *St. Paul* *Act. 13.* the third that which is in the First of Kings. *Jephtha* here challenge the possession of *Gilead* for 300. years: *Saint Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it seems, from the end of *Jehua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. years. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon's* Temple, there were consumed 480. years. To the first *Berosus* findeth *Jephtha's* 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Jehua*, 40. of *Orthoniel*, 80. of *Adad* and *Sangar*, 40. of *Deborah*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 2. of *Tholo*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephtha* (*faith Berosus*) putteth or propoth a certain number, upon an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum aq. propi. tr. centesimum, ex quo nullus Isem ea de re movetur* *Israel*: So he speaks (*faith he*) as meaning, that then it was about or well nigh the Three Hundredth years, since *Israel* possessed these Countries, no man making question of their right. *Codeman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephtha* named by 67. to wit, 367. whereof 71. were spent in *Israel's* Captivity, at several times, of which (as *Codeman* thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole Sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should have justly objected, that 71. of those years, the *Israelites* were in Captivity and Vassals to their Neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name Three Hundred years, it was enough for Prefcription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 367. years, besides the 71. years of Captivity or Affliction, to be added to *Berosus* his 266. he addeth also 28. years more, and so maketh up the Sum of 367. These 28. years he findeth out thus; 20. years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Jephtha* and *Orthoniel*; and where *Berosus* alloweth but 18. years to *Jephtha* his Government, *Codeman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Jephtha*; whereas *St. Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melancthon* 32. The Truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of Affliction (to wit, 34. years of the 71. if we add them to the 266. years of *Berosus*, which reckon none of these, we have the full number of 300. years. Neither is it strange, that *Jephtha* should leave out more than half of these years of Affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. years, and say that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion, making those 300. years remembered by *Jephtha*, to be 306. which odd years, *faith he*, *Jephtha* omitted. But because the years of every *Judge* as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306. but do only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Deserts* of *Arabia Petraea*; which Forty years of *Moses*, added to the number which *Berosus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luther's* judgment herein; for in the dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written

Jud. 10.

The Per-

fection

of the

Ammonites

lasted 18

years and

ended in

the year of

the World

2830. in

which

year Jeph-

tha began

Jud. 11.

Jud. 11.

33

Ex. 10

Jud.

Jud. 12.

2925.

2941.

Jud. 11.

28.

Act. 13.

20.

1 King.

6. 11.

Id. facit

numero

certo pro

secretis pro-

phetis.

hour to let down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his People, delivered them out of Bondage, and ruled them by *Judges*, and *Prophets*, unto the time of *Saul*; did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose Succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which tended as a Preface to the Declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact Calculation of Times (the History being so well known, and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. years consumed in the Wilderness, whereof no man doubted; saying, that God suffered their manners in the Wilderness about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land unto the days of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an 100 and 11. years of Bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact Computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent Digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not so needful as laborious, to search out of this place, that which the Apostle did not here intend to reach, when the Sum of 480. years is so expressly and purposely set down.

Now that the Words of *St. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copy through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but must be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the Vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. years to the reign of *Saul*; whereas it is manifest, that those years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea that far the greater part of them were spent under the Government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for those that with so much Cunning forfake the general Opinion, when it favoured not such Exposition, as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over great; I had rather commend their Diligence, than follow their Example. The Words of *St. Paul* were sufficiently justified by *Berwaldus*, as having reference to a common Opinion among the Scribes in those days, that the 111. years of Servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. years ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand so contradict, but rather chose to speak as the Vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; as it were four hundred and fifty years. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it to be so indeed; and therefore diffuses the members to make the account even. In so doing he dalheth himself against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth call up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomon's Temple*, not omitting the very month it fell.

Now (as commonly the first Apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own Interpretation of *St. Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find some new Exposition for that, which is of it self most plain, than to examine his own Conjecture upon a place that is full of Controversie. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loofeth himself in those ways, wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new Opinions, he must needs answer, That *Orbital* could not govern above 25. years, because then was the taking of *Lailah*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*: That the *Danites* must needs have taken *Lailah* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards, from the Foundation of the Temple, to any Action that might be termed the Coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of Servitude; And that the years of Servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure *St. Paul* with an Exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the Decision of any judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephtha* are referred the Death of *Hercules*, the Rape of *Helen* by *Paris*; and the Provisions which her Husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his Brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycene*, made for her recovery. Others refer this Rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibsan*; from which time, if the War of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Alen* or *Elen*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves; the rule holding not true in this War, *longa preparatio Belli celerem offert Victoriis*; That a long Preparation begets a speedy Victory; for the *Greeks* consumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy* as it seems was entered, sacked and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the sixth year of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule died, after he had been the Father of 40. Sons and 30. Grand-Children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. years of *Israel's* Oppression by the *Philistines* (of which *Jud. 13. v. 1.*) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with that Opinion, *Habdon*; I see no great reason for that Opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephtha*, for not calling them to War over *Jordan*. *Jephtha*, for he held them in servitude in their own Territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 40.000. armed Men into the Field, it is not likely that they were then oppressed; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistines*, with so powerful an Army, for their own deliverance, than against their own Brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other Enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Samson*, and afterwards; or else they must be referred to the interregnum between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Samson*, such as it was.

Of the Genealogy of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historical Truth.

THE War at *Troy*, with other Stories hereupon depending, (because the ruins of this City, by most *Chronologists* is found in the time of *Habdon*, Judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather chose here to intreat of in one intire Narration, beginning with the lineal Descent of their Princes, than to break the Story into pieces, by rehearsing a-part in divers years the diversity of Occurrences.

The History of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their Original, and of their Continuance. It is commonly held that *Tenor* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdom. This is the Opinion of *Virgil*; which if he (as *Remonius* thinks) took from *Bersius*, it is the more probable; if *Amnius* borrowed it from him, then it rests upon the Authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus.

Encl. 3.

*Crete Jovis magni medio jacet insula Ponto:
Mons Idaeus ubi, & gentis canabula nostra.
Centum Urbes habitum magnas, uberrima Regna:
Maximus undae Pater (sic ut audis recorder)
Teucrus Rhodæ primum eff advenit ad ora:
Operatque locum Regno. Nondum Ilium & aene
Pergamæa petierat; habitabant quilibet omni.
Hinc Mater Cebryx Cybele, Corymbiaque ara,
Ideumque nemus.*

In the main Sea the Isle of *Crete* doth lie:
Where *Troes* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is mount *Ida*; there in fruitful Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand,
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Tenor the eldest of our Grand-fires came
To the *Rhætan* shores; and raigned there
Ere yet fair *Ilium* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*; their dwelling-place they sought
In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybel's* rights were brought:
Hence *Corymbian* Cymbales did remove:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* Grove.

Thus it seems by *Virgil*, who followed surely good Authority, that *Tenor* first gave name to that Country, wherein he raigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*; of which *Dardanus* in the same Book he speaks thus.

*Est locus Helperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens Armis atque ubere glebe.
Oenotrii culere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, duci de nomine, gentem.*

*Hæ nobis propria sed, hinc Dardanus ortus:
Tefulque Pater, genus a quo Prinsepz nostrum.*

Helperia the *Graecians* call the place;
An ancient fruitful Land, a War like Race.
Oenotrians held it, now the latter progeny
Gives it their Captain's name, and calls it *Italy*.
This seat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Ilium*.

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Aeneas ita ferre senex, bis ortus ut agros
Dardanus Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Troiciamque Somum, quæ nunc Samolracia fertur.
Hinc Ilium Corythi Tyrrhenâ ab lide profectum
Aeneas nunc (sic stellantis regia celi)
Accipit, &c.*

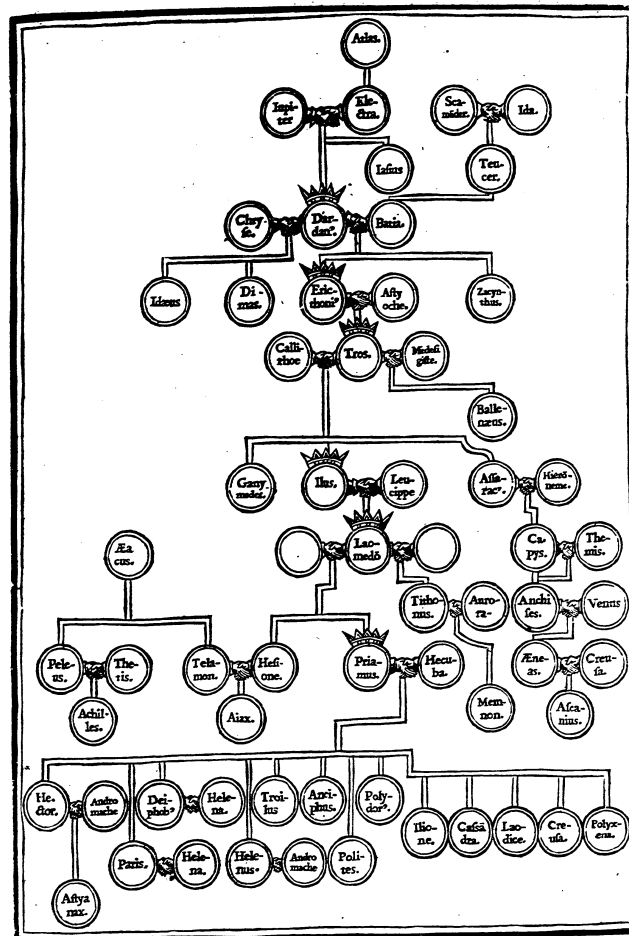
Some old *Aununcians*, I remember well
(Though time have made the Fame obscure)
would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*;
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flee.
And leaving *Troisfame* (where he earlt had place)
With *Corytus* did fall to *Samsthrace*;
But now inthron'z'd the stars on high,
In Golden Palace of the flarry skie.

But contrary to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Remonius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Tenax*, and *Thracæ*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the Son of *Japhet*; and that the *Dardanians*, *Myfians*, and *Alcarians*, mixt with the *Trojians*, were German Nations, descended from *Alphenax*, the Son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Alcanis* in *Asia* took Name. That *Alphenax* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the *Alcani*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*; that the name of *Tenor* came of *Tar*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Tenor*, whereas *Halicarnassus* maketh him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose Authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the Truth, which is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow; seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Tenor* were of *Crete* or no. *Remonius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that think him a *Phrygian*, by which re-

port he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not Founder of the City and his Daughter or Niece *Batis*, was the second Wife of *Dardanus*, Founder of *Troy*. *Remeas* further thinks, that *Atlas* reigned in *Samos*, and gave his Daughter *Electra* to *Corus*, or *Coriis*; and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first Wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds makes *Dardanus* the Son of *Electra* by *Japhet*, which *Electra* was the Daughter to whom the bare *Falsus*, *Annius* out of his *History* finds the name of *Camboislacon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coris*, as a Title of Dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jafus*; and further telling us very particularly of the Faction between these Brethren, which grew to such heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samos*. The obliquity of the Hiltory gives leave to *Annius* of

saying what he list. I thar love not to use such li-
 berty, will forbear to determine any thing here-
 in. But if *Dardanius* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it
 must have been of some elder *Jupiter* than the Fa-
 ther of those that lived about the War of *Troy*.
 So is it likewise probable, that *Atlas* the Father of
Electra, was rather an *Italian* than an *African*,
 which also is the opinion of *Boccaccio*. For (as hath
 often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and
 many of almost every name of the Gods; but it
 was the Custom to ascribe to some one the Acts
 of the rest, with all belonging to them. There-
 fore I will not greatly trouble my self, with mak-
 ing any narrow search into these fabulous Anti-
 quities, but far down the Pedigree according to
 the general fame; allowing to *Tenor* such Pa-
 rents as *Dionorus* gives, because others give him
 none, and carrying the Line of *Dardanius* in man-
 ner following,

Atlas



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings Reign, I have choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtory, whereon depends the moſt ancient computation of times among the *Greeks*, I might not follow uncertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and general paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than my accident befalling that City whilſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by *Diadorni* to be 750 years more ancient than the beginning of the 941th *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372.2 days paſſed between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the firſt year of the 941th, it is manifeſt that the remainder of 750. that is 408. years went between the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt inſtitution of thoſe games of *Iſpion*. *Diad. in. Pref.* if the authority of *Diadorni* be good proof, which elſewhere tells us, that the return of the *Heraclids*, which was eighty Years after the fall of *Troy*, was three hundred twenty eight years before the firſt *Olympiad*. *Herod.*

Diogen.
Helioc.
Antiq. l. 2.

Solin. Po-
et. lib. 2.

Ench. de
prop.
Eug. l. 10 c. 3.
Cic. Ait. 1.
Prom. lib. 1.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiads*, that is four and twenty years after the beginning of those Games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in express words makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 408. years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The fumm is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same Book. Hereunto doth *Enchiridion* reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other Collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way nor depend upon any collateral History, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred and eight, we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Enchiridion*, who leads us from *Dardanius* on-wards through the Reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time, which passed under *Iunonia*, we are fain to do, as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annus* his Authority, believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings *Reigns* and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Enchiridion*, which may give us leave to think that *Annus* hath not herein corrupted him.

But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no History or account of time depends upon the Reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruin of the City under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is that some objections appearing weighty, may be alleged in maintenance of different Computations, which with the answers I purposefully omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece* was the last War of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great Battels fought with variable success: the long endurance of the Siege; the destruction of that great City; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homér*, whose Verses have given immortality to the Action, which might else perhaps have been buried in Oblivion, among other worthy Deeds done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* faith;

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Muli, sed omnes ilacrimabiles
Orceunt, ignotique longa
Noct: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere Agamemnon: yet lye all opprest
Under night, unwept for and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with *Allegories* far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspicion that great virtue which they fought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; teaching their qualities who did manage them of *Poets*, in whole works who both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted overmuch, but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in *Poems*, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homér*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great War. All Writers confess with *Homér*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the Son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

§. II.

Of the Rape of *Helen*: and strength of both sides for the War.

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this Rape from very far: saying, That whereas the *Phoenicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Aegypt*, the *Greeks* to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Eupora* whom they brought out of *Phoenicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her Father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the Rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as infused. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phoenicians*? or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phoenicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of unquestionable Sincerity maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homér's* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have fought revenge upon all Nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the World; and that even then whereas the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the Rape of *Helen* was to procure the re-delivery of *Hesperia*, King *Priamus* his Sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true. For *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel Man, seeing his own Son *Twece* durst not come in his sight, after the War of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, only because his Brother *Ajax* (which *Twece* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so that *Hesperia* was ill treated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her Brother would seek to take her from

from her Husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born Children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the Rape of *Eupora*, *Medea*, or *Hesperia*: but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discurreth, but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having gotten them, either to sell them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Thelus* and *Phrygians* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Thelus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides* were so common, that some durst inhabit near unto the Sea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of Life no less lawful than Merchandize: wherefore *Tyndarus* the Father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his Daughter, and the Rape which *Thelus* had made, caused all her Woovers who were most of the principal Men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn Oath, that if he were taken from her Husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a Husband to his Daughter, who chose *Menelaus* Brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helen's* Rape, was partly the Oath which so many Princes had made unto her father *Tyndarus*. Here unto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon* besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Archadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own Ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that Expedition.

Thus did all *Greeks*, either as bound by Oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two Brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take Arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greek* Fleet was (by *Homér's* account) 1200. sail or thereabouts: but the Vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build Ships with Decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* faith) small Ships, more for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty Men, the greatest 120, every Man (except the Captains) being both a Mariner and a Soldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Greek* Army consisted of 100000 Men or thereabout. This was the greatest Army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this Army, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which in ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City not the sixth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homér's* Iliads; but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*, the *Assians* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Affrica* (though some think out of *Aethiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the *Grecians* journey, and Embassage to *Troy*; and of *Helen's* being detained in *Aegypt*; and of the Sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.

Wherefore the *Greek*, unwilling to come to trial of Arms, if things might be accomplished by Treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Em-

bassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Aegyptians* Priests makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his Discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helen*, being driven by foul weather unto the Coast of *Aegypt*, was accused for the Rape of *Helen* by some Bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Protesilaus* then King of *Aegypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the Goods taken with her, till her Husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a Stranger. Wherefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in *Aegypt*: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the War, which ended with the ruin of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his Wife of *Protesilaus*. *Homér* and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Eurypides*) vary from this History, thinking it matter more magnificent and more graceful to their *Poems*, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysseys* *Homér* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Aegypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the Rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas; whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any Port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the laying of the *Aegyptians* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many milieis bettal him, during the War, and so many of his Sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was Heir to the Kingdom (for *Hektor* was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucius* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the War of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queen *Hebe*, considering that she had been ravished by *Thelus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Trojanus* *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was Sister to *Cassius* and *Polixus* (he and *Polixus* being said by some to have been Twins) who failed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the Father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hesperia* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal Commander in the *Trojan* War. But whether it were so, that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* therefore incensed, made all hast towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a runagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homér*) filed the Captains and all the Host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon's* Daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some

K k 2 write)

write) the *Goddess* was contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the Devil which awaits for all opportunities, is never more important than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchus* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatal impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise; under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phenias*; *Ajax* and *Teucer* the Sons of *Telamon*; *Iamennus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his Sons *Anticlusius*, and *Thraesimedes*; *Ulysses*; *Menestheus* the Son of *Petrus*, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the Son of *Tydeus*; a Man of singular Courage; the wife and learned *Palamides*; *Alcaphus*, and *Ialmene*, the Sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Phidantes* also the Son of *Pean*, who had the Arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchus* said that the City could not be taken; *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus*, *Pemelus*, *Thois*, *Eumelus*, *Islandrus*, *Eurypius*, *Athamas*, *Sihelatus*, *Troilemus* the Son of *Hercules*; *Podagyrus*, and *Machyon*, the Sons of *Ayulapius*; *Epeus* who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the Town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Aids of the Grecians at the Siege.

THebe and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily persuade them to think that the War would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of Men, they won ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which grew upon them by reason of victuals, and the smallness of their Vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Chersonese*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the War protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the Town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the Field against such *Greeks* as continued the Siege, and a more safe retreat, if the Enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, that from the first year till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commands as very credible the report of *Heraclides*; That the *Greeks* did not lie before *Troy* the first nine years: but only did beat up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did block up the Town, unto which they returned not until the fatal time drew near, when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the Field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high Tower (as *Homer* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though

it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the Town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Heraclides*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by Land and Sea: the other that the whole Army did spend the time in wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these Authors: for they make report of many Towns and Islands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the Army could not well, nor would have spared if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great Pestilence arose amongst the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests Daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go, for any Ransom: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun: who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the Army was infected, being lodged in a Moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the Camp was over-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their Ships within the Fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having first chosen for his part a captive Woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the Chieftains in order: When the Southsayer *Calchus* had willed that *Agamemnon's* Woman should be restored to her Father, *Apollo's* Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Companies. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*); or for love of himself and his Sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks*, when they wasted the Countries adjoining unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the Town, he was little inferior to his Enemies in numbers of Men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other Sons of *Priamus*: *Eneas*, *Antenor*, and his Sons, *Polydamus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aim*, and the Sons of *Pantheus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival, *Aeneas*, Queen *Pembesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the

the *Greeks* were many Battles fought: the greatest of which were, that at the Tomb of King *Ilius* upon the Plain; and another at the very Trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the Fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their Ships; at which time *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon* with his Brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only Men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another Battle (for so Antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles's* Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though fore wounded, yet were driven to put on Armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his Body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the Armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a Man, to strip him and hale away his Body, strewing it without Ransom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains; who rode not upon Horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three Horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drove up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their Horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with Swords and Battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their Armes defensive were Helms, Breast-plates, Boots of Brais or other Metal, and Shields commonly of Leather, plated over. The offensive were Swords and Battel-axes at hand; and Stones, Arrows or Darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the Leaders were much subject, because of their Armour, which the fringed and hooped were heaviest: also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the Field: wherfore they were often driven to return to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of Armour they had little change or none; every Man (speaking of the chief) carried his own complete, of which if any piece were lost or broken; he was driven to repair it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whence therefore *Achilles* had lost his Armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new; ere he could enter the fight: wherof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear Friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his Concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next Battel *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chased three times about

the Walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer's* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would fly alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans* perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have forbore to open some of their Gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the Noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the Field, selling the dead Body to his Father *Priamus* for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevealed; for he was shortly after slain with an Arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* says, in the *Scæan* Gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the Daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren, and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the self same rate that *Hector's* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Pembesilea* Queen of the *Amazonians* arrived at *Troy*; who after some proof given of her valour, was slain by *Pyrhus* the Son of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of *Troy*, the wooden Horse, the Book of Dares and Dictys, the Columes of the reliques of *Troy*.

Finally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Eneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the Gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the *Greeks* entering by that Gate, gave occasion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be that with some wooden Engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the Walls, as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the Ram: or scaled the Walls upon the sudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of Men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon) or they might have left it a few days without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Walls upon the sudden to do it) by which means they who were thus into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was built so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the Gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall, to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principal Men was altogether needless, considering that

without their help there was way sufficient for the Army, so that the surprising of any Gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discoursing of this War, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Wall with a City by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* Gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the Fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted Sail, and was gone the day before to the Isle of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Diliys* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the Common report: had it not been that either those Books were eyes in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of Men slain in this War which *Dares* and *Diliys* say to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; forasmuch as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and Deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 Sail, and the Army therein transported over the *Greek* Seas, not much above 100000 Men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of Men to extol the Deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks*, that served in the War; and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Meneſſeus* the Son of *Peleus* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto *Gelm* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting Ships, and 30000 Men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of *Greece*; and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have thriven to being their descendent from some of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihooods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Trojans*, were the *Athenians* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* still seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoining by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Heleus*, the Son of King *Præmæus*. To which *Hellenians* addeth that the Posterity of *Heleus* did resemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and Reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distress and dispersions of the Greeks returning from *Troy*.

Concerning the *Greeks*; they talked as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes that by reason of their long abode at the Siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats; many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debased from the Sovereignty among their people, by such as had staid at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army which weakened much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the Booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have let fall, *Agamemnon* and his Brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some Sacrifices to *Menerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them failing to the Isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was fore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be persuaded in half.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pylarchus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven foon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentine*, and *Philoctetes* at *Perila* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife and by the adulterer *Aegisthus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandering long upon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Heleus*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor *Edage*, with much ado recovering the Mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Æneas the Son of *Oilus* was drowned; *Tener* fled into *Opyrus*; *Dionides* to King *Damius*, who was Lord of the *Lappes* in *Asia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africa*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally it appears in *Homer* that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it. The place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned, and how much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Helenus* Judge of *Iffach*, whom *Samson* after a vacancy or Interregnum for certain years succeeded.

C H A P.

C H A P. XV.

Of *Samson*, *Eli*, and *Samuel*.

§. I.

OF SAMSON.

§. II.

Of *Eli*, and of the *Ark* taken, and of *Dagons* slain, and the sending back of the *Ark*.

THE Story of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his House, for the wickedness of his Sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaneing and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerson* to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the Women by the Sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to call the *Israelites* under the Swords of the *Philistines*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000 and in the second battle 30000 Footmen; among whom the Sons of *Eli* being slain, their Father (bearing the lamentable success) by falling from his Chair, brake his Neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the flock of *Ithamar* the Son of *Aaron*. before whose time it continued successively in the Race of *Elezazar* the eldest Brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Elezazar* the second, *Phineas* the Son of *Elezazar* the third, *Abiſue* the Son of *Phineas* the fourth, his Son *Becei* the fifth, *Ozi* the Son of *Becei* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Tophus* and *Lyranus* out of divers *Hebrew* Authors have continued. In the Race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood 2. 27. and continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who call t *Chron. 6.* out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadoek* and *Achimais* and their Successors. The *Ark* of God which *Israel* brought into the Field, was in this battle taken by the *Philistines*. For as *David* witnesseth, God greatly abhorred *Israel*, so that he forsook the habitation of *Shilo*: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the *Ark* whereby himself was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the *Christian Churches* in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the Sacrament, or representation which was the *Ark*, than in God himself, they would have observed his Laws, and served him only: which whenever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no *Ark* at all, nor in the times of the *Assyrians*, and yet for testimony of their piety it pleased God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themselves by the sign in stead of the substance. And that the *Ark* was not made to the end to be carried into the Field as an Ensign; *David* witnesseth when he fled from *Abſolon*. For when the Priests would have carried the *Ark* with him; he for- 2 Sam. 19. b3d

THE Birth and Acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13, 14, 15, and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Story. First that the Angel of God forbade the Wife of *Meneah* the Mother of *Samson*, to drink Wine or strong Drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after she was conceived with Child, because those strong Liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the Child in the Mothers Womb. Though this were even the counsel of God himself, and delivered by his Angel, yet it seemeth that many Women of this Age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part forbearing not drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the Racks of the able and strong Men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the Angel of God refused the sacrifice which *Meneah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the help of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful Tears: by the first he lost but a part of his Goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vi superare possunt, vulgus occidit; Whom no force could overcome, Vulgus himself overcometh.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistines*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30 of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistines*, as they assembled 3000 Men out of *Judea*, to besiege *Samson* in the Rock or Mountain of *Etam*, using these words: Knowest thou that the *Philistines* are Rulers over us? &c. After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistines*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no longer loomed, but he gave them another overthrow and slew 1000 with the Jaw-bone of an ass.

Lastly, being made Blind, and a Prisoner by the Treason of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his Enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the House at the Feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sepe laſa vertitur in furorem, Patience often wounded is converted into fury*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

bad it, and caused it to be returned into the City, using these words. If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes.

The Trojans believed that while their Palladium or the Image of Minerva was kept in Troy, the City should never be overturned: so did the Christians in the last fatal Battle against Saladin carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Cross whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the Battle, their Bodies and the Wood. But Chrysostom upon Saint Matthew (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that were a part of Saint John's Gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative. *Si tibi ea non proficiunt in auxilio, quomodo poterunt in collo? If those words do not profit Men in their Ears (to wit, the hearing of the Gospel preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Cross, but the reverence of the Father that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant: and the Faith in his Son, which shed his blood on the cross for redemption, that could or can profit them as, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest Victory and Glory which ever they obtained, carried the Ark of God with them to Azotus, and set it up in the house of Dagon their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place. And it fell the second time, and the Head brake from the Body, and the Hands from the Arms, shewing that it had no power nor understanding in the presence of God: for the Head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the Hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the Arms. For God and the Devil inhabit not in one House, nor in one Heart. And if this Idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the World, that all the Oracles wherein the Devil derided, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had never beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins Body, shining upon the Earth which had been long obscured by Idols, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. Pharaoh reberleth a memorable accident in that Age concerning the death of the great God Par, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his Brains for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this Idol Devil did then as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the whole rable became speechless.

Now while the Philistims triumphed after this Victory, God strook them with the grievous Disease of the Hamorrhoids of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered that the Ark should be removed from Azotus to Gath or Geth another of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. For the hand of the Lord was against the City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small

and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they sent the Ark to Ekron or Accaron, a third City of the Philistims: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City. In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Prince of the Philistims did not only resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of Israel, remembering the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their Inheritance, and from his Service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to be Almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel that he may take his hand from you, and from your Gods and from your Land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an Enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Enim forte; Putschum est testimonium, qui noster probatur ab hostibus*. So did Pharaoh confess the living God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and Nebuchodonosor, and Darius, when they had seen his miracles by Daniel.

This council therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hamorrhoids, and the Golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards Bethshemesh, and into the Territory of Israel: then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them wheresoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the World if Calves be removed from their Dams, the Kine will follow them through Woods, and Defarts by the Foot, till they find them. But the Kine travelled directly towards Bethshemesh: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one Jotham of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistims perceived, they returned to Ekron: After which, God spared not his own people the Bethshemites, in that they presumed to look into the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandments and had been taught accordingly: He strook them more grievously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to Kiriat-jearim and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written that it remained twenty year in the charge of Eleazar his Son, until David brought it to Jerusalem.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in Nob, Mishpa and Gath, it was 6. or 7. years, as the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark: or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to Kiriat-jearim.

§. III.

§. III.

Of Samuel and of his Government.

These Tragedies overpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of Israel. He was defended of the Family of Ephraim, or Kerach. For Levi had three Sons; Gerson, Cheath, and Merari: Cheath had Amram, and Eleazar: of Amram came Moses and Aaron; of Eleazar, Choro: and of the Family of Choro, Samuel. His Father Eleazar a Levite, was called an Ephraimite, not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of Mount Ephraim, like as Jesse, David's Father was called an Ephraimite, because born at Ephrata, or Bethlehem. Hannah his Mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by Prayers and Tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish Women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to Abraham that his Seed should multiply, as the Stars of Heaven, and the flocks of the Sea, as in the beginning to Adam, increase and multiply, &c. and in Deseremmy the seventh; There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his Mother according to her former vow dedicated him to God, and his service, to which the delivered him even from the Uterus. For as the first-born of all that were called Nazaries, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five Shekles; between five years and twenty for twenty Shekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint Peter reckons in the Acts the Prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did Moses account himself such a one, as in the 18. of Deuter. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as, Before time in Israel, when a Man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer.

For he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his Grace from Israel: but as the Chaldean Perapraeth hath it, those revelations before Samuel's time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel judged were Mizpah or Mizpa, seated on a Hill in Benjamin near Jaba: also Gath, and Bethel, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for War at Mizpah in the beginning of Samuel's Government, gathered their Army and marched towards the City: at whose approach the Israelites stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, belonged Samuel to pray to God for them: who was then performing his sacrifice when the Philistims were in view.

But God being moved with Samuel's prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia) it pleased him with Thunder and Tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the Philistims, according to the prophecy of Hannah, Samuel's Mother. The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be thunder upon them, &c. Josephus affirms that a part of the Philistims were swallowed with an Earth-quake: and that Samuel himself led the Israelites in the prosecution of their Victory. After which Samuel erected a Monument in memory of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Josephus called Lapidum fortum: Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the Victory, the Israelites recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assailed from divers parts at once; having the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanites towards the North and East, and the Idumites to the South. The Estate being thus settled, Samuel for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

CHAP. XVII.

Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

But when age now began to overtake Samuel, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a Government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his Sons, Joel and Abijah, who judged the people at Beerseba, a City, the very utmost towards the South of Judaea. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their Father. For the thirst

Sam. 19:
See in this
Book, c.
12. §. 1.

Plater's
report of a
Sons the
second
King of
Israel, that
when as
he was
sacrificing,
it was told
him that
the ene-
mies ap-
proached,
he nothing
dismayed,
answered;
Ego autem
sacrifico.
1 Sam. 9:
10.

tions were; who might also lead them to the War and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Elu* his Sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first Blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the Government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehont them, which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-foreshed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use their Sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Charioteers, and Foot men; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassals of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to Subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground, to do so proper and appertaining to their station, and to be as they are brought up, so to be likewise the offices of Women-servants to dress meat, to bake Bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened: *He will take up your Field, and your Vineyards: and your best Olive-Trees, and give them to his Servants;* with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King, governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination confute this Text far otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their *Sovereigns* hand. The former

ner of the King that shall rain over you. God thereby fore shewing what power fevered from piety, (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who rook from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righteous judgment*. Wherefore though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in Money which he refused: yet because he was fallily accused and unjustly condemned (though by colour of Law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his content, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself, *Pulsavi me in causa gentium*: For this of S. *Augustine* is very true. *Simulata innocentia non est innocentia: simulata equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled in which both is iniquity and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disposition wherewith this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to infer. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do show the greatness of authority, under the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any Laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of Law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the State of *Israel* should receive this Change of Government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, but prophesied of by *Isaiah* in this Scripture: *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah*, &c. It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a Blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the Stars in Heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him. Which state feeling it is framed from the Pattern of his sole ruler, who is Lord of the Universal : and the excellency thereof in respect of all other Governments, may justly be said to be the most glorious and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every Man hath observed what civil War *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughter they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the belt valleys of the Country. The *Amorites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philistines* the *Coasts*: and the *Jebusites* *Hermopolis* *Gilead*: till *David* King of *Israel* did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjeed all the Neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But

whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a *Monarch*, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the Sins of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* used, inflicting upon this point that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every Man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God; who fore-told him the day before, that he would present unto him a Man of the Line of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Saphir*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul*, also having wandered divers days to seek his Fathers Affliction, at length by the advice of his servant trailedd towards *Ramath*, to find out a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his Beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who fought an Ais, and not a Kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jethro*, and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight Sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of Beasts, and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*, so *Yshai* and *Isaac* were taken from casting their nets, to become Fishers of Men, and honoured with the titles of *Apóstles*, a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do: but permanent and everlasting in Gods endless Kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entered into *Ramoth*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the *Seer* dwelt. *Samuel* answered that himself was the Man he sought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, aboveall that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the Kingdom, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two Men should encounter him by *Rachel's* Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Affes were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his Beasts, to doubt the loss of his Son: that he should then meet three other Men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit and Prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar

into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, Men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the firm and most revered number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, repented without fear the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were, *Moses, Joshua, Samuel*, and after them *Gad, N. dan, Zebulun, Elias, Elisha, Ihy, Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith *St. Chrysostom*, *Omnia percurrunt, praeterita, praesentia, futura*; *1 Cor. 1. 14.* who enriched with spiritual gifts expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Megph* *Saul* assembled the people that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had pass between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet altered; or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Megph*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of *Crim* and *Toummon*: to this, is the answer of the Priest, wearing that mystic y upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all Nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whole garments the *Tens* also cast lots. ¶ *Citeros*, *Plaucus*, ¶ *Fausimais*, and others have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Gracians*, and other Nations: as in the division of Grounds or honours; and in things to be under-taken: the two first kinds were called divinity; the third divinatory; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds however they may seem chancelous, yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*. *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the Kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: to which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Isopson* confute it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made a new king that was the choice King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet yet there were some that envied his glory (as all others there are such) who did not acknowledge him but offering him Presents as the manner was: of *Amnon* *Said*, to avoid Edition; took no notice.

§. III.

Of the establishing of Saul by his first victories.

NO sooner was Saul placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nabab* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which Nation since the great overthrow given them by *Yaphia*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of: which they made the ground of their invasion in *Yaphia*'s time; yet they never periwaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slain 40000. of their Men of War: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no Smiths to make them Swords or Spears: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshemites* and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to enlarge their Dominions upon their borders: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be conjectured that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Jabes Gilead* in respect of their weakness, since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the Men and Male-children, but took from them their young Women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: And if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonites* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel* having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the War, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first years reign, and because perchance he was defended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces of *Israel*: hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the Coasts, protesting thus. That whoever came not forth after *Saul* and after *Samuel*, so would his Oxen be served: threatening the people by their Goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had *Saul* to assemble an Army, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven days to give *Nabab* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have levered themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces, which repaired unto him at *Beze*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily pass the River; which done he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

The Army by *Saul* led consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand: he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For

as it seemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the Army of *Nabab* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his force in three parts, putting them to the Sword, until the heat of the day, and the weariness of *Saul*'s troops, inforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their City to their mercy. After this happy success the people were so far in love with their new King, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly Men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despicable and cruel without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the Army removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own Justice during the beginning of his government to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he strengthened himself with a good guard of 3000. chosen Men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his Son at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the rest he kept about his own person in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IV.

Of *Saul*'s disobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the *Philistines* and *Amalekites*, which caused his final rejection.

Jonathan with his small Army or Regiment, that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistines*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* pass by, when he came from *Rama* where he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistines* had a Garrison 1 Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they understand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this Garrison to have been at *Gibeah*, in *Benjamin* near *Gibba* where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Powsoever by this it appeareth that the *Philistines* had some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly incensed by this surprize they assembled 30000. armed Men, riots, and 6000. Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Maclmas* or *Micmas*: a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samarita* to *Hirufalem*, and in the middle of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were it waken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the Mountains, other fled from *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himself with some 2000. men of ordinary, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Yaphia* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuel*'s appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1 Sam. 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertain-

tained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Hebrews, and God's Commandments: others expound the word, *obstinat*, in this place, by *obstinat per Sacerdotem*, and to make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandment, in not staying according to the appointment 1 Sam. 10. 8. secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the Holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a Man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* so to do, from God himself, at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom should be conferred to another (a Man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his Posterity.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul* when he had taken view of his Army found it to consist of 600. Men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either Sword or Spear, but *Saul* and his Son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistines* had not left them any Smith in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides they that came to *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thousand Men, if there had not now been any Iron weapon to defend themselves withal, save only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his Son. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistines* and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen and amend such stuff as served for the plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kind of arms it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistines* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any Sword in all *Israel*, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600. Souldiers which staid with *Saul* after *Samuel*'s departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had publicly reprehended *Saul* that his own guards forsook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary Souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troop he held himself, to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength and better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the *Philistines* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by Sword or Spear, but by Thunder from Heaven: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philistines* is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nabuchodonosor* use after his Conquest in *Judea*, *Dionysius* in *Sicily*, and many other Princes elsewhere

in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistines* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them; to wit, Clubs, Bows, and slings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings; and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all Nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*; while he lurked at *Siklag*. That they were weaponed with bows, and could use the right and the left hand with slings; and with a sling it was, that *David* himself slew the Giant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard terms, the *Philistines* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* strengthened by God, and followed with his Elquire only, scaled a Mountain, wherupon a company of *Philistines* were lodged: the rest of their Army (as may be gathered by the success) being incamped in the Plain adjoining. And though he were discovered before he came to the Hill top, and in a kind of derision called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God he flew twenty of the first *Philistines* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: wherupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that brooded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, fell upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that Prophecy in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his Son *Jonathan* being infieebled with extreme labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of Honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his Father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan* seems to have reduced unto the *Philistines* remembrance their former overthrow likewise miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely the *Machites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobab*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. Men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waiting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Deserts*, belonging to the borderer *Aegypt*; in which War he took *Ayag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was: fructified by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted *Israel*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moses*'s time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Ayag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Africa*, from whence after a while they failed into *Asia*, and peopled the Western Coast thereof, on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the defeat of the *Heracleids* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heracleids* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps more allegorically understood: But the most approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the Greeks ascribed to the Son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean Lion*: secondly, he slew the *Serpent Hydra*, which had nine Heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the over-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which haunted Mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcady*: The fifth was the cleansing of *Augeas* his Ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: The sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalia*: The seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen of the Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Geryon's* Bees from *Gades*, the Golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from *Hell*. The *Mythological* interpretation of these I purposely omit as both over-long to be here set down; and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy; interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the Sun, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the explication cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: That he took *Elis*, *Pylos*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being assailed by such as either admired his virtues, or were beholding unto him. Also that he slew many Thieves, and Tyrants, take to be truly written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through most parts of the World are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Lybicus*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) required the virtue and Defects of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurytheneus*. This *Eurytheneus* was Son of *Siheneus*, and Grandchild of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Aegene*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madness he had committed upon his own Children, but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurytheneus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to go good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the flock of

Perseus, and holden in great jealousy by *Eurytheneus*, because of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*, and had by many Wives and Concubines above three score Children. These Children *Eurytheneus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead; but they died unto *Ceryx* King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurytheneus*) to *Athen*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountered *Eurytheneus*. *Iolus* the brothers Son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heracleids*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurytheneus*: whom when he had slain in battle, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led *Colonus* into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his *Colinus*, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurytheneus* was slain, they took *Arcem* the Son of *Phelus* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Against him the *Heracleids* marched under *Hyllus* the Son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echeus* King of the *Tegetea* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Arcem*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracleids* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heracleids* compelled to forsook their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Arifodemus* (as the best authority shews, though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Doria*, whom they planted in the Country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achaes*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurytheneus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, and many changes in the World, that happened about this age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Maones*, descended (as **Eusebius* imagineth) of *Berofus* his *Anaxandros*, who gave name to that people. But this *Eusebius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his **Era* according to **Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment of *temperibus*; and makes even more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, spring the diversity of opinions, both of the time and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Eusebius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melisseus* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind Men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verb *homer*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. **Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also **Julius Gellius*, and **Tatianus Africus* in his Oration ad gentes. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. years before

before the Consulship of *Marcus Vinius*: which *Marcus* calleth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years; and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Yehoshaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much ancients. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one influence he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a Man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates the Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heracleids* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and **Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* failed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to Reign in the 18. Olympiad (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Sophonis* saith, that he was 90. years before the first Olympiad: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his Son *Nicanor*; *Philostratus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Arifarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colonus* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Aegleus* governed *Lacedaemon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 160. years after the *Lomian* Plantations, came to visit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Graecians*: which *Herodotus* accounteth at 168. years after the Trojan War. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda* 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Evangelical* preparation where out of *Tatianus Africus* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other Greek Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Lisus*: *Philomachus*, *Epimenides*, *Pheonius*, *Arifarchus*, *Orpheus*, *Alfesus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion* and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the Elder, it is also much disputed. *Anulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Lac. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Historian* make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein

he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written up on a *Trevis*, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvius* Reigned in *Alba*, about * 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. **Eusebius* finds them both 200. * This years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, King of *Theffaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of *Historians*, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiosity of this Mans age is no less ridiculous; than the Inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In description whereof *Lucan* feigning himself to have been in *Hell*, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his Book with that word? who answered, That he began in that fort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that *Sergius*, or after *Macrinus Severinus*, ruled *Aegypt* at this time: for *Temperibus* was his successor who preceded *Vapores*, Father-in-Law to *Salomon*.

About the end of *Sau's* government, or in the beginning of *David's* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latusius Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David's* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but there sprung up, somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness not before erected. In *Italy*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedaemon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achaes*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Saba*, and *Damascus*; the *Adams* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the King of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered their form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became Master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject, and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Israhelites*; and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Jebeustites*, *Geshurites*, *Maachabites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their Sovereign Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

OF DAVID.

§. I.

Of David's estate in the time of Saul.

THE bazzards which David ran into while he was yet only designed King, and living as a private Man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of Goliath in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to Saul, and so highly affected of Jonathan the Son of Saul, that he loved him as his own Soul: In so much as when Saul sought to perwade his Son, that David would assuredly be the ruin of his House, and Estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, Jonathan could never be perwaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of David's life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of David's, but that Saul became exceedingly jealous of him, though he were become as his household Servant, and his Esquire, or Armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease, which came to pass accordingly. He entertained David, for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Command among the Men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affections, and sought to kill David, being thereunto moved only through envy of his virtue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a Spear at David that was then playing on his Harp to do him ease.

Conforsius remembreth one *Aclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Music: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third Book of Anger witnesseth. But the madnels of Saul came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that music, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto David the Commandment of 1000. Soldiers, to confront the Philistines withal. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Megib* to Wife: but having married her to *Abner*, he gave to David his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the Philistines: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the Philistines would take David's head, than that he their fore-skins. This hope failing, when as now David's victories began new fears and jealousies in Saul, he practised with Jonathan, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his own House, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So David fought *Samuel* at Ramah, and being pursued by Saul, fled thence unto Nob

in Benjamin, then to *Atimilech*, then to *Achis* the Philistines, Prince of Geth: where to obfure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and diffraction. But being ill assured among the Philistines he covered himself in the Cave of *Adullam*: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him into *Moad*, he hid himself in the desert of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of Saul's garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his pällage with *Nabal* and *Achis*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of Geth the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his Master Saul was known to persecute him.

Of *Achis* David obtained * *Siklag* in *Simcon*: pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to claim upon him. *Achis* supposing that David had drawn blood of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth David to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the Philistine Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siklag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives with the Wives and Children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellows mutilated, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

This Army of the Philistines commanded by *Achis*, encountered Saul at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three Sons were slain. The news with Saul's Crown and Bracelets were brought to David, at *Siklag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalech*, by a Man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsely) that himself at Saul's request had slain him. David, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every Man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the Law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro ex- plicato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruat Religio- nem conscientiam. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the Conscience of the Judge.* For a Man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the case of *causidici reorum* *l. si confessus*, & in *cap. de paric. l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the *Gloss* reconcile these two places in this sort. *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est falsi.* If any Man in judgement confess himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough. That David greatly bewailed Saul it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that

that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stir up sorrow and move compassion in the heart of David.

The Victory which the Philistines had gotten was so great, that some Towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the River of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left into the Enemy, who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the Philistines, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the Civil War immediately breaking out between David and the house of Saul, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easie Victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, left by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the Vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of David's Reign, and the War made by Abner for Ithobotheth.

AFTER the death of Saul, *Abner*, who commanded for Saul in the War, sought to advance *Ithobotheth* (or *Ithobath* according to *Josephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Israel*: for *Amphibeth* the first Son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner*, and *Ithobotheth*, David made a defensive War, till *Abner* pass'd *Jordan*, and entered the border of *Judea*: at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Ithobotheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The Armies encountered each other near *Gibson*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that Combat between the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembreth by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like trial by a far less number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the Romans; and *Leinæi*. The same challenge *Goliath* the Philistine made, whom David slew a custom very ancient. Edward the Third offered the like trial in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperor. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this War of David with the House of *Saul*, whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the Victory. But the quarrel laid not here; for the Army of *Juda* press'd *Abner* in gross, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty Men of *Abner's* Companions were slain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Asahel* the Brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abner's* persuasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death, with the stroke of his Spear. Forasmuch *Asahel* was an excellent Footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Josephus* reporteth, contented not only with *Men*, but with *Horses*; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have mastered *Abner*: (who as *Asahel* persuaded himself, had by being overthrow and flying away lost his courage)

yet here it fell out true; That the Race is not to befall the first.

That this Civil War lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dur'd longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive that *Ithobotheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Ithobotheth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousie between him and *Ithobotheth* for Saul's Concubine: neither did the death of *Ithobotheth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner slain by Joab, and of Ithobotheth by Rechab and Baanah.

Abner, reconciled to David, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in David's favour, and in the commandment of his Forces, by which he was grown so powerful, as David forbore to call him to account; for this much he confesteth of himself: I am this day weak, and these men the Sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me. In this sort David complained after *Abner's* death, and to make it clear that he hated this act of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; Let the blood fall on the head of *Joab*, and on all his Fathers' house: and let them be subject to *Ulcers*, to the Leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c. For could any thing have withstood the Ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered David's Estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trull of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This malice therefore David openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held being General of the Men of War, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This Office *Joab* held in the Army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to David in Kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his own Kinsman, and the Kings, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joyous with himself as Captain of the Host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superior, and such a one as had slain his Brother, and been beaten himself in battle. But howsoever *Joab* did hate or dispise *Abner*, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great Man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming that he did not like a fool, nor a Man vanquished, but as a Man fallen before wicked men, so (said he) diddest thou fall. And certainly it is no error of Wit, nor want of Valour and Vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the Sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ithobotheth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when

place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Hierusalem* was towards the South-west. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Esperates* (which was the farthest-off Journey that ever he made) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also posselt himself of *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified, and this City was but one days Journey from *Hidon*, and the River *Euphrates*. So had he two safe Retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. Horsemen, and 700. Chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers Footmen, and so *Yimus* converts it, and so it is very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of Footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. Horsemen, except they quirted their Horse and fought on Foot. So are the Chariots taken in this Battle, numbered at 7000. in the first of *Chron.* the 9. in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them with the Conductors are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this War against *David* before he forc'd them to Tribute, 100000. Footmen, besides all their Horsemen and Waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mezopotamians* from the Party and Confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lieutenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their Territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* maltreated and posselt. The King's Crown which weighed a Talent of Gold, garnished with precious Stones, *David* set on his own Head, and carried away with him the rest of the Riches and Spoil of the City. And though *David* layed at *Hierusalem*, following the War of *Uriah* his Wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his Masters arrival. To the People he used cruellest rigor (if we may to it call it being exercised against Heavens Idolaters) for some of them he tare with Harrows, some he sawed alunder, others he cast into burning Kilns, in which he baked Tile and Brick.

§. VII.

Of *David's* Troubles in his Reign, and of his Forces.

BUT as Victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself in the giver of all goodnes: so did these Changes, in the Fortune and State of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandments: For having now no dangerous apparent Enemy (against whom he was wont to ask Counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires. For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriah's* Wife from him, and to use her by stealth: but he imbrodered his Adultery with *Uriah's* Raughter, giving Order to his trusty Servant *Joab* to

marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, 2 Sam. 11. 15. which gave an assault upon the Suburbs of *Rabbah*. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best Servants and Souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the height of Happiness; and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden down sorrows began again to spring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David's* own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekites*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own error, in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor Man's Sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him God's Justice together with his Mercy in the Tenour following; *Now therefore the Sword shall never depart from thy House, &c. Because thou hast taken his Wife to be thy Wife, and hast slain Uriah with the Sword of the Children of Ammon.* Soon after this *David* lost the Child of Adultery which he begot on *Bersabee*. Secondly, his own Son *Annon* being in Love with the half Sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his Cousin German the Son of *Shimeah* *David's* Brother, posselt her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despitful manner. Two Years after which foul and incestuous act, *Asalem* caused him to be murdered, at the Feast of his Sheep-hearing; not perchance in revenge of *Thamar's* Ravishment alone; but having it in his Heart to usurp the Kingdom; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Annon*, he thought his Affair greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one Brother having ravished his own Sister, and then despitful her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his own Brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away and lived under the safeguard of *Talmas* King of *Goffur*, near *Damascus*, who was his Grandfather by the Mother, but a Heathen King. Thirdly, when *Asalem* by the invention of *Joab*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his Son) was brought again: first to the King's favour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David's* Father, seeking by the pretence of common Justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all Men, and by detracting from his Father's Equity, to win unto himself a popular Reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David's* sin.

The company which *Asalem* gathered at the first were but 200. Men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a Vow to God. There when *Achishophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of People from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the People (whose Hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted to readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walked

Town

Town for fear of surprize: but incamped in the Fields, and Defarts with some 600. of his guards, and few else. The Priests he left in *Hierusalem*, with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend, and Servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Asalem's* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achishophel*, a revolted Counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when Treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David's* prosperity had smothered, but his adversity lightened) holding himself upon the advantage of a Mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbade *Ahijah* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his Son *Salomon*. *Asalem* being now posselt of *Hierusalem*, was advised by *Achishophel* to use his fathers Concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his Father: whereof being persuaded they would then resolutely adhere to *Asalem* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Achishophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Asalem* against his Father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy Wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall be with thy Wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all *Israel*, and before the Sun.* He also gave advice to *Asalem*, that himself with an army of 12000 Men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*, which had willingly been embraced by *Asalem*, had not *Hushai* *David's* faithful Servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: persuading *Asalem*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his Father: than by such a troop, which *David's* valour, and those of his attendants, might either endanger or resist. This delay in *Asalem*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achishophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Asalem*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, posseling himself of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isobabebeth*, himself in the War against *David* after *Saul's* death feasted himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi*, the Son of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shephar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannan*, whom *David* for his Fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hannan's* overthrow. In thankfulness whereof he believed *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David's* assistance *Machir* of *Endaber*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others

Barzilai the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Asalem* prepared to fight; *Asalem* made *Amasa* Commander of the Army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perfwaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Ahijah*, and *Itai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*; that they should spare the life of *Asalem*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by Nature, remembered that *Asalem* had lately disposed of his Government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Asalem* hung by the hair of his head on a Tree, when he could not perfwade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own Servants disparted him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Asalem*, he embraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a Man that had lost a Son, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he lo himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, perfwaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the Army. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful Servants, who had that day preserved his life; insinuating that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not only to not acknowledge so great a love and contancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Asalem* at an easy rate. Secondly, he urged that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies and hated his Friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful Servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Asalem* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly he used this prevalent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himself publicly to his Men of War, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatening: *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the Army of *Asalem*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Asalem* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

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This done, the King marched towards Jordan homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remission was but external, as appeared afterwards. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his Son *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri* a *Benjaminite* of the faction of the House of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the People of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his truth, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Army within three days, which he forewore: but being onward on his way, *Abishai* *Joab's* Brother, was sent after him, with *David's* Guard and best Soldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibson*, pretending to embrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Aner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him inclosed in *Aral*, assaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the persuasions of a wife Woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his Head, and flung it to *Joab* over the Walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded as before all the Host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David's*, was the delivery of *Saul's* Sons or Kinsmen to the *Gibionites*, whom those Citizens hung up in revenge of their Fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the Oracle of *God*, that a Famine which had continued on the Land three Years, came by reason of *Saul* and his House; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibionites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanly, to rid himself of *Saul's* Line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his Father, as for his Oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King took the two Sons of Rizpah whom he bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom he bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibionites.*

Junius calls this *Michol* the Sister of her that was *David's* Wife, the whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* being named *Adriel* to her Husband: the same which is named *Meraab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David*, when he flew *Goliath* in the Valley of *Rephaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Meraab* did not, whether *David* had any human respect in the delivery of her Children, it is only known to God.

Now whereas the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Meraab* the Wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an e-clipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same Kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose Spear was weighty as a Weavers Beam, when as by the same Eclipsis it must be understood by the Brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Saul's* Children God feared the House of *David*, leaving no head unto Rebellion; so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against Foreign Enemies, by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that People of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all Men of mark, and great reputation in War. Over these were six Colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon mere consideration of their virtue. For *Abishai* the Brother of *Joab*, who in the War against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant and commanded half the Army, could not attain to the honour of the first Rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three Colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness in Blood unto the King, the flourishing estate of his own House, and his well approved services. All these Colonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, unto the Field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul's* time, and been hardened with his adventures. Others there were very many, and principal Men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Colonels, (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the especial Men of War, and reckoned as *David's* worthies. The long Reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent Men of War, so may it probably be guessed to have waisted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the Sons of *Zerui*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon's* reign, who wanted his Brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33 years, or thereabout, when the Posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbering the People, as in ostentation of his Power: in which he employed *Joab* with other Captains of his Army, who after nine Months and twenty days travel, returned with the Account and Register of all the People, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*; whereas in *Juda* and the Cities thereof five hundred thousand;

thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven Years famine; three Months War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general Pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seventy thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of Men; whereof he giveth us this Divine reason,

2 Sam. 14. For his mercies are great.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of *David*: *Adonijah's* fall: the revenge upon *Joab* and *Shimei*.

LASTLY, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the Arms of a young and well complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-ridden, *Adonijah* his eldest Son (*Amnon* and *Shephom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manfully to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David's* Sons, and a Man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *S. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without reluctance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Benishai* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Salomon* her Son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijah's* presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadok* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benishai* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to let him on the Mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice Men of War, the *Cherethiers* and *Peltashiers*, shewed himself to the people. Those tydings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his Assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon's* the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these intentions to good effect he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and Men of power; who repaired unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by

Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers Sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his Son, to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lords house which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the pattern of the work according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of Silver, they added unto it seven thousand of Gold, and ten thousand of Silver, besides Brass, Iron and Jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of foreigners a work. This business being well dispatched, a solemn feast with great Sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the Sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his Son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, he uttered these mighty words; Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his statutes and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of *Moses*, &c. to the performance of which God hath promised the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (saith God himself) Thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the throne of *Israel*.

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saving that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevengeed, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he had enforced other Men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly stricken others with all, *quo gladio percussit, gladio percipit*: for he had bereaved *Aner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the presence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Aner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meer jealousy of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Aner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked Men) raised up *Benishai* the Son of *Tehojadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the host of *Israel*, and shed Blood of battle in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in their words he put his Son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what Joab the Son of Zeruiah did to me, &c.* 1 King 2: Now

Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abfalom*: contrary to the King's desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned in *Mahaneim* for *Abfalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *David's* Letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as delinquent of such a Mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is that those great Men of War do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their Service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their Masters cannot mislead them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrowed many a worthy Man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Salomon*, to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast Stones at *David* and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time himself lived, yet being dust and in the grave he flew him, by the hand of *Salomon* his Son. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Poulas* soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of *Spain* when he delivered *Paul* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Yash* yield unto *Salomon* any such great profit or allowance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumea*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his Fathers, and that *Yash* the Captain of the host was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* seven years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts, and graces he so far exceeded all other Men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was said by God himself to be a Man according to his own heart. The *Psalms* which he wrote witness his piety, and his excellent learning; of whom *Hieronymus* to *Paulinus*. *David* *Simonides* *nofter*, *Pindarus* & *Alceus*, *Flaccus*, *quoque* *Catullus*, & *Serenus*, *Christum* *lyra* *personas*, & in *decachordo* *Psalterium* *ab* *inferis* *hijocit* *refurgentem*. *David* (saith he) our *Simonides*, *Pindarus*, *Alceus*, *Horace*, *Catullus* and *Serenus*, be playeth *Christ* on his harp, and on a ten-stringed *Psalter* he taught him up rising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth *Christ* more lightomely and lively than all the rest.

The book of the *Psalms*, saith *Glycas*, were divided, ordered and distinguished, by *Ezechias*: but whether all the *Psalms* were written by *David* it is diversly disputed. For a *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lycranus*, and others conceive divers authors, answering the titles of the several *Psalms*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and thereof beareth named, and thatorily 73. *Psalms* were composed by *David* himself, namely those which are intitled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and 72. with the ten that follow are beflowed on *Alaph* the Son of *Bathaschia*, eleven other on the Sons of *Korah*, and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 80. and the 100. following, and so they are intitled in the old *Hebrew* copies, though the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint* (three excepted) file them otherwise. The supposed nine authors of these *Psalms* which *David* wrote not, *Sicut* *Brenzia* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, whom *Aben Ezra* contrary to *Hierome*, maketh

one of *David's* Singers) *Alaph*, *Ethan*, *Ezarias*, *Emas*, *Esaias*, *Idithun*, and the three Sons of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole author of all the *Psalms*, and so doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner. Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* only unto *David*, which are over written *ipsius David*, and the rest intitled *ipsi David* to others, this opinion (saith he) *Vox Evangelica* *salutem* *ipsius* *refutatur*, *quia* *quid* *ipse* *David* *in* *Spiritu* *Christi* *dixerit* *esse* *sum* *Dominum*, *quoniam* *Psalms* *109. sic* *incipit*: *Dixit Dominus* *dominus* *meus*, *Sede* *a* *dextris* *meis*, &c. The voice of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the Spirit called *Christ* his Lord, became the 109. *Psalms* begins thus, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*, &c. Lastly, his testimonies are used both by *Christ* and the Apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. ver. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it seems written by these three Holy Men.

Constantine Mandellus hath an opinion, that the 15. *Trojan* during the time of the siege, fought for 6. years, succour from *David*, and that he stayed neither in his life in that War. But it seemeth that *Mandellus* did mistake the time twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samsen* Judges of *Israel*, about the Worlds year 2845. and *David* died in the year 2991.

§. IX.

Of the treasures of *David* and *Salomon*.

HIS Treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, *Prof. 14.* that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of Silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any King of the World possit besides himself, and his Son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cartload and a third of a cartload of Silver, allowing two thousand weight of Silver or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threecore and seventeen Millions of French Crowns, or of our Money twenty three Millions and a thousand pound: a matter but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him it doth not appear; seeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies: but when they went to the Wars, they were followed by such Volunteers as the several Tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) in his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possit by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For though patrimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth book

book and last Chapter de preparatione Evangelica, citeth the words of *Eusebius*, who reporteth that *David* among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or as *Vil-lalpandus* corrects it *Achanis*) a City of *Arabia*, and from thence sent Men to dig for Gold in the Island *Urphe*, which *Orelus* thinks, was *Ophir*, though *Eusebius* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Island is in the Red Sea; from whence saith this *Eusebius*, they brought Gold into *Jury*. *Pindus lib. 4. dextris Salomonis c. 1.* thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eusebius*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather great riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful valleys near *Jordan* in *Tracoonis* and *Bajan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Israelites*. These Demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of Captives, which he took in his Wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded them not able to his greatest advantage. For it is grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1 *Chron. 12.* that *Yehonathan* was over his Treasures in the Cities, in the Villages, in the Cities, in the Towns; that *Ezer* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simes* over the Vineyards; and *Sabab* over the Store of the Wine; *Beal Hanan* over the Olive Trees, and *Yash* over the Store of the Oyl, also that he had Herdmen that had charge over his cattle, both in the high lands, and in the Plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Ases. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattle the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *David's* time. For we read of *Pharaoh* that he spake to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their Servants, to be Rulers over his Cattel. We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and ploughmen, and dressers of Vines: likewise we read it in all *Greek* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Herds and flocks, whereof they were needful to cite *Augustinus* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the Tributes and impositions which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable Presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tebu* and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head-money which was gathered per legem captivitatis; By the law of captivation or head-money, every Man rich or poor paying half a Sickle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much woodrout sum in that Kingdom: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seventy thousand fighting Men were numbered by *Yash*. Now although this Law of captivation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge Treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great mass of Gold and Silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private, and

so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the Temple three thousand Talents of Gold, and seven thousand Talents of Silver, a great sum: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the Treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encroachment, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Jehoa*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expenses, and maintained the Priest and Levites) were partly raised out of the head-money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Soldiers had one, and the People which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so that the Soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Soldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Army were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means the lesser that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Soldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestic affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was always certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandment, as when all the Gold, and Silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and People, as when *af. Jos. 6. 19.* after the victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one Man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Ear-rings, and the like, were offered up, as *vo: Nam. 31. 50.* luntary Presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not these Treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundred part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. Or that this Treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David*, and his Lieutenant *Yash* it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Sanneh*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains in other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, though of *Jehoa* perhaps excepted: but these vast sums of an hundred thousand Talents of Silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality,

A Talent
of Gold
is 770.
French
Crowns,
1 King. 10.
14.

1 King. 6.
9. v. 20.
& c. 10. v.
29.

1 Chron.
29. 28.
Joseph. Ant.
11. l. 7.

Porphyrius.
Hierol.
D. N. Ch.
Ride.
Epist. 2.

to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received yearly Revenues with his Tributes fix hundred fixty Talents of Gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fix Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his Ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his Reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borders, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascus*, of *Palmyra*, of *Iurra*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him Tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Philistines*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subdued.

Into this flourishing Estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after forty years Reign, and seventy years of life, died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David's* Tomb a marvelous quantity of Treasures, in so much as *Hircanus* (who first of the *Chasmanis*, or race of the *Macabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterward *Herod* opening another Celi, had also an exceeding Mass of Gold and Silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury Treasure with the Dead. So the *Persians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did bury so much Treasure in his Fathers Grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the People, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it not without considered that his want of Money grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of Burial. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Uitka*) they remained within their thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed upon them.

S. X.

Of the *Philistines*, whom *David* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with *David*.

OF the *Philistines*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat here may be spoken.

They defended of *Casloim*, who according to *Isidore* and *Josephus*, was one of the Sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esaú* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities of petty Principalities; namely, *Ascatu* or *Aldod*, *Gaza* or *Accaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his

Kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistines*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Athimelech* which *Gm. 20.* loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* Wife. The second *Athimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Athimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumea*, which *Athimelech* fancied *Isaac* his Wife: *Gm. 26.* as his Father had done *Sara*.

After *Athimelech* the second, the *Philistines* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the Government was turned into *Archevscatrical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistines*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive Servant, what time the seeking of his Servant was the loss of his Life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Philistines* or *Philistines*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the Wars of the *Philistines* are remembered in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvini* King of *Alba* called *Latus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of Italy fixty years. And about his fourteenth year *Cadmus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medonides*, without regal name governed *Athen* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their Government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of Sovereignty, but in honour of *Cadmus* only. For when the *Gracians* of *Doris*, a Region between *Phocis* and the Mountain *Ossa*, fought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Cadmus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common Soldier, entered the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Empet the 31. King of *Affrica*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the same time began *Ision* the second King of the *Heracleids*, the Son of *Euryphantes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heracleids* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his Succellours were called *Agides*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: He overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him Tribute: He condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helones*.

In like fort from the *Sclavi* came the word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the Country of *Illyria* and made it their own by Conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called

called themselves by a new name, *Slaves*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made Servants to their Neighbours; the *Italians* which call many of them in Bondage began to keep all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. year of *David*, and say that *Acheferatus* was the fourth King of this Race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labote*, and sets him in the thirteenth year of *Salomon*.

In the tenth year of *Acheferatus Androclus* the third Son of *Cadmus* afflicted by the *Jones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoining of the life of *Samos* to his Territory was slain by the *Carians* whose Country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the Gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetis*, his armed Statue being let over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Ephesus* on the Sea Coast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Eoles*, which joined to *Ionis*: and that his Posterity governed the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythra* by the name of *Basilida* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Jones* how they came hither out of *Peloponnusus*, I have * spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heracleids* into *Peloponnusus*, wherein with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achais*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Jones* succeeded that of the *Heracleids* 100. years.

The City of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: First, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, furnished with 127. Pillars of Marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polish, the work being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Grossus*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian Faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop: to whom, and to the *Ephesians* Saint Paul wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other City posited by *Androclus* in *Aolis* was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythraea*: who lived seven hundred and forty years before Christ born. Saint *Augustin* avoweth that a *Roman Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greek Copy certain verses of this Prophetess: which began (as Saint *Augustin* changed them into Latin) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei filius Salvator. Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour.*

About the time that *Joab* belched *Rabeca* in *Moab*, *Naphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the same that was Father-in-Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Naphres*, are remembered by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is seated upon the River *Meander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the best Horses of the lesser *Asiabred*, whereof *Lycan*.

Et Magnetis equis, Magna gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, according to *Strabo*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Come-Strabo* ans of *Eolis*, saying that to the one of these 5. people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous Scholar of *Ilocrate*.

Eusebius and *Cassiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the Father of *David* was *Meinim* the Son of *Badezor* Brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were waited about 95. years.

In this time also *Acasius* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Cadmus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracy of ten years. Some Writers make it probable that the *Asians* led by *Gyram*, the Grand nephew of *Oristes*, who possessed the City and Island of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to Reign in *Tyre*, according to *Josephus*, who saith that in his twelfth year *Salomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any Account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent Messengers, and Cedars to *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had Reigned only seven years in *Hebron*, over the House of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had Reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* Records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon : of birth-rights, and of the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Salomon's Wisdom.

Salomon, who was brought up under the Precept *Nathan*, began to Reign over *Juda* and *Israel*, in the year of the World 2391. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God : he was also called *Jedaidia* : or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomon's* anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, Congratulating his establishment : a custom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like fort salute *Hannan* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his Reign were peaceable. For soon after *David's* death, he caused his Brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah's* desiring by *Bertheba*, that the young Maid *Achizah*, which lay in *David's* bosom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder Brother, and fought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, and he that fees but the Claw, may know whether it be a Lion or no : so it may seem that to the quick-fighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah's*, was a demonstration of a new Treason. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King : whence *Achizah* withheld *Abshalom* to take his Fathers Concubines as part of the Royalty. And *David* after that wrong determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isbosheth's* quarrel against *Aner*, for having his Fathers Concubine. And some figification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David* : *I have given thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives*. And in the words of *Saul*, upbraiding *Jonathan* that he had chosen *David* to the flame of the nakedness of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always present with *David* in his latter days, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perfwade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder Brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the Law of Nations, and with the customs of the *Jews* : yet the Kings of the *Jews* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the

birthright to a younger Son : namely of *Jacob's* inheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any Portion of the other Brethren) to *Joseph* : of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Bertheba* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder Brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the *Jews*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal* : that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before no Man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making the King, is to be expounded : as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the Acts of *Salomon* : at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him : he displaced also the Priest *Athabaz*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him : but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he had born the Ark of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he took the Daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife : for *Jo Eusebius* out of *Eusepius* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibson*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands ; *Salomon chooseth wisdom, which pleased God*. And God said unto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words* : by which we may inform our selves what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety : the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness which God abhorreth : to affect revenge, is as much as to take the Sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his Justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his Enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his Brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule Men, it pleased God to give him without that which he desired. And *I have also given thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour*. This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost

almost all kinds of Learning : but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of Plants and living Creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chief excellency of *Salomon's* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom : whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the Controversie between the two Harlots.

§. II.

Of Salomon's Buildings and Glory.

He then entred into League with *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his Materials, for the King's Pallace and the Temple of God : for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his Father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David* that he called *Salomon* his Son, and charged him to build a House for the Lord God of *Israel* : so doth *Tofmas* give the force of a divine Precept to these words, *Behold ; a Son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an House for my Name*.

He began the Work of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth Year of his Reign, at which time also he prepared his Fleet at *Esfongaber* to trade for Gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a Work. For that the Temple was in building, while his Fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the Pillars of the Temple were made of the *Abnagim* Trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious Building, of all the particulars (whereof the Form and Example was given by God himself) many learned Men have written, as *Salomon*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Berradas*, *Acarius*, *Villalpandus*, *Fineas*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that Building, *Salomon* employed thirty thousand Carpenters, ten thousand every Month by Course : he also aided eighty thousand Masons in the Mountain, and seventy thousand Lasons, boursers that bare Burdens, which, it is conceived, he selected out of the *Profelytes*, besides three thousand three hundred Makers of his Work, so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred Men, in which number the *Zidonians* which were more skillful in hewing Timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his Servants to bring down the Cedars and Firs from *Libanon* to the Sea, and thence sent them in Rafts to *Typp* or the next Port to *Hierusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the Overseers, were Strangers, and as it seemeth the Vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this Timber and Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand Measures of Wheat, and twenty Measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius* in the ninth Book of his Preparation the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomon's* Letter to *Saron* (which was the name as *Hiram* or *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in these words.

REX *Salomon* *Saroni*, *Tyri*, *Sydoniis*, atque *Phoeniciæ* regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scia me a Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater precepisset templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem preceptum : Scribo igitur, & peto a te ut arifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King *Salomon* to King *Saron*, of *Tyre*, *Sydon*, and *Phoenicia* King, and my Father's Friend, I greet thee. Thou mayest understand that I have received of the great God of my Father *David*, the Kingdom : and when my Father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created Heaven and Earth, he commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King *Saron* made this Answer.

Saron, *Tyri*, *Sydoniis*, & *Phoeniciæ* rex, *Salomon* regi salutem. Lætiis literis gratias ego Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit : & quoniam scribis fabros ministrisque ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misit ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Juæa, virum in rebus architectare mirabilem. Carabis igitur ut necessarios non egam, & Templo Dei condito ad reddeam.

Saron of *Tyre*, *Sydon*, and *Phoenicia* King, to King *Salomon* greeting : when I read your Letters, I gave God thanks, who hath infilled you in your Father's Kingdom. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build God's Temple, I have sent unto you fourscore thousand Men, and a Master Builder a Tyrian, born of a Jewish Woman, a Man admirable in Building. You will be careful that all Necessaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus's* his time as himself affirmeth, and to be seen, faith he, *in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*, as well in our own as in the Tyrian Annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercorde between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by Message or by Writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eusepius*, or *Josephus* set it down, but, so that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commentators upon *Salomon* find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Salomon* the Title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eusepius* in *Eusebius* ; I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of that ninth Book ; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth Book and second Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities : it being a vain Title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, in so much as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean Persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that Name for his noble Qualities, as much or more than for his Mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and House of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble Wall, and repaired *Hera* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites* before *Joshua's* time : so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines* : he built *Bebroun*, *Gerar* and the *Millo* or Munition *Jf. Au.* of *Hierusalem*. For *Pharab* (as it seemeth in *fa. l. 8. c. 23.* *vour* of *Hierusalem*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the Sword and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomon's* Wife for a Dowry. And it is probable that because *Salomon*

was then buied in his magnificent Buildings, and could not attend the War, that he entreated his Father-in-Law to rid him of those Neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his Son *Rehobam's* time *Shebäck* this Man's Successor did lack *Jerusalem* its self.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*; and *Dabab* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolema's* *Thamaron* in the Desert of *Juda* (or as *Joseph* thinks *Palmyra* in the Desert of *Syria*), which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomon's* Dominion to the North-east of *Lisannus*, and was of *David's* Conquest when he was *Damascus*; it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most Gift, and fortified it with the best Art, that that Age had.

Joseph 1.8. *Salomon* calls this place *Thadmora*, by which Name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it.

Hiram in his Book of *Hebrew* places calls it *Thermoth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Arian* the Emperour it was honoured with his Name, and called *Arianopolis*. In respect of this great Charge of Building *Salomon* raised Tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty Talents of Gold received from *Hiram's* Servants, *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty Towns in or near the upper *Gadize*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marshy ground *Hiram*, refused them, and thereof was the Territory called *Chabulil*.

These Towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Genitiles*, *Non quid gentes ibi habitant: sed quia Iob ditione regis gentium erat*, *Non* that it was possib. by *Genitiles* (saith *Naclern*) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a *Genitile*. However it were, it is true that *Salomon* in his twenty first Year fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a Journey into *Syria* *Zobab* and established his Tributes; the first and last *War* (if in that Expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his Life. He then visited the Border of all his Dominions passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyra*, and to the Deserts of *Idemaa*, from whence he visited *Ezion* *geber* and *Eloth*, the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red Sea: which Cities I have defcrib'd in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of *Salomon's* sending to *Ophir*, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomon's* Riches, and of *Pineda's* conceit of two strange passages about *Africk*.

Here *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for *India* with whom *Hiram* joyned in that Voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrans* being of all other the most expert *Sammen*. from this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom* and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass on to the East *India*, which was not far off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Aluaculac*, a place exceeding rich in Gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Manilla*; and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The Return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty Talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written four hundred and fifty Talents: whereof thirty

Talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of Men, and four hundred and twenty Talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six Talents of Gold, that Summ, as I take it, is of other Receipts of *Salomon's* which were yearly, and which came to him besides these Profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the Land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Country in the East *Indies*; with some reason may at those times they could not make more speedy Return to *Jerusalem* from the East *Indies* than in three Years; and that *Tharfu* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean; hath been already declared in the first Book.

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange Conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Beiza* would fain have *Gades*, or *Cadix*, in old times called *Tariffus*, which is the South-west corner of that Province, to be the *Tharfu* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his Gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Country, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharfu* and *Tariffus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three Year ere they, that took Ship in the Red Sea, should return from the East *Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the Metall, and in their other Traffic, and in their Land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Salomon's* Men to go many thousand Miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Italians* knew not, the *Tyrans* which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterran Sea*, and to (besides many wonderful inconveniences and terrible Navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome Land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea through dry, desert, and thievish Countries: and within 30. Mile of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other Haven in *Salomon's* own Country, have laden and unladen their Ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia* being swallowed up in the *Atlantic* Ocean hindered *Salomon's* Ships from passing through the Straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he allegeth *Plato* in *Timaeus*. But that calamity happened about *Salomon's* time, or that thereby the Straits of *Gades* were filled with mud and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterran Sea*: or that this indraught where the Sea runneth most violently, and most easily fourth his channel, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to have stood: or that *Salomon's* Ships being in the Red Sea, should neglect the Golden Mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red Sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek Gold at *Cadix*, by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies* and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilla*, finding in those parts no less quantity of Gold (the small Territory which he there possideth considered) than in *Peru*.

The

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Tomas* failing to *Tharfu* the City of *Gilecia* was cast out in the *Mediterran Sea*, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand English Miles, along the *Mediterran Sea*, and so through the Straits of *Gades*, and along all the huge Seas round about *Africa*, coast up *Tomas* upon the shore of the Red Sea, that so he might have perhaps some six Miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Nineve*.

This Conceit he grounds only upon the amiguity of the word *Sups*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red Sea (as if we should call it *mare sups*, the Sea full of Weeds) for the Red Sea. But in *Job* 25. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for Weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own Rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange Miracles without any need. For this long Voyage of the Whale finished in three days, is a greater Miracle, than the very preservation of *Tomas* in the Belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this Miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own Rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt miracula gravia danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure. Therefore to leave this Man in his Dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our Story of *Salomon*.

The Queen of *Saba's* coming from far to *Salomon*, (as it seems from *Arabia Felix*, and not as some think from *Aethiopia*) and her rich Presents, and *Salomon's* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult Questions, those are set down at large in the text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba* *Nicaeides*, the Successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succeeded *Menes* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the Father-in-Law

of *Salomon*, the Name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Aethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the Father-in-Law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

It is also written of *Salomon* that he kept in Garrisons fourteen thousand Chariots and twelve thousand Horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty Measures of fine Flower, threecore Measures of Wheat, one hundred Sheep, besides Stags and fallow Deer, Bugles and Fowl; four thousand stalls of Horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand Horsemen of his Guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many Horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten Horses, as *Jamus* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any Man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Jamus* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezraick*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them *Athan*, *Aman*, *Chalcus* and *Donan* the Sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else became many Acts

of *Salomon's* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil-Cause and not Ecclesiastical; therefore they were not thought needful to be inserted into God's Book.

§. IV.

Of the fall of *Salomon*, and how long he lived.

NOW as he had plenty of all other things; so he had no scarcity of Women. For besides his seven hundred Wives he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his People should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Mobab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*: and when he fell a doating, his Wives turned his Heart after other Gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Mobab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the Masters of his Works, who by the Ordinance of God tare from his Son *Rehobam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the Territory he had. *Deus dim in peccatores amittitveretur, aliorum peccatis vivit, qua ipse non fecit*. God in punishing finners, uoeth the sins of others, which he himself is wrought not.

In the Reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long Peace) were few memorable Actions by him performed, excepting his Buildings with other Works of Magnificence and that great *Indian* Voyage already mentioned. Forty Years he reigned: how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomon's* Birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the Years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely Year of his Nativity. Seven Years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth Year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him the Year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth Year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the Year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in *Heb*.

After this he had Wars with the *Philistines*, *Mobabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five Years, considering that the *Aramites* of *Damascus* raised War against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadzer*; and that in every of these Wars, he had the entire Victory. Neither is it likely that these Services 2 Sam. occupied any longer time, because in those days, and places there were no Wintering Camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the Year, Kings went forth to War, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the Spoil of the Enemies Country, partly upon the private Provision which every Soldier made for himself. The 17. Year 1 Sam. of *David* in which he took *Mephisboeth* the Son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the Year following to have begun the War with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to trial of a Battel (for *Joab* after the Victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the cause and preparations for that War having taken up all the Summer. *David's* personal expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the Tributaries of *Hadadzer* under his own Allegiance, appears manifestly

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feltly to have been the next Year's Work, wherein he did cut off all means of Succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumea being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the twentieth Year of David's Reign, and about the fiftieth of his Life, in which he sent forth Joab to besiege Rabbah, and finished the War of Ammon: wherein also fell out the matter of Uriah's Wife. So one half of David's Reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God, for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is that in the Year after the death of that Child, which was begotten in Adultery, Salomon was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout, when he began to reign at the decease of his Father, as being begotten in the 21. Year of his Father's Reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of David, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two years passed ere Abiath slew his Brother Amnon; three years ere his Father pardoned him; and two years more ere he came into the King's presence. After this he prepared Horses and Men, and laid the Foundation of his Rebellion, which seems to have been one Year's Work. So the Rebellion it self with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amasa and the rest, may well seem to have been in the thirtieth Year of David's Reign.

Whether the three Years of Famine should be reckoned apart from the last Years of War with the Philistines, or conjoined with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining Years of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three Years of Famine, for four years of War, and for numbing the People, with the Pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the War with the Philistines, was but one Year's Work, and ended in three or four Fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Nob near unto Gether, and the last at Gath. This War the Philistines undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the Tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by David's old Age, for he fainted now in the Battel, and was afterwards hindered by his Men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So David had fix or seven Years of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great Men of War died (being of his own Age) whereby the stirring Spirit of Achanab found little Succour in the broken Party of Joab the Son of Zeruiah.

At this time it might both truly be said by David to Salomon, Thou art a wise Man, and by Salomon to God, I am but a young Child; for nineteen Years of Age might well agree with either of these two Speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of Salomon's professing himself a Child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of these Rabbis Salomon seems the first Author, whom others of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of Abiath's Rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understand as years of David's Reign. But whereas Rehoboam the Son of Salomon was one and forty years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himself but a Child

of nine or ten years old; the difference between their Ages being no greater, (if Salomon who reigned forty years) were but eleven years old when his Reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, Josephus allows eighty years of Reign to Salomon; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this Opinion construed the words of Josephus, as if they included all the Years of Salomon's Life. But by such reckoning he should have been forty years old at his Father's death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had won Jerusalem; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the forty years remembered in Abiath's Rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between David's first Anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to Josephus, Theodoret, and the Latine Translation) four years; which passed between the return of Abiath to Jerusalem and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of Salomon's Writings.

There remain of Salomon's Works, the Proverbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first he teacheth good Life, and correcteth Manners, in the second the vanity of Humane Nature, in the third he fingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intituled the Wisdom of Salomon, (which some give unto Salomon, and some make the elder Philo the Author thereof;) Hierome and many others of the best learned make us think it was not Salomon that wrote it. Stylus libri Sapientia (saith Hierom) qui Salomonis est, interpres, Græcæ redolens eloquentiam; The Style of the Book of Wisdom, which is ascribed to Salomon, savoureth of the Græcian Eloquence; and of the same Opinion was S. Augustine, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Book and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these words. Circumveniamus justum quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doing; he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the Son of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Cantica Canticorum, Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribeth to Hiy the Prophet. Saïdas and Cedreus report that Salomon wrote of the Remedies of all Diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which they say Esdras pulled down, because the People neglected giving help from God by Prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of Salomon's Books of Invocations and Incantments to cure Diseases, and expel evil Spirits, Josephus hath written at large, though as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one Eliazarus, who by the Root in Salomon's Ring disposeth divers persons of evil Spirits in the presence of Vespasian, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the

the first and most glorious Temple of the World: he that was made King of Israel and Judea, not by the Law of nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perfwation of a few weak and wretched idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the World, and the giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that ever the World had. Of whom Strabo writeth in this manner. Salomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious; for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; then wife wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a Flood! Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c. but thus he concluded. Thou didst love thy Lays to Women, and wast overcome by thy body, thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy Children, and felt sorrow for thy folly. Cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Near the beginning of Salomon's reign, Agassus the third of the Heracids in Corinth; Labares in Lacedæmon; and soon after Syllus Alpha the fourth of the Syllas, swayed those Kingdoms: Laophanes the second and third Princes after Cadmus, ruling the Athenians.

In the fix and twentieth of Salomon's reign Hiram of Tyre died, to whom Bahiastrus succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after Mercator's account, who reckons the time of his rule by the

age of his Sons. Josephus gives him fewer years. Ant. lib. 9. Theophilus Antiochensis against Antiochus finds Bozarius the next after Hiram, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of Hiram, and the reign of Bozarius.

Vapores being dead, about the twentieth of Salomon, Sefac or Shisak (as our English Geneva terms him) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom Diodorus calleth Sefachis; Josephus, Sufac; Cedreus, Susephus; Eusebius in the column of the Egyptian Kings Smeades, and in that of the Hebrews Sefac. Josephus in the eight of his Antiquities reproveheth it as an error in Herodotus, that he ascribeth the acts of Sufac to Sefisris, which perchance Herodotus might have done by comparison, accounting Sefac another Sefisris, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of King Sefisris I have spoken already in the Story of the Egyptian Princes: only in this he was reproved that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith Eusebius, at such time as Sefisris was carried out to take the Air, cast his head continually back upon the two fore-most wheels next him; which Sefisris perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion; to whom the captive King answered, that in those he beheld the infatigability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned down-ward and under all: which when Sefisris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this Sefisris, and that he could not be taken for Sefac, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

Joseph. lib. 1. 17.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomon's Successors until the end of Jehoshaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboam's Idolatry.

Rehoboam the Son of Salomon by Nabhama an Ammonitess, now forty years old, succeeded his Father Salomon, and was anointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: where attended a while the return of Jeroboam as yet in Egypt, since he had fled thither, leaving Salomon. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to Rehoboam, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. Sic enim firmum ei fore Imperium, si famam mallet quam metum; So should his Empire (saith Josephus) be more assured if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he took three days to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of David, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of counsels, which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all Men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised Men, that served his Father, who perfwaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and

favorites, not only to continue on the backs of his Subjects those burdens which greatly crucified them; but (vaunting fully of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatened in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unportable loads on them. But as it appeared by the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty itself: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of Subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twisted and forged by love only; His wildes parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of Rehoboam did not a little advance Jeroboam's designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet Achab of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) continued and gave

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courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of Israel: the people crying out, What portion have we in David? we have no inheritance in the Son of David. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of Israel, had consented to David's anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of Rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their duty to God, and, as all alienated resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now overlate, and after time, Rehoboam sent Adoram, one of the Taxers of the people, a Man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all speed, and recovered Jerusalem, where preparing to invade Israel, with an hundred and four-score thousand chosen Men, Shemai in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was failed for the present. In the mean time Jeroboam the new King fortified Sichem on this side, and Peniel on the other side of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also j-j-y the peoples hearts again to the House of David; and having in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry: he set up two Calves of Gold for the Children of Israel to worship, impiously perverting them that those were the Gods, or at least by these he represented those Gods, which delivered them out of Egypt: and refusing the service of the Levites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Levites which served David and Solomon through all Israel, Jeroboam greatly enriched himself: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by Moses and Joshua; for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policy of Jeroboam (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, until Israel for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began, but the afflictions maintaining it, were so strong that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yield. Jeroboam could not be moved now by the authority of Aha, who from the Lord had first promised him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the Altar, which also clave a funder, according to the sign, which the Man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of Jeroboam, who forsook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a modern Historian compared with the policies of late Ages, observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodie* (saith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, presentemque utilitatem sibi tantum ultimum finem constituent, causam quam vocant statim in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Sinjuria proximo irroganda, si justitia honestatis, leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessandanda, si denique omnia jura divina, & humana violanda, nihil intencant, nihil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent, cuncta ruunt, omnia pereunt, nihil ad ipsos, modo illi, quod ere sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nulliusque tui talia curat, assidue possit Deus; So they who are now called*

Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to allege the ease of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbours, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if religion is self must go to wrack, yet if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruin, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *ragione dello stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground Amasia the Priest of Bebel, Amos 7, rebuffed the Prophet Amos, not to prophesie at Bebel; For (saith he) it is the Kings Court. Up 2 Kings 16, on this ground even Jehu that had maliced the Priests of Baal, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politics fit to Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin. It was reason of state that perwaded the last famous French King Henry the fourth to change his religion; yet the Protestants whom he forsook obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wife proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof Jehu and all the Kings of Israel had, and were themselves, very great examples.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam his impiety; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and Contemporaries.

While Jeroboam was occupied in setting up his new Religion, Rehoboam on the other side having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of Judah and Benjamin: not that he feared Jeroboam alone, but the Egyptians; to whom Jeroboam had not only fastened himself, but withal invited them to invade Judaea: laying perance before them the incountable riches of David and Solomon, which might now easily be had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Judaeans. So as by those two ways (Of late years often trodden) to wit, change of religion, and invitation of foreign force, Jeroboam hoped to settle himself in the seat of Israel, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. Rehoboam also having, as he thought, by fortifying divers Places, allured his estate, forsook the Law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on every Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, Sefac or Shishac before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well Adad of Idumaea, as Jeroboam, were familiar and his instruments, entered Judaea with twelve thousand Chariots, and threecore thousand Horse, besides foot-men, which Josephus numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations, Egyptians, Libeans, Suceans, and Canites. The Libeans were Lybians, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the West side. The Canites were

were of Petrae, and of the Desert Arabia, which afterward followed Zerah against Aha King of Juda. The Suceans, according to Tannus his opinion, were of Succoth, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the Troglodites, mentioned often in Pliny, Ptolemy, and other Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not far from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward about fix hundred English mile from the Gulf and Maritimate part of Egypt; and therefore I do not think that the Suceans or Suceas were those Troglodites, but rather those *asirabians* which Ptolemy calls *Arabes Egyptii* or *Ischryphagi*, which pollets that part of Egypt between the Mountains called *Abdalarim*, and the Red Sea far nearer Egypt, and ready to be levied than those removed Savages of the Troglodites.

With this great and powerful Army, Sefac invaded Judaea, and (besides many other strong Cities) went Jerusalem it self, of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other Treasures) the golden shields which Salomon had made, in imitation of those which David recovered from Adadzer, in the Syrian War: these Rehoboam supplied with Targets of Brals, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Siracides* calleth The foolishness of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the sovereignty of Judaea, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: Sefac, as it seems, rendering up to Rehoboam his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Words of God, where promising the deliverance of Juda after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of Egypt, in these words. *Nevertheless they (to wit, the Judaeans) shall be his Servants, that is, the Servants of Sefac.*

After this overthrow and dishonour, Rehoboam reigned twelve years, and his losses received by Sefac notwithstanding, he continued the War against Jeroboam all his life time. After his death Jeroboam governed Israel four years.

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemuel* and *Hidolan* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of Nathan and the rest.

With Rehoboam, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth Archbishops or Governors for life after *Cadmus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastartus* or *Abdastartus*, in Tyre. *Doristhus* the fifth of the *Heracleids* in Sparta, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Primianus* the fourth in Corinth. Over the Latines reigned *Sylvius Alba* and *Sylvius Alys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylvii*.

About the 12. of Rehoboam *Abdastartus* King of Tyre was murdered by his Nurses Sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times *Pericladet*, or *Pyrrhidet*, began to govern *Affrica*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Asturnus* the Son of *Balestarnus* recovered the Kingdom of Tyre from the *Ussurpers*.

§. III.

Of the great battail between Jeroboam and Abijah, with a Corollary of the examples of Gods Judgment.

Abijah the Son of Rehoboam, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded Jeroboam, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both Armies joined near to the Mount Ephraim, where Jeroboam was utterly overthrowen, and the strength of Israel broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. Abijah being now master of the field, recovered *Beibet*, *Jelhanab*, and *Ephron*, soon after which discomfited, Jeroboam died: who reigned in all 22. years. Abijah, the better to strengthen himself, entered into league with *Hefian*, the third of the *Adads* of Syria; as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three years and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iado* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the Sins of Salomon in his Son Rehoboam: first, by an Idolater and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter Salomon had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings; and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest Vassals; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian Sefac. For the Son Abijah was able to levy four hundred thousand Men, and with the same number he overthrow eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them five hundred thousand. God giving Spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were express, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before and at the instant delivered by Prophets; so the same just God who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason in these and other the afflictions of Israel, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in David's time for three years, for Saul and his bloody house, &c. And David towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for Uriah. Salomon had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his Son for his Idolatry. Rehoboam was spoiled of his riches and honour by Sefac of Egypt, because the people of Juda made images, high places and groves, &c. And because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. Jeroboam was punished in himself and his posterity for the Golden Calves that he erected. Jeram had all his Sons slain by the *Philistines*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux, for murdering his brethren. Ahab and *Tezabel* were slain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sins in all after times, and in these our days by the same Famine, Plagues, War, Iust, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wife Men of the World raise their effects no higher than to

second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.

Of *Ala* and his Contemporaries.

TO *Ashab* succeeded *Ala*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking down the Altars dedicated to strange Gods, with their Images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own Mother who was an Idolatress, but deposing her from her Regency, brake her Idol, stamp it, and burnt it. He also fortified many Cities and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of War in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Juda*, and with such a multitude entered the Territory of *Ala*, as (for any thing that I have read) was never assembled of that Nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans* *Zerah* of *Ashub* with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Ala* encountered with an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin* which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their Cities and Camp.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ashubian* I have proved already, and were it but the length between *Ashub* and *Juda*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Aegypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these invaders were *Ashubians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Zerah* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judeans*: in following their Victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all Men know that *Zerah* standeth upon the torrent of *Bezor*, which *David* pass'd over when he surprised the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proveth sufficiently that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Zerah* was a frontier Town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Juda*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoils which *Ala* took, as the Cattel, Camels, and Sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown *Ashubians*. And if it be objected that these desert Countries can hardly yield a million of Men fit for the Wars, I answer, that it is like that *Arabia Petrea*, and *Bacia* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his Successors were afterward called *Bacidae*. *Ashurim* and *Ashurim* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Ashurim* took revenge on his Brother *Phelites*, for the murder of *Ishobab* Priest of the Goddess *Astarte*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Ary* and *Capy* ruled the *Latin*. *Pyrithides* and *Ophreatus* the *Assyrians*: *Terpsippus* and *Phorban* the *Athenians*: *Chemis* Reigned in *Aegypt*, who dying in the 36. year of *Ala*, left *Corsus* his Successor that Reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Jos*.

Baalha a King of *Israel*, began to Reign in the third of *Ala*, and fearing the greatness of *Ala* after his great Victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadexer*, to join with him against *Ala*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samaria*.

This War began according to the Letter of the Scriptures in the 26. year of *Ala* his Reign: but *Clin*, because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baalha* died in the 26. year of *Ala*, therefore could not *Baalha* begin this War in the 35. of *Ala* his Reign, but in the 35. year of the division of *Juda* and *Israel*: for so many years it was from the first of *Rehobam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Ala*. It may seem strange that *Ala* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good Soldiers, did not easily drive away *Baalha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Ala* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Ala* himself against *Zerah* being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda* and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused *Ala* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many Mens private businesses to lie undisturbed, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their Lands and other Trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, chusing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Ala* from adventuring himself with the least part of his Forces, and committing the success to the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the Treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the Syrian against *Baalha*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baalha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbors, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his Successors after him ever gave over till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entered into *Nephthim* without resistance, he spoiled diverse principal Cities thereof, and enforced *Baalha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Ala* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortify the same: which done *Benhadad* who loved neither party, being laden with the spoils of *Israel*, and the Treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Ala* in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore stricken with the grievous pains of the Gout in his Feet, wherewith after he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the Ghost when he had Reigned 41. years.

There lived with *Ala* *Agesilau* the sixth of the *Heracleids*, and *Bacis* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his Successors were afterward called *Bacidae*. *Ashurim* and *Ashurim* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Ashurim* took revenge on his Brother *Phelites*, for the murder of *Ishobab* Priest of the Goddess *Astarte*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Ary* and *Capy* ruled the *Latin*. *Pyrithides* and *Ophreatus* the *Assyrians*: *Terpsippus* and *Phorban* the *Athenians*: *Chemis* Reigned in *Aegypt*, who dying in the 36. year of *Ala*, left *Corsus* his Successor that Reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Jos*.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the Reign of *Ala*.

IN the Reign of *Ala*, the Kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent Comotions, which might have reduced the Ten Tribes unto their former Allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter days, the sentence of heavy Vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the Ten Tribes. One Son *Jeroboam* had, among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to withhold him his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable Testimony of the peoples love, by their general Mourning and Lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good Son, the ungodly Father was soon taken away: a miserable Creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yet Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loth he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the World was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the Son of *Jeroboam*, Reigned in the second and third years of *Ala*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his Fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Ala*, whose third year was the first of *Baalha*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his Fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his Fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his own Estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistines*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky Family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) in he was by *Baalha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baalha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them without mercy, to the Sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident, by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*: which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Ala*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nephthim*. Four and twenty years he reigned: and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his Son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one complete.

§. V.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his Father: and withal a riotous person. He sent an Army against *Gebethon*, the same Town of the *Philistines*, before which *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he fate at home the whilst feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected: *Zimri*, an ambitious Man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baalha* had found, by doing as *Baalha* had done. Wherefore he did let upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he titled himself King of *Israel*: and began his Reign with Maligning all the house of *Baalha*; extending his cruelty not only to his Children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Tirza*. These news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gebethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Soldiers instead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they faltered King, they (quitting the Siege of *Gebethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did let fire on the Palace: consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have Reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, Walking in the way of *Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the Reign of seven days, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baalha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to let up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decay'd, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the cause hindring the re-union of *Israel* with *Juda*, which might have been effected by these troubles.

ANy Man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present Civil Wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and reunite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Ala*, but rather chose, one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, a Man forsaken: than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Ala* to deal in that business, as he forbade *Rehobam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehobam*, did only bind his hands

hands from attempting the suppression of that present Infection, it appears by the War continued between *Isaac* and *Juda*, to many years following: wherein *Isaac* so far prevailed, that he was a great Battel, and recovered some Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royal House of *David*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omeri* had prevented his Competitor in making Peace with *Afa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omeri* was not only an Idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*, which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Afa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the Massacre committed upon the Family and Friends of *Baasha*, (*Afa*'s his mortal Enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the Friendship of *Juda* in that Quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the People to revenge the death of *Eli*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the Son of *Ieroboa*m, who followed the Wars in Person, as a Man of Spirit and Courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (*if we look upon humane Reason*) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their Necks. Their desire was to have a King that should not oppress them: not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose *Ieroboa*m in his stead, as a Man likely to afford that Liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (*as it seems*) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of Popularity appears in his building of decayed Towns, and in the infinitution of his new devised Idols, where he told the People, that it was too much for them, to travel so far as to *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his Reign, and in the Reign of his Son, when long time of possession had confirmed his Title, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the People: or whether the People (*as often happens in such cases*) were more offended by some Privileges of a King that he still retained in his own hands, than pleased with his remission of other Burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Isaac* joined with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*; and eradication of *Ieroboa*m's House.

Now the Reign of *Baalsha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in Writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbeton* from the *Philistins*; but left that Bu-finefs to his Son, who likewise appears an unprofitable flugard. Wherefore it muft needs be, that the favour of the People toward the Houfe of *Baalsha* grew from his good Form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more tem-

perate, meddled than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, in administration of Justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued to averre from the Line of *David*: as to think all adversity more tolerable than the weighty aspect of that House. For the death of *Yashasui* was Shame, and *Jeroboam* was preferred; yet in that they suffered it without force or compulsion, they suffered like unto Men innocent. The death of *Aseniah* was both without Judgment, and without any Crime objected, other than the King's jealousy: out of which by the same rule of Arbitrary Justice (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had committed any Offence, as appears by his confident turn out of *Asyria*, like one that was known to have endured wrong having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without Law, *Jeheram* did upon his Brothers, and upon sundry of his greatest Men; as *Asah* *Jeoffa* did for to put to death *Zachariah* the Son of *Zechariah*, who had made him King, even in the Court 2 Chron. 24:11. *Asah* *Jeoffa*, who had made him King, even in the Court of the House of the Lord; and *Manasseh* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, and he exemplified Jerusalem from corner to corner, and this was also imputed to him as another fault; besides his sin wherein he was made *Juda* to sit. Contrariwise, among the Kings of Israel we find no Monument of such Arbitrary Proceedings, unless perhaps the words of *Jeheram* the Son of *Ashah* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God did so to King Ahab*, and more also, if the Head of *Elijah* the Son of *Thabai* *Shaphat* shall stand on him this day; whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Ammites*, till they were fain to eat their own Children, which he thought a sufficient Argument to prove, that it was not God's purpose to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the Liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the King's Will. For *Naboth* did not fear to stand upon his own Right, though *Ahab* were even sick for anger, neither was he for that caule put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the People, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophets was continually ascribed to *Jehoiachin*, an impotent Woman, and not unto the King her Husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made, whereby their Lives were taken from them; but certain it is that the People, being Idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and labouring in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are Rectified) prove them to have used more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdom, to the Captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slain by the People, and two were denied a place of Burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, the death of *Azariah* and his Brother *Joash* by *Jehoi*, with the defraction of all the Royal Seed of *Juda*, and the People (for ought that we can read) shew up the People of *Juda* that of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testify the affection to be general, and proceeding

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proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes; unless we should think that the death of *Abubus*, after seven Years Reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the Government, whereon she had fed. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as are perilled by Treason (which were seven of the twenty) were slain by conspiracy of the great Men, who aspired by Treason to the Crown: the People being so far from embroiling their hands in the Blood of their Sovereigns that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good success of Treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitorously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends the People took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Abu's* Children by the Jews, that the People durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: the same fear might be in them at the death of *Pekah*. The History (as others of that time) is so far from over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of their perished by the fury of the people, but by Treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any active urging to forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in Prison, nor fear left the people should fit in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law calls Treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched in itself, with the Blood of some great Officers; no such Rebels, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural Sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal Person: which if any Man impute unto gross Ignorance, another may ascribe charitably, and, I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briarrew*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying, that Monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their Absoluteness by mighty Subjects, as long as by Wisdom they keep the Hearts of the People, who will be sure to come in upon their side. Though indeed the Story might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells that *Pallas* was one of all the Princes, by loosening *Briarrew*. For good Form of Government sufficeth by it self to retain the People, not only without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all Devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: even the Sheriff and Constable, being fooner able to arm the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than an over-weening Rebel how mighty soever, can against him.

This Declaration of the Peoples Love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the Rule it self of Government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the Subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which Reasons it may seem, that the multitude was kept usually diarmed. For

otherwise would have been almost impossible, that *Abigail* the Sister of *Abiah*, a stranger to the Royal Blood of *Judah*, should by the only Authority of a Queen Mother, have destroyed all the Seed of *David*, and unfurled the Kingdom very near seven years without incurring any resentment. Yea when *Yehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principal Men of the Land to set up *Josiah* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected; he was fain to give to the Captains and their Men, the *Spears* and the *Shields* that were King *David's*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crown by a more uncertain Tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the Reason, why the ten Tribes did never seek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their six first Kings, which died in the Reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new Family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy Yoke.

So, *Aja* having seen the death of seven Kings of *Israel*, died himself after one and forty years Reign, leaving *Jebozaphath* his Son to deal with *Ahab* the Son of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Jehoshaphat and his Contemporaries.

Jehoshaphat, who succeeded *Asha*, was a Prince Religious and happy; he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent Searchers to all places and People wanting instruction; he recovered the Tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims*: from the one he had Silver, from the other Sheep and Goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of his Men of War were more than admirable: for it is written that *Ashub* had a Command of three hundred thousand, *Jehobanan* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Amafai* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in *Benjamin* of those that bare Shields, which we call *Targuiers*, and of Archers under *Eladai* two hundred thousand; and under the Commandment of *Jehobadai* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together, make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King besides his Gar-
dians.

tion. That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David's* time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourscore thousand: *Solia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Afa* five hundred and four score thousand; *Amaziah* controlled all that could bear Arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand: *Uzziah* three hundred and seven thousand and five hundred, whereas it is written that when news

was brought to *Jehoshaphat* that *Asah* and *Ammon* were entered his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he could have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he would have brought into the Field eleven hundred and threescore thousand fighting Men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my self to better Judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seventeenth, distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under *Asah*, and the two hundred and fourscore thousand under *Jehoshaphat*, were afterwards commanded and mustered by *Amasia*, *Eliada*, and *Jehoshaphat*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again as the Aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Asah* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary Power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat's* Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyined in Friendship with *Asah* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Tzebeel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his Son *Foram* to marry *Abiah*, this *Asah's* Daughter.

Asah perswaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Bailees* to foretell the Success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those Diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Asah* made answer that he had one, he called *Michajah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he always foretold of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet sent for *Michajah* was to the King, but by the way the Messenger prayed him to content with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise Victory unto them as they did. But *Michajah* spake the Truth, and repeated his Vision to both Kings, which was that: *God asked who shall persuade Asah, that he may go up and sell at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a Spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false Spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ, *Nem enim vos effis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris effis loquitor in vobis*: it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the Devil in the Prophets of *Asah*, or *Satan*, incourage *Asah* to his destruction. And as *P. Marry* upon this place well observeth, these evil Spirits are the Minsters of God's Vengeance, and are used as the Hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime in play. For as it pleareth God by his good Angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are fain to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet in eodem anno. Ecclesiasticus* remembereth a second sort of malignant Natures, but they are every where visible. There are Spirits, saith he, created for Vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fire forks. In the time of destruction they show forth their Power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michajah* having by this his Revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whofe

Spirit he discovered, was strucken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baal's* Prophets, and by *Asah* himself committed to Prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with Bread of affliction till he returned in Peace. But *Michajah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in Peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Asah* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* to invade *Judaea*: who pass *Jordan*, and encamp at *Engaddi*, and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* foretold him of the Victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves: those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly, which done, they also invaded each other; in which brail *Jehoshaphat* arriving took the Spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this Victory, *Jehoshaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyn with *Ochaziah* the Son of *Asah*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliazar* the Prophet foretold him, his Ships perished and were broken in the Port of *Esion Gaber*, and so that Enterprize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the Brother of *Ochaziah*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, Subjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves for Vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his Successors till the death of *Asah*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawn into this War both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Jehoshaphat*, and thirdly to punish their double Rebellion who first forsook *Juda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that Nation, for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the Field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certain, for in the 2 of *Chronicles* 11. Ver. 8. it is written that in the time of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were flung by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such Conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to joyn themselves with the Army of *Juda*. For that they were numbered among the Enemies of *Jehoshaphat* it is plain in the 2 of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain c. 2 v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoshaphat's* death. Now in the passage of the Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the Army of *Juda* and *Israel* with intent to intestine them for want

of Water; true it is, that they suffered the famine, if not a greater thirst than the Armies of *Cassius* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* Expeditions; and bad, in all likelihood, utterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut Trenches wherein to the Water sprang, by which not only *Jehoshaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God, having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his Son, or the Son of the King of *Edom* for sacrifice on the Rampire of his own City, I have already written in the Life of *Jehoram* among the

Kings of *Israel*, *Jehoshaphat* reigned twenty five Years and died, he was buried in the Valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his Grave is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. *Brochard's* Acts are written at large by *Jehu* the Son of *Isaiah*.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophrateneis* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberius* Kings of the *Abnans* in *Italy*, of the latter the River *Tiber* (formerly *Abnula*) took Name.

In *Jehoshaphat's* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelaus* or *Agellus* in *Corinth*; and *Archelaus* of the same Race, of the *Heracleids* the seventh in *Lacedaemon*. *Badisirus* ruled the *Tyrrians*; *Abah*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the Son of Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah.

§. I.

That Jehoram was made King sundry times.

JEHORAM the Son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of Age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned four are to be reckoned in the Life of his Father, who going to the Syrian War with *Asah*, left this *Jehoram* King in his stead, as *Asah* did his Son *Asahaziah*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehoram's* Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Asahaziah* the eldest Son of *Asah*. For *Asahaziah* is said to have begun his Reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat*, *Jehoram* the Brother of *Asahaziah* succeeded him in the second year of *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, that is in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was deligned King by his Father; it being (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year of *Jehoshaphat* himself, who went with the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the Royal Office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the Rule with his Son. But in the fifth year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old King took unto him, as Partner in the Government, this his eldest Son, who was at that time thirty two years old, his Father being fifty seven. Now so far as *Jehoram* reigned twenty five years, it is evident that his Son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not always reign precisely so long as the bare Letter of the Text may seem at first to affirm; but their years were sometimes compleat, sometimes only current. Sometimes confounded with the years of their Successors or Foregoers, and mult therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the Reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his Son as Partner in the Kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in Peace and in War,

the like having never been done by any of his Progenitors, or having once (in the seventeenth of his Reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to refuse it unto himself, or at least-wile to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet so far as to enter into the examination of these Passages, may be a mean to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary Business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such Conjecture, as the Circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider; that this King *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Rehoboam's* issue that ever entered into any freight League with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much Labour and long War, tied themselves in vain, making small Profit of the greatest Advantages that could be witheld. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a League offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This Confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Law; could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true Root and Foundation of *Wisdom*: yet as a piece of found Policy, doubtless it wanted not fair Pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncircumcised Nations their ancient Enemies. This apparent Benefit, being so inestimable a Jewel that it might not easily be lost, but continue as Hereditary from Father to Son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some free Bond of Affinity, and thereupon was *Abiah* the Daughter of *Omri* and Sister of *Asah* King of *Israel*, given in Marriage to *Jehoram*, who was Son and Heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine Spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Tzebeel* her Brothers Wife, that she durst undertake, and could thoroughly perform a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by

God to confume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those Men or their Children, whose worldly wildom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first-fruits of this great League, was the Syrian War at *Ramah Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Abah*: as godly Princes very seldom wholly by matching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Abah* deligned, as King, his Son *Achaz*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain event of War (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatenings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he despised them) as by inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehoshaphat to change his purpose often, in making his Son Jehoram King.

Many arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his Wits, especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That he was a Woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter he was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his Children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base Women and meer Subjects. The Court of *Abah*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian *Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent Man think highly of himself, as being allied to honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as his elder, and their apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did thereupon cause the young Man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small dissembler of the whole Country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly Son. For the good old King was fain to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming Judges throughout all the Cities of *Juda* City by City. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general overseers.

This was not till after the death of *Achaz* the Son of *Abah*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Achaz* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*'s, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram* of *Jehoshaphat*'s Son, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his Fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his Fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his reliction to former dignity are not let down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing substantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondence with *Jehoshaphat*, which his Father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judeans* into the War of *Abah*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his Father, as in the Syrian expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprise against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions therunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger Sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself, might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell Natures, to be as aspect and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon addition of advantage. This is manifest, that being reposed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, not only with store of *Silver*, and of *Gold*, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtless had used unto their younger Sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

But all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old Man, their Father, was dead, the younger Sons of *Jehoshaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the Summons of the King their brother, then had he them without more ado; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdom against them, so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company as many great Men of the Land; such as, as either had taken their part; when the Tyrant fought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of

of the Country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things, derogatory to their young Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe-conduct unto superstition and idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his deceiving that above all other sins; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registered, to have set up idolatry by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hired a *Viceroy*, since *David*'s time, been governed by a *Viceroy*, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flee into their places of advantage, wherof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his Servants. Now began the Prophecy of *Isaiah* to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that *Eliab* in process of time should break the yoke of *Juda*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign Wars, the *Yeriv* by sundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Hirad* his Son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the *Yeriv*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* itself.

The Freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Josiah* had a peculiar King, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither do we read that it fought how to call it self into a new Subjection, but continued a free Estate. The Rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: For it was a Town of the *Levites*: who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but they were unwilling for force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which being devout Men they might fear to lose by this Rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes: by any of the religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must

have been without it whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembered, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his Kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governors, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words, *The Levites shall be Officers before you; Be of good courage and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good*. By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his Son; whom if the *Levites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them; and make them now to feel, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yet that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as beleagued or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have overwhelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might in one Month have cast into it with shovels; by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of these great numbers which his Father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared, than to be loved; are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a prophecy in writing was delivered unto him, which threatened both his people, his Children, his Wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel Persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and evil Kings, but were fain to denounce Gods judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Eliab* the Prophet. But *Eliab* was translated, and *Eliacum* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehoshaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Eliab* left this prophecy in writing, behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Eliab* for *Eliacum*. Indeed anything may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, that *Eliab* from Heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from Heaven to St. Giles.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Judaea*, and took the Kings House,

Houfe, wherein they found all, or many of his Children, and Wives, at which they flew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. *That* *Philistims* had not perceived since the time of *David*, to make any attempt on War till now; for they were by him almost confumed, and had lost the beft of their Towns, maintaining themfelves in the reft of their fmall Territory, by defensive arms, to which they were contrained at *Gibbethon* the *Ifraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then as they are now, a naked people, all *Horfemen*, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than fuch as might make them fitter to rob and fpoil in the open fields, than to offend ftrong Cities fuch as were thick fet in *Juda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the World, then known, in a very fhort fpace of time, deftroying fome, and building other fome of the flately Cities. But it muft be confidered; that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the art of War; and that the provisions which they found, together with the manner which they learned, in one fubdued Province, did make them able and skillful in conquering the reft, conquelt, and going onward into Regions far removed from them. At this day having loft in effect all that they had gotten, fuch of them as live in *Arabia* it elfe are good *Horfemen*, but ill appointed, very dangerous to paffengers, but unable to deal with good *Souldiers*, as riding ftark naked, and rather trufting in the fwiftnels of their horfes, than in any other means of refiftance, where they are well oppofed. And fuch, or little better, may they feem to have been, that fpoiled *Judea* in the time of *Teborum*. For their Country was always barren and Defart, wanting manual arts whereby to fupply the neceffaries with furniture: neither are their fubjects, as named as chief in that ation, but rather the adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this it may infer, that one half, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the feaft muft have been *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehothaphat*; wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thoufand fighting Men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than their enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them; for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philistims*.

the policy of the *Pharisees*. It may mean that the house of the King which these invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his Wives and Children were at that time laid; for their recreation: because we read not that they did sack the City, or spoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they took possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it fell by surprise, the people being diarmed, and the Kings guards too weak to keep them out; yet so that he not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* upon the two and forty brethren of *Ahaziah*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his Brothers Sons, and the cruel massacre wherein all the Royal seed perished (only *Joram* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athaliah* following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistines*, and *Arabians*; make it seem probable, that the Sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first

murder began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

quite hewed down. After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous distemper in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched Soul departed from his miserable carcass. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own Son succeeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the fame Spirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favorites in their authority, and to place about her Son such *Councillors*, of the house of *Athai*, as *2 Kings 22. 4.* were fitful for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much a-do about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funeral of a Man by them detested; but rather chose to let the blame of this mischief be laid upon the dead, than hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked infidellers, having made greedy use of bad employments, to charge not only with his own vices, but with their fault, also, the Man whose evil inclinations their further counsels have made worse, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of *Zechariah* fell out indeed in a busy time; when his friend and Cousin the *Israhelite*, who had the fame name, was entangled in a difficult War against the *Amorites*; and therefore could have had no better leisure to help *Athalia* in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the fame hindrance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*. Yea rather he needed and craved the assistance of the Men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly interested.

The acts of this wicked Man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (puruing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembered in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn, to submit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may make light of God, rather than to think, that they may make light of his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dishonoureth them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Abthalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

 δ, v

*Of the reign of Ahazia, and his business with the King
of Israel.*

O Chaziel, or Abaziah, the Son of Jehoram and Abiah, began his reign over Judah in the twelfth year of Jehoram, the Son of Ahab King of Israel, and reigned but that one year. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficulty than importance to know it; yet here it bred much dispute, whereof I fee no more probable conclusion, than that of Torniellus, alledging the Edition of the *Sepuagint* at Rems, Anno Domini 1588. which faith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his Kingdom, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite the other Copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been younger; for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers customs. In matter of State he likewise upheld the League made with the House of Ahab. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his Coven the *Israelites* against Ramoth Gilead, which they won, but not without blows; for the *Arameans* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not un wounded. The Town being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by Hazael King of *Aram*: which done, Jehoram King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Izrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and Abaziah returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike Abaziah was brewing fome new plots, which his preference would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of Work to leave his Kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go to see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elijah* the Prophet, upon the house of Ahab. And hereunto at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in manyes eyes might seem to have been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Abaziah doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Family was destroyed by Jehu.

THe whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Jehu*, a principal Man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*.

re-¹arising to him the prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashon of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know his errand, which *Yotha* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

John who had upon the suddain this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections who joyned with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreflooded, being no more his own than Gods.

The first care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Ixrel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Teboram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queen *Texabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Abacia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certainly it is, that since the rebellion of *Mazb* against *Israel*, the house of *Abab* did never to much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes came to the Court of *Abab*, and were seated in *Sameir*; *Teharam* the Son of Queen *Tehar* had won the Kingdom of *Ramah Gilad*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wound of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was forgot between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale, by them that beheld the majestic face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great Efforts were (perhaps) either confiding about protection, or their intents, first against the *Arames*, and then against *Mash Ebn Ebn*, and other rebels and enemies; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already well known, and the Queen-Mother dressing her self in the gayest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from the tower discovered a company coming. These news were not very troublesome for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Arames*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Only the King sent out an Hofe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King, to be satisfied, sent out another, that

that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Jehoi*. These dumb hounds bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the Watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehoi* himself by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Athalia* King of *Juda* in his company, whose presence added Majesty to his Train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehoi* was come even to the Townside, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehoi* with terms of Peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the Treason to his fellow Kings, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehoi* soon overtook him with an Arrow, wherewith he strook him dead, and threw his carcass into that field, which was purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Athalia* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the Wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jehoi* might have been advertised of this calamity, if he did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her, when the least expected it. But she, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her self ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at the least to utter some *Apophthegm*, that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry Dogs, that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *fiavium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith the armed her tongue, could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehoi* drew near the opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him

in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his Treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in meer humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her own *Eunuchs* that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehoi* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him; he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her Servants to know which of them would be of his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service, before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of Men; of Men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed Woman by the rude hands of her own Servants, at the commandment of her greatest Enemy, that was yesterday her Subject, but now her Lord: and the perished miserably struggling in vain with base Grooms, who condescendingly did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting Enemy fate on Horle-back, adding indignity to her grief by scornfully beholding her shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcass that was left without the Walls was devoured by Dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, Murder, and oppression, with flow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Athalia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehoi*, was over-taken by the way where he lurked, and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and feck his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers sake, not for his Fathers, nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was interred with his Ancestors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of *Athalia*, and whose Son he was that succeeded unto her.

§. I.

Of *Athalia* her usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

After the death of *Athalia*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdom: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her Son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Josiah* who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia*: being thus dispossessed of her Son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupy the Royal Throne herself, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before hand put into great place,

and made Counsellors unto her Son, such as were fitted for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to stir, whatsoever they lay or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so themselves as to refuse the commodity of godly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrape together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it

were not desired for us to think, that *Athalia* when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her Husband, and afterwards her own Children destroyed by the *Phisians*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her Husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great flow of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his Family, should by any accident fail (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) if the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious Man per adventure, one that to contentance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid thereon, that to Royal house, which was fallen down, and who could allure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the defraction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his Successor, but also the reverendest, and so to provide, that the Crown might never be subject to either, nor remain in the disposition of them: thus loving him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate solicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Mother to the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her Husbands time, yet might she do it in her Sons. For *Athalia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half-brothers, or their Children; as accounting his Fathers other Wives, in respect of his own high Born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their Children bately begotten. But if this mischievous Woman forgot her self so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity which the weakness of her Husband and Son did afford, of procuring to her self some seeming Title; yet could she afterwards feign some such matter, as boldly might be being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her Son or Husbands in another world. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs before hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her Son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her Husbands issue by other Women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Athalia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the Children of the King, and the Children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in *Jerusalem* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehoi*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queens, will

find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heirs by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validity than the Sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereto one may say, Behold this thing is new? it hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a King might lead his Brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonijah*; that he might alienate the Crown from his natural Heirs; *David* had given proof: but he had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why. *Salomon* slew his Brother that had begun one Rebellion, and was entering into another. *Jehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he: *David* purchased the Kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alienate the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Athalia* sought to cut off the Succession of his Brethren, or of their Issue: either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehoiada* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Josiah*, *Behold the King: Son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the Sons of David.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and to the held it six whole years; and a part of the seventh, in good seeming security.

§. II.

How *Jehoi* spent his time in *Israel*, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

In all this time *Jehoi* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in Wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehoi* by Letter advised the Citizens to let up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one days warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoined by a second Letter from him. After this he forced all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great Sacrifice to their God, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the Monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jehoram*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehoi* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the

Q q Crown

Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyrant: he had received his Kingdom by the unexpected Grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the Kingdom should remain in his family, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence, with his own circumpetition; doing therein like a foolish greedy Gainer, who by stealing a needful Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many so ever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom, to retain them, he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the prophecy of *Elisha*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shall thou set on fire, and their young Men shall thou slay with the sword, and shall dash their Infants against the Stones, and rent in pieces their Women with Child*. So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruin of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazael's* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few Towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he smote them in all the coasts of *Israel*, and wasted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (For in those days the Lord began to loath *Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the Noble House of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the Conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master than had put him in trust, then in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are instead of the ease, and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid, and therein by God whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left out to the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had repaid all their confidence.

§. III.

Of *Athalia's* Government.

These calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home; as having little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending

therein to imitate her Husbands Grandfather King *Aha*, who had done the like. And some probability that the did so may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find that this wicked *Athalia* and her Children broke up the house of God, and all things that were dedicated for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon *Baalim*. Such a sacrilege, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her own Idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples Eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the State so requiring; in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next success was fain to do to the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the talk of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himself, howsoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Levi*, must needs have been exceeding great at this time; all their Lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few, and small; and the force laid up in better times under good Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this misery the service of God, and the daily Sacrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the High Priest, no less than in those days wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.

Of the preservation of *Joas*.

Jehoiada then occupied the High Priest-hood, an honourable, wife and religious Man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the fate of the Church was in some slender sort upheld in those unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoshabea*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and Sister to *Athalia*, a godly Lady and virtuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary; but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joas* the young Prince that reigned soon after, was conveyed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings Children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young Child was not hunted out, when his body was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the Children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to the present Government. So *Joas* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his Nurse being gone no Man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she her self should have been slain, was fled

away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that he and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or Men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.

Whose Son *Joas* was.

†. I.

Whether *Joas* may be thought likely to have been the Son of *Athalia*.

NOW concerning this *Joas*, whose Son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversy among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the Son of *Athalia*, seem plain enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give that title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties, appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural Son of *Athalia*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Athalia* was not able to retain the Kingdom; some do infer that this *Joas* was not properly called his Son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a Son in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For the perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom he had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her Husband, at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruin of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrify both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jehabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own Grand-child had been Heir to the Crown; for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and less envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more obeyed by others, and secure of her own Estate, as not wanting an Heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life she might have made greater use, than the could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little less than that of Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requereth it, yea when all humane policy doth reach one the same, which nature without reason would have persuaded.

†. II.

That *Joas* did not descend from *Nathan*.

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to show how it might have otherwise been) the Pedigree of this *Joas* is, by them which think him not the Son of *Athalia*, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the Son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*; to which purpose they bring a History (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, laying that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the Son of *David* there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustin* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the Sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the Daughter of *Amiel*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joas*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the Children of *Oria* the *Heitite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenfis*, who follow the Hebrew Expollers of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himself the only begotten of his Mother, do approve this expolition: for we read of no more than two Sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*; whereof the one, begotten in Adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her Children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have been the Children of *Oria*, and are thought to have been *David's* only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Joas* had not been the Son of *Athalia*, then must that Pedigree have been false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the Loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the Nation, and form of Law; as any other might have been. As for the Authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joas* was not of the posterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to say that this was *Frier Annius* his Philo: for no other Edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speak what he list.

†. III.

That *Joas* may probably be thought to have been the Son of *Jehoram*.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no Man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his Children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his Children for ever: the other doth lay, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a Son left him save *Jehoahaz* the youngest

of his Son. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to David, that, after those Mallices of Jehoram, upon all his Brethren, and of the Philistines, and Arabians upon the Children of Jehoram, one of the seed of David escaped; why may it not be thought that he was laid to have escaped, in whom the line of David was preserved? for had all the race of Salomon been rooted up in these woful Tragedies, and the progeny of Nathan succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event so memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the Genealogy of our Lord; as it is recounted by St. Luke but the preservation of the house of David, mentioned in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, was performed in the person of Jehoshaphat in whom the Royal branch of Salomon, the natural, and not only legal issue remaining of David, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this Joash, who followed Athalia in the Kingdom, was the youngest Son of Jehoram, whose life Athalia, as a Stepmother, was not unlikely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of David's line, by Gods especial mercy in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides Athalia himself there were two and forty of his Brethren, or (as in another place they are called) Sons of his Brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by Jehu; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little less than extirpation of that Progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which Jehoram committed upon his Brethren, if it were (as appears in the History) revenged upon his own Children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philistines and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by Jehu, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked Woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon Jehoram and all his Children, only Jehoshaphat, his youngest Son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with Joash, which is called the Son of Athalia, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could be no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest Son of Jehoram in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be Athalia, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to Reign, and consequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers Age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that Jehoram should have begotten many Children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many Wives and Children, he should upon the sudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which must have been true, if this were true that Athalia was the same Jehoshaphat, which was his youngest Son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the caustic cruelty of Athalia, in seeking the life of Joash, are easily cleared. If Joash and Jehoshaphat were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was seven years old when he began to Reign; which if we understand of years complete, he might have been a year old at the death of Jehoram, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural Son of Jehoram, though called the Son

of Athalia, than it were to say, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the Posterity of Nathan. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of Jehoshaphat, a Child, 2 Chron. 22. 6. that foundeth much more near to Joash, than to Athalia, in an English ear, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilful in that Language) through the diversity of certain Letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of Writing, and little from the other. Now although it be so that Athalia herself be also called Achazia, and must have had three names, if he were the same with Jehoshaphat; in which manner Joash might also have had several names; yet because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

†. IV.

Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to destroy Joash, if he were her own Grand-child.

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the Text according to the letter, it may be said that Athalia was not only blinded by the passions of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worship of Baalim, but purified the accomplishment of some natural desires, in seeking the destruction of her Grandchild, and the rest of the blood Royal. For whether it were so that Athalia (as proud and cruel Women are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of Jezabel always chaste) had imitated the liberty of Jezabel her Sister-in-Law, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by Jehu to her Son; or whether she had Children by some former Husband, before she was married unto Jehoram (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was Daughter of Omri, and Sister to Ahab) certain it is that she had Sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the Crown upon her own Children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for Joash, if he were his Grand-mother, yet he might mistrust the interest which his Mother would have in him, lest when he came to years, it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that Women do commonly better love their Daughters Husbands, than their Sons Wives) there is some appearance in the Reign of her Son: for the made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that the might rule at home; and he living abroad, be estranged from his Wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein Jezabel had cunning enough to be his tutor. But when the Sword of Jehu had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was Athalia slain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only Stepmother to Joash, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using Conjecture in Histories.

THUS much concerning the Person of Joash from whom, as from a new Root, the Tree of David was propagated into many Branches, in handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diversity between it and others, the less methinks, I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all Histories do give us information of human councils and events, as far forth as the knowledge and Faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times fallily. This we often find in Prophane Writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Jews in Egypt unto Jeremy the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For, howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the People, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the Queen of Heaven, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to do; For then (said they) had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off the service of that Queen of Heaven. So blind is the wisdom of Man, in looking into the Counsel of God, which to find out there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will, not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. 44. 21, 22, 23.

S. Phil. Sid. in his Apol. 1. 7. Turpi.

But this History of the Kings of Israel and Juda hath herein a singular Prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely human Authors: it stretch down expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of Ahab to his over-forwardness in Battle; the ruin of his Family, to the security of Jeroboam in Israel; nor the victories of Hazael, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the coming in of Jehu; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean; to his revealed Will: from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman Sir Philip Sidney, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, Records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions, which did sit them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed: for to take out of Livy every one circumstance of Claudius his journey against Asdrubal in Italy, fitting all to another business, or any practice of that kind, is neither Historical nor Poetical) to search into the particular humours of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from

whence they do collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every business; and so figuring, as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in council, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of Man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many Eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own cold temper, or by some subtil malice, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industry of an Historian, having for many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbearth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one final matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great Fires, which consume whole Houses or Towns, begin with a few Straws, that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastned upon some Wood pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is that the War commenced by Darius, and pursued by Xerxes against the Greeks, proceeded from desire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprise of the Athenians upon Sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel: yet Herodotus telleth us, that the wanton desire of Queen Atossa, to have the Grecian Dames her bondwomen, did first move Darius to prepare for this War, before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Herod. 1. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether Herodotus be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in bed with her Husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm, (having I think, in every estate some sufficient witnesses) that matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that Sixtus Quintus the Pope made to a certain Friar, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate, been his Familiar Friend. This poor Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of Speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest Man, than any cunning Politician, to attain unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty Brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unapplies thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus to satisfy the plain dealing Friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this World is governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant Engines, by which the course of affairs is moved; the Pope said true. For the wifit of Men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely, and earnestly,

earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme Governor, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of Jupiter.

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & ubi res, regnaque tristia,
Devotique, mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regie unus equo.*

Who rules the duller Earth, the wind-swoll Streams,
The civil Cities, and th'infernal Realms,
Who th'host of Heaven and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposed to his own honour; he neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all Creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed and will never alter. The vanities of Men beside their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to Hell, is not so delightful as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the Poysons which infect the Soul, many cruel Thorns deeply wounding the Body, all which, if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the Path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not complete felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the Conscience, as doth easily contravert all afflictions whatsoever: though indeed those Brambles that sometimes tear the Skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them with themselves at their journey's end, in presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.

Psal. 116.
v. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvail though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Israel*, being written by Men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which is most requisite for us to know, as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this inflexible rule. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Had the expedition of Xerxes (as it was foretold by Daniel) been written by some Prophet after the Council of God therein, and the execution of his Righteous Will, should have occupied either the whole, or the principal room in that Narration. Yet had not the purpose of David, the desire of his life, and the business at Sardis, with other occurrences, been the less true, though they might have been omitted, as the less material: but these things it had been lawful for any Man to gather out of Prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any Man of judgment will tax me as either fatu-

lous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehereth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things, which Authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every Man's belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty, which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful, nor misbecoming an Historian.

§. VII.

The Conspiracy against Athalia.

WHEN *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the Crown of Juda, and had found neither any Foreign Enemy, nor Domestic Adversary to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his Education should be simple, to make him seem the Child of some poor Man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to have been inducted with the stomach and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehoiada* the Priest considered, and it had been the great increase of impiety, which taking deep-root in the Court, was likely to spread it self over all the Country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated to himself five of the Captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and having taken an Oath of them, and shewed them the King's Son, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. These drew in the action, the principal Men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first only, that they should repair to Jerusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: The Promise of the Lord unto the House of David was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, and other associates of *Jehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so many trusty and servicable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine Service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his further pleasure. So by adding the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough, for if the Tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it self on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the Person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents were bestowed in the utter Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it self had store enough; King

David

All things being in readiness, and the day come wherein this high design was to be put in execution; *Jehoiada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard unto the Kings person; produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the Queen was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seem: for silent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All Jerusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the Windows of the Court; were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise, of folks in the Streets, making towards the Temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though what it might be she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the Divine Service, which caused this much ado; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout Men, about the Town, might give some presumption.

Many things agree that the little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Josaphat* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the Text, *She came to the people in the house of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his Pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or great Men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her Clothes, and cried, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place, which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her self, as one cast away, and cried out in vain upon the Treason, whereby she saw that the most peril. But that she came with a Guard of armed Men to the Temple, (as *Josaphat* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entered alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she got it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her Troop, yet it had been *Queen* madness in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she perceiving that neither her authority, nor her own Weapons, could prevail to let in her Guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is that she

Counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more easie success, through her indifference, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment she was without more ado carried out of the Temple and slain, yea so, that no blood save her own was shed in that quarrel; her final train, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

Most like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Israhelitic*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet she her self, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband, as an Idolaters, and a Murderess. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them surviving her Husband about eight years, did spend the time in satisfying her own affections; the one using Tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this World to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the fuddain by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies Hories; *Athalia* slain at her own Horle-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel*, the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what came of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet or her burial there is no Monument; for she was a Church-robbet. The service of *Bad* erected by these two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priests of that Religion, slain. Herein all it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazeel* the Syrian; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Jude*. Concerning Children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; the bad Sons living after she was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This

2 Chr. 24. 16.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of that which may depend upon it. For if the Children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registered, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every Man shall die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the House of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is that they should not have escaped with life,

if *Jehoiada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the Security of the King and his Friends, that is, of all the Land, drew as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as Heirs of their Mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazeziel* in his Wars against *Jehu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might with the more confidence, adventure to take Arms against their Mother, that was delatate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of *Joas* and *Amasia*, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the Building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of *Joas* his doings whilst *Jehoiada* the Priest lived.

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas* a Child of seven Years old or thereabout, began his Reign which continued almost forty Years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that Honourable Man *Jehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his Ancestors. When he came to Mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a Zeal, that not only the Levites were more slack than he, but even *Jehoiada* was fain to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work, partly out of the Tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the People: who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with Vessels of Gold and Silver, and with all other Urenfils. The Sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the Service of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

§. II.

The death of *Jehoiada*, and Apostasy of *Joas*.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty Years, died before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the Race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that House, by attempting to

eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the People; it being said, *They buried him in the City of David*. As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehoiada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgot, not only the benefits, received by this worthy Man his old Counsellor, but also the good Precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, where-with *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen Years; that thirty Years, or thereabout, of the Reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the Service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the sower admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the Stage, he had driven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed Religious.

§. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians invading *Juda* in the days of *Joas*.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of Men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazeziel* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistines*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty did

did invite him. He had an Army hearted by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the War (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Juda* had assailed the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want more further intigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessor, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extrem misery, to the fury of *Hazeziel* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazeziel* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had allured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not promised such ease and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the Sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men, expelled their Countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the War between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who, like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their Mother, even the whole house of *Abah*, to which he was a subject. If these were so, *Hazeziel* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. However it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore took all the balled things, and all the Gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his own house, with which *Prezias* he redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the allowance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazeziel* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible Man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh of *Joas*, which was the fiftieth of *Jehoiada*, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his Son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none other wise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

2 Kings 12. 18.

This enterprise of *Hazeziel* is, by some, con-founded with that War of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one War. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one, *Hazeziel* himself was present; in the other, he was not named; but contrarywise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have then been the Son of *Hazeziel*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of *Juda*; the second was a small company of Men, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having a very great Army.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazeziel* was in the time of *Jehoiada* the Priest, be-

cause that story is joyned unto the reftauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehoiada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Book of *Kings*, or if the Apostasy of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure, neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Jehu* that righteous Man, or the death of *Jehoiada* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgments upon the house of *Abah*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithal, which are joyned together, were used in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of *Jehoiada*, soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the six, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his Reign, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foul Idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious Men, God keepeth a more even, and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy Man did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should induce to imitate.

§. IV.

How *Zacharia* was murdered by *Joas*.

Sundry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the Son of *Jehoiada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a Man so honourable, and Son to a Man so exceeding beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had repented him (as *Abah* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his Father had born unto the King, and the unreckonable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a Man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, but finite pleasure he appears that brings it. How this King *Joas* having already formed the admonitions

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been secretly deified since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great Persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones, (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being followed by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King upon *Zechariah*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of God's Justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amaziah* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his Father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead Body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handy work of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their Fact, nor strong maintainers of their Persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his Government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of Mens affections, being well allayed, it was easy to distinguish between their Treasons and God's Judgment, which, by their Treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their Children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the Office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging Son. This being done, and his own Life the better secured, by such exemplary Justice, against the like Attempts, *Amaziah* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen Years.

As *Amaziah* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long Peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in Power, by following the War hourly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jehoram*. For this sin had God to plague the House of *Israel*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hielzel* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Joas* and his Son *Jehoahaz*. But as God's Benefits to *Joas* sufficed not to withdraw him from this pollitic Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz*, from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God withholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended upon the Prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable Subjects, were obdurate in following their own abominable ways. There fore in temporal matters, the ten Tribes recovered space, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they sought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amaziah*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisba*, who lived in those times, did foretell the Prosperity of the *Israelites* under the Reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz* wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy Cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the Burthen upon his hopeful Son; we find that in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, King of *Juda*, *Joas* the Son of *Jehoahaz*, began to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth of his Father's Reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor Stock which he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Among other Circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisba* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus, O my Father, my Father, *King the Chariot of Israel, and the Horsemen of the Land*, by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the Prayers of this holy Man had stood his Kingdom in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could do.

This Prophet who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Joas* the Son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehoi*. To shew how the Spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest upon him; it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead Child unto Life, as *Elisba* had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead Bones should restore Life unto a Carcase, which touched them in the Grave. In fine he bestowed, as a Legacy, three Victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of *Amaziah* his War against *Edom*; His Apostasy; and overthrow by *Joas*.

THE happy success which *Joas* had found in his War against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amaziah* a desire of undertaking some Expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like Honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand fighting Men for the Wars; and his Treasures were sufficient for the payment of these and the hire of many more. Cause of War he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his Grandfather *Jehoram* had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by means of the Troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his Father *Joas*. Yet, so far as the Men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exercise of War (excepting that unhappy Fight wherein they were beaten by a few Bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of Wisdom to increase his Forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred Talents of Silver, an hundred thousand valiant Men, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Joseph* diminisheth the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand.

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This great Army, which with so much cost

Amaziah had hired out of *Israel*, he was fain to dismiss, before he had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill success, if he strengthened himself with the help of those Men, whom God (though in mercy he gave them Victory against the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dissimulation, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand Men; and some Spoil, which they carried away. But *Amaziah* with his own Forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their Journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining Victory, he slew ten thousand, and took over ten thousand Prisoners, all which he threw from an high Rock; holding them, it seems, rather as Traitors, than as just Enemies. This Victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the Crown of *Juda*, which might be the cause of that severity, which was used to the Prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the Lives of their Friends and Kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own Liberty. Some Towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amaziah* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no Garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the Conquest of the whole Country. Howsoever it were, he got both Honour by the Journey, and Gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other Spoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquished and taken Prisoners, did deserve well to be led in Triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange Witchcraft, so befot their unworthy King *Amaziah*, that he set them up to be his Gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense unto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the world. If either the costly stuff, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious Workmanship and Beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had ravished the Kings fancy; methinks he should have rather turned them to matter of Profit, or kept them as Household Ornaments and things of Pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded, with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his Imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such Auxiliary Forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said that he was encouraged, and led forth his People, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by Miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his Hearts desire. But with better Reason he should have limited his Desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Elias*, having broken the Yoke of *Jacob* from his Neck,

accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his Servant. If therefore *Amaziah* did hope to re-conquer all the Country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both Profit and Honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched Pride, wherewith Men being transported, can endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those Actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their industry, courage or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entering into Battle are careful to pray for Aid from Heaven, with due acknowledgment of his Power who is the giver of Victory; when the Field is won, do vaunt of their own Exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a Battalion; a third, how he seized on the Enemies Cannon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God. As one that had not been present in the Action. To ascribe to Fortune the effects of another Man's Virtue is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which fineth better success, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happiness; so he whose meer widom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the Victory, and for those Virtues by which the Victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of Magnanimity, no Virtue being so truly Heroical, as that by which the Spirit of a Man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptance, unto the love of God, in which sense it is a brave Speech that *Esau* in *Virgil*, methinks to *Edom*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hostes contemneri opti, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his Head: he had shewed himself a better Man of War than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehoshaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *David*: of which Honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred Talents, and done him no pleasure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any Miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) *Joseph* doth testify, saying, That he despised GOD, and that being puffed up with his good Success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his Subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Sovereign, as they had done his Ancestors King *David* and King *Salomon*. Some think that his Quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dissuaded in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late Wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old Title forgotten long since, and by himself neglected, thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might be so, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question,

Job. 40. 19. c. 10.

return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam his Son*. For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Israel from under the Heaven, he preferred them by the hand of Jeroboam, the Son of Joab.* This is enough to prove, that the vicious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad Catastrophe; the riches of the Temple halting his misery and death, as they had done with *Sefec, Abialia, and Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Amichas, Crassus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Country, to bid him battle in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his own Country, by the Syrian in his absence, if not by all of these; *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook all his life in few months after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant Son.

§. X.

The end of Amasia his Reign and Life.

Any Man is able to guess how *Amasia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in arms, threatening to work wonders, and sit upon the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncased of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing so terrible as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministered unto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubters, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amasia* (besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of those calamities which happened by their own default) there was no Child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good Man of War, being himself a Daftard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-say. The Father of this *Amasia*, was a beastly Man; yet when the *Aramies* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at a dear rate, as the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the halt which they had made in confederating to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelites* (which was easie enough) a little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the *Aramies* would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trusted up his baggage, he was ready to go, a little courage would have served to persuade him to leave his load behind; had not

their good King delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his running away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*; a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed, unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a Man in his adversity of his faults pallid, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were less welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a hear to him, whereof themselves might always be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himself had abandoned the City, leaving it, before the Enemy was in fight, unto *Abshalom* his rebellious Son. Many besides him had received losses, where in the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily have been kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sefec* in? *Asa* was reputed a virtuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Helike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though whosoever had given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their Masters commandments, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not Master of his own Person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune itself, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to flee, as others were; he might have escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the Enemy having wisely preferred the surprize of a Lion that was Captain, before the chase and laughter of an Army of Stags, that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amasia*, were able to persuade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to importune this late disaster, unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he was stirred. As for his Subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we

Chap. XXII.

may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his own ruin. That that suspected his own worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person, than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority, in purchasing the name of a severe Man. For the affected sorrowful of a vain fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a shew of reverence, to him that does the Wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the Eyes of Underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, Men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mispend, in seeking to appear such as they are not.

This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unlabile Spirit, being over-perterbed with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amasia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people to think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe, that he did not love them? The best was that he had, by revenging his Fathers death, provided well enough for his own security; but who should take vengeance; (or upon whom?) of such a murder, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amasia*, careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; so his Subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such headlong fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and tie to *Lachis*, for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his presence in the Country abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionless, he chose the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Army for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmost City of his Dominion Weltward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territory of the *Philistines*, or the Kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town, added their own treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the death of *Amasia*.

It hath already been shewed, that the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by complete years; otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last years of his Fathers Reign, or the foremost of his Sons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacancy, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly let down in Scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amasia* King of *Juda*, lived after the death of *Joas* King of *Israel* fifteen years; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amasia*, was about the end of fifteen years complete, which *Jeroboam* the second (who in the fifteenth year of *Amasia* was made King over *Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzzias* (who is also called *Asa*), unto his Father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Asa* began to Reign in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life, being joynted with the first of two and fifty that he Reigned. So the Interregnum of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter founds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Asa* was eleven years under age, that is five years old, when his Father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the text it self may have suffered some Wrong, by miswriting twenty seven for seventeen years, and so, by making the seventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be saved. These are the conjectures of that worthy Man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the author himself doth easily let it pass, as impracticable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it left, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Asa* began his reign, being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an interregnum in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zacharias*'s Reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peky*, and the beginning of *Ezias*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amasia* was slain, doth make

more probable to have happened there, yea although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury, having so far extended it self, as unto the destruction of the Kings own person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they which already had thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetful Subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Asaria* to have been King but one and forty years, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign single in the fifteenth of *Amasia*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them complete, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every Man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with *Amasia*, and more particularly of *Sardanapalus*.

THE Princes living with *Amasia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Aladus*, and *Sylvius Avemnius* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Phredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedaemon* *Theclitus*, in whose time the *Spartans* war from the *Achaïans*, *Geracles*, *Amyche*, and some other Towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Affiryan Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amasia* succeeding his Father *Ocraceps* or *Anacyndanaxes*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which forewent the Reign of *Asaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Nimro*, which had held Empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was passing away his time among Strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any Man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that base spectacle, of a Man disguised in Womens attire, and striving to counterfeit an Harlot, that he thought it great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belsus* or *Belsus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well

pleased with this prophecy, did promise unto *Belsus* himself the government of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perfians* into the quarrel, the other persuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand Men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such Forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountered the Rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, answer to the manner of his reticence. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belsus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, persuaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those Forces joined themselves with his. The sudden departure of the Enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feign his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great security, was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salomon* to keep the Field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Nimro*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nimro* should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the town. Of this greatness and strength of *Nimro*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Nimro*. It was so well vintualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and slain *Salomon*) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted Engines and skill to force those walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swollen with rains, it not only drowned a part of the City through which it ran; but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs and all his treasures, did let the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a City *Strabo* of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that City and *Tarsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding Men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraging either, with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, testifies that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any virtue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of writers agree with this Relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greek writer, that lived in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might best be known. Concerning

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Affria*, from the time of *Sennanis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orſius* hath it, incessantly) buffed; in offensive or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*,

who saith, that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did; that which *Theophilus* *Antiochensis* hath said of them is very true; Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIA.

§. I.

The prosperity of *Uzzia*, and of *Jeroboam* the second, who Reigned with him in *Israel*. Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of *Jeroboam*. Of *Zacharia*, *Sallum*, *Menahem* and *Pekahia*.

UZZIA, who is also called *Azaria* the Son of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas* King of *Israel*. He served the God of his Father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Elath*, a Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistines*, of whose Towns he disannulled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous Wars, wherein (as *Josephus* reherceth his Acts) he began with the *Philistines*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand Men of War, over which were appointed two thousand six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared Shields, and Spears, and Helms, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late Predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to War the Princes and all the Chariots.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the achievements of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not superior to any others that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For besides that great Conquests are wont to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his Lands to the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient to such Husbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding, whereof he might well keep great flocks, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattel and Herdmen, he built Towers in the Wilderness, He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found Water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he commanded the water that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith; questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Elath* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Towns among the *Philistines*, he repaired the Wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many Victories, against the *Syrians*, he won the Royal City of *Damascus*, and he won *Hamath*, with all the Country there about from the entering of *Hannath*, unto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast Deserts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the Reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well; for he was an Idolater; it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the success of War, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, under the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehoi*, to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel* unto the fourth Generation, was now not far from the end; and now again it was revived unto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it self, given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehoi* from that politic Idolatry, nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity, of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only giver of Victory. Wherefore the promise of God, made unto *Jehoi*, that his Sons, unto the fourth Generation, should sit on the Throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, after a victorious Reign of one and forty years, had ended his life, it seems in all relation that *Zacharia* his Son, should forthwith have been admitted, to Reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four Kings,

Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown paid by election, mult needs have appeared bafe; and the virtue of the laft King, having been fo great, as might well ferve to lay the foundation of a new Houfe, much more to eftablifh the already confirmed right of a family fo rooted in poffeffion. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did pafs before *Zacharia* the Son of *Jerobam* was, by uniform confent, received as King. The true original caufes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Beitbel*, where the golden Calves did ftand: yet fecond instruments of this difturbance, are likely not to have been wanting, upon which, the wisdom of *Sam* was ready to cast an Eye. Probable it is that the Captains of the Army (who afterwards flew one another, fo fast, that in fourteen years there Reigned five Kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the Kingdom afunder, holding each what he could, and either defpifing or hating fome qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, wearied with diffection, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent Man, they confented to yield all quietly to the Son of *Jerobam*. That this *Anarchy* lasted almost three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time, between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laft of *Jerobam* his one and fortieth (his feven and twentieth concurring with the first of *Uzzia*) and the eighth and thirtieth of the fame *Uzzia*, in the laft fix months whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by fupposing *Jerobam* to have reigned with his Father eleven years, do cut off the interregnum in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the fame reason, abridge this *Anarchy*, that was before the Reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time fufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, was no lefs diftempered, than as is already noted. But I chofe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jerobam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his Fathers Reign unto his own, which was it self indeed fo long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this Idolater, bygh with a longer Reign, and with a longer life, than he did his Servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the Throne of *Israel* was void, before the Reign of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his Reign it self, while lasted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the Golden Calves, which was enough to justify the judgment of God, whereby he was slain. He was the laft of *Yeho's* house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly fucceffion: the Prophecy having determined that race in the fourth Generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu*, for the slaughter of *Jerobam*, and for the eradication of *Ahab's* Houfe.

Zacharia having been fix months a King, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a month in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; save only that he was a Traitor, and the Son of one *Tabeel*, whereby his Father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of Faction had laboured for himself; and

now, when all other Competitors were fitten down, thought easily to prevail against that King, in whose person the race of *Yehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tabeel* of *Thafis*, and the coast thereof even from *Tzabab*, where *Benadom*, his enemy and fupplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the Man that murdered him. Yet, as the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his Treason, and was slain by *Menadom* who reigned in his place.

Menadom the Son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhuman; For he not only destroyed *Tabeel*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ripped up all their Women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Dildain, and other private passions, to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menadom*, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Affrica*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeased, with a thousand Talents of Silver, levied upon all the substantial Men in his Country. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdom, but his own establishment therein: some factious Man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came unbidden) fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-beloved King. *Tophet* reports of this *Menadom*, that his Reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his Tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekabiah*, his Son, occupied his room.

Of this *Pekabiah* the story is short: for hereigned only two years; at the end whereof he was slain by *Pekai*, the Son of *Kemalia*, whose Treason was rewarded with the Crown of *Israel*, as, in time coming another Maus Treason against himself shall be. There needs no more, to be said of *Menadom*, and his Son, save that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Son (as we find in *Tophet*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul*, the *Affrican* King, who first opened unto those Northern Nations the way into *Palestina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Babylon* (called also *Babylon*, and by some, *Pul* *Belochus*) who joined with *Arabs* the *Medians*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other Man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who out-lived the happiness wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of *Uzzia* his Reign and Life.

AS the zeal of *Yehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the mean, to preserve the lineage of *David*, in the person of *Joa*; so it appears, that the care of holy Men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up, and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hatred born to his Father *Azaria*, had endangered his Succession. For it is said of *Uzzia*, That he sought God in the days of *Zacharia* (which understood the visions of God) and when, as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

Y. 15.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up in his deflection: for he transgressed against the Lord his God: and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense, upon the Altar of incense. Thus he sought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude, and civil policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from encroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoever the King forgot his duty, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the High Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him to understand, how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the Sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant Men, but their valour was shewed, only in assisting the High Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself performed. We find in *Tophet*, that the King had appalled himself in Priestly habit, and that he threatened *Azaria* and his Companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Tophet*, indeed enlarged the story, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rouled four furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the High ways, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, which was presently infected with Leprosy. All this may have been true; and some there are who think that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much mis-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jerobam* King of *Israel*, who died seven and thirty years before *Uzzia*; so that *Jaham* the Son of *Uzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, have been then unborn: for he was but five and twenty years old, when he began to Reign as King. Therefore, thus far only we have assurance; that while *Uzzia*, was wroth with the Priests, the leprose rose up in his forehead, before the Priest. Hereupon he was caused, in haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself, until he died; the rule over the Kings House, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jaham*, his Son, and Successor. *Jaham* took not upon himself the file of King, till his Father was dead; Whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of *Uzzia*; and of Princes then ruling in *Aegypt*, and in some other Countries.

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hofea*, *Jeh*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Jeh*, or *Obadiah*, did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *S. Hierome's* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hofea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath fo

painfully been fought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great victories of *Jerobam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to have prophesied in the days of *Joa*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter, the Text it self intimating no less: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason, unto some very learned; to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose days *Nineveh* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings unto extant: in all the rest are found express promises of the Messiah.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Ezra*, the first of the four great Prophets, began to see his Visions. This difference of greater and lesser Prophets is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as *S. Augustin* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger Books. The Prophet *Ezra* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much Writing; or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the Son of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellency, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wife, That (as *Jerome* saith) one would think he did stir in not forget of things to come, but compile an History of past matters already past.

Bocchoris was King of *Aegypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*. After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Alychis* followed in the Kingdom of *Aegypt*, unto him succeeded *Anysis*; and these two occupied that Crown fix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Assyrian*, became King of *Aegypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia* his reign and life. Of these and other *Aegyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermeddied with the business of *Juda*.

In *Athen*, the two last years of *Arifiron* his twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Thelpeus*, the twentieth of *Agamemnor*, and three the first of *Achilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewise did in *Alia* the last seven of *Sylusius Arcinimus* his seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Sylusius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Sylusius Amulius*. In *Media* *Araces* began his new Kingdom, in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his Son *Sofarnus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Araces*, and the division of the *Affrican* Empire, between him and others, who had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wonder in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Affrican* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian King, descending from Phul: and whether Phul and Belofus were one person; or both of sundry Families, that Reigned apart in Nimive and Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent that the chief therein was *Arbaces the Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that War, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shewn upon *Belofus the Babylonian*, by whose especial advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he used the counsel of his own Captains, and then pardoned him of his own Grace; allowing him to hold, not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embellishing whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) only the Sovereignty to himself, which to use immediately he did not naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nimive*; permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joined with him, as the *Persians* and *Babylonians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackning too much the Reins of his own Sovereignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Country was pared narrower by *Salmassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom we find, in the Scriptures, to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fifth of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that Government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the Conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nimive*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, but in the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who Reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nimive*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy Man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learn-

ed that subscribe thereto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtful case. Neither shall it be needful to set down apart the several authorities and arguments of sundry Men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can; and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Army; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Ammius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Paul Belochus*. Of this Man it is said, that he was a skilful Astrologer, subtle, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Affria*: finally, that he Reigned eight and forty years, and then dying, left the Kingdom to *Teglat-Phalassar* his Son, in whose posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Heraclides* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Ammius* his *Metabornes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainful: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptory herein. But, howsoever *Ammius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirm. They, who maintain this Tradition, justify it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no History at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diadorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Babylonians*, who joined with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captains were with governments: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to have *Affria* itself, the chief Country of the Empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their own Walls and Houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nimive* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needful policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down, from aspiring to recover the Sovereignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politic, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous even to *Rome* it self, that was Masters of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdom anew, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose desertings, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the War against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal part of the Empire fell,

fell, either by general consent in division of the Provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose near Neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Affria* to himself, and to encompass any other Man, that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Hierodorus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the Gold and Silver that had been in the Palace of *Nimive*. And questionless to restore such a City as *Nimive*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Affria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easy matter for him, to pass quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, seeking booty afar off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Pul* is known. But it we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Belses*, and *Belsus*, (in like manner as *Joseph* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius the Mede*, was the Son of *Alyages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, having settled his affairs with good leisure enough upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince, of the *Arabians*, who joined with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, merely for the love of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitful Province, adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loved not *Israel*, should for their own behoof have given him intelligence, of the destruction and civil broils among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had for an heavy Neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new King in *Damajco*, and clearing the Coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations divided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the River came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadeczer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damajco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts; what a King reigning so far off as *Nimive*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom,

had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, left it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no Man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did pass the River of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the interregnum in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he suppotheth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldees*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardless only of it self. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Affria* was given to *Belofus* (as an overplus, besides the Province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high desertings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did only encroach upon that Province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Manabem* his reign; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Affria*, and settling of that Country, was work enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the reparation of *Nimive*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belofus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Affria*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great laughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate War, which overwhelmed the whole Country, not ending but with the ruine and utter desola-

tion of *Nimrod*, mult needs have fo weakened the State of *Affria*, that it could not in thirty years Space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, raising in *Nimrod*, did help to enable *Belus* to subdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpolation of that Country, secure of the *Syrians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdoms, whereinto civil diffention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Arames* about *Damascus*, friends and consins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alleged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Ahasuerus*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countries, have called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*; especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our selves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabopolassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belus* or *Belshazzar* were that *Pul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nimrod* and in *Babylon*; if he were Father of *Teglat-Pul-Asar*, from whom *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assur-baddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabopolassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmanassar*, who is known to have reigned in those years, which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabopolassar*. As for *Mardocach*, who supplanted *Assur-baddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by taking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premises, upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabopolassar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Pul* and *Belus* were several Kings. This consequence is to plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabopolassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabopolassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Affria*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name, is proper to the *Affrians*. It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affrians*, do shew,

that *Nabopolassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and not *Affrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabopolassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mardocach-ken pad*, but more briefly in *Ezay* his prophesy, *Mardocach*, by the former part of his name; or *Mardocach Baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*. Now if *Mardocach*, the Son of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the Son of *Nabopolassar*, then was *Nabopolassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Affria*.

What can be plained? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabopolassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in Greek or Latin writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon* *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it self. To conclude, *Mardocach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the sixth year of *Hezekiah*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Sennacherib*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Mardocach*, yea and *Nabopolassar*, were all one Man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Pul* *Belus*, for the proving that *Pul* and *Belus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful Men be confest that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Amnius* his Authors given such offence, that Men refused thereupon to read their Books and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that *Amnius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, that I can well enough digest a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have (some what peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Amnius* his Authors: nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other Histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serve to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful Men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who let down the *Affrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabopolassar*, such Writers as a Man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Amnius*, though did kill him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so light a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them Men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and fee whether they be of such force, as cannot either be refuted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabopolassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Affria*, some Men doubt whether

ther *Scaliger*'s Reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabopolassar* be a *Chaldean* Name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affrian*; yet what hindres us from believing, that one Man in two Languages might be called by two several Names? That *Afronoe* was flourished among either an *Affrologer*, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them, *Prophetas nescio quis, qui Nabopolassarum Afronem fuisse in fœnis viderunt; Prophetas I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabopolassar, then he was an Afrologer.*

Whether *Nabopolassar* were an *Affrologer* or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the Negative. But as his being Lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their Sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also King of *Affria*. The Emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was born in *Cam*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had Men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematics, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Posterity will not use this as an Argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs, It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabopolassar*, did use the *Affrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars, that it seems, that he and his Posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable Arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being methinks none other than Answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike found and writing of those Names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabopolassar* in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no Man will dispute, for it is not likeness of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of Persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Ezay*, concerning *Mardocach* the Son of *Baladan*, and in that which is said of this *Mardocach*, or *Mardocempadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabopolassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of *Hezekiah*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in half. I will therefore defer the handling of these Objections, until I meet with their Subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekiah*, wherein *Mardocach* lived and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this Argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Mardocach* to be the Son of *Nabopolassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have falsified their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belus* or *Belshazzar*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their Offspring, making that of *Pul* to fall in *Assur-baddon*, which left all to *Mardocach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess mine own want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this Narration into some such order, as might present unto us the Body of this History, in

one view. Divers, indeed; there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his Opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sihus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat-Pulassar*, did reign, (perhaps because he found it not express'd in *Scaliger*) but is content to fer down *Baladan*, for the same Person with *Nabopolassar*, Which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the Plot of these divided Kingdoms, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus ornellus*; who only of all that I have seen, sets down the Succession, Continuance, and Acts, of those that reigned in *Affria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belus*, and his Posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornellius* is a Regular Clerk of the Congregation of *S. Paul*, whose Annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a Man of curious Industry, found Judgment, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Books he hath received good Information, and enriching his Works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this Business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Tornellius*, but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and with that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and emboldened me, to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-haughtly passed out of my hand, and been expell'd out other Mens cogitations) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring, as I C. 17. have done, to say, that they may probably be the thought to have been some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, fought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belus*; in which Contention, one *Pul*, a powerful Man in *Affria*, sided with *Belus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, between *Oriens*, *Amhory*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornellius* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty, that *Arbaces* made himself Sovereign Lord of all, and placed the Seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Pul* in *Affria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass, by the just Judgment of God, that *Pul* and *Belus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and instead of being his Viceroy, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later Opinion *Tornellius* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former Supposition, telovling to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised, how *Pul* and *Belus* might, at the first, attain

to be Kings, he orders their time, and their Successors, in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to Reign, and continues eight and forty Years. *Theglathophalar* (whose Name, and the Names of other Princes, I write diversely, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven; and when he was slain, *Asarhaddon* his Son ten Years; in whom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Affria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belus* usurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it three-score and eight years; at the least three-score and eight Years did pass, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the Possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Babylon*, are assigned six and twenty Years: then, two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardacampas*; four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*; and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabopolassar*, the Father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who is like to offer matter of further dispute.

Concerning the original of these *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other Men, who give all to *Belus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Tornilius* would have conceived two different ways, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Affria* (for how *Belus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden King of *Affria*, or to give him no noble a Province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the Name and Power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his deserts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a Reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Division it self, and the Civil Wars that caused it, were never heard of, Questionless, the interverting of some Treasures by *Belus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of far less note. Therefore I do not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we must confess, the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his Merits, or else his Merits, and Name withal, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the Conjecture, inferring such a Sequel, is wide of the Truth. As for the Rebellion of *Phul* and *Belus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affrians* to recover such strength in Rebellion: for *Belus*, as might serve to hold out in Rebellion: for *Belus*, it was needless to rebel, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of Liberty) even the *Medes*, that were under his own Government, to do what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all (for some will require a large Discourse in their own times)

but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be so unlawful to think, that some of *Ammius* his Tales (let them not all be counted his Tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged Truth, or appear Likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Affria* eight and forty Years? For this hath no other ground than *Ammius*. It is true, that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of Years, to agree fully with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Ammius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Ammius* his Forgery (as questionless he is often guilty of this Crime) that when he tells Truth, or Probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not improbable Conjectures. Herein we shall have this Commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to help our own Opinions, and lay the blame upon *Ammius*, against whom we shall be sure to find Friends that will take our part.

The Reigns of *Theglathophalar* and *Salmassar* did reach, by *Ammius* his Measure, to the length of five and twenty Years the one, and seventeen the other; *Tornilius* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own Conspiration; using the Liberty whereof I speak last: for that any Author, save our good *Metaphyses*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Tornilius* gives the same length of Reign, which is found in *Metaphyses*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may well be allowed unto a Man so judicious as is *Tornilius*: yet could I wish, that he had forbore to condemn the followers of *Ammius*, in this Business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like Liberty we find that he hath used in measuring the Reigns of the *Chaldeans*; filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the three-score and eight Years of *Belus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belus* might have begun his Reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for three-score and eight Years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young Man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his Age abated by shortning his Reign, seeing his Life reached to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private Man, enough for a long liver. Indeed, eight and forty Years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the Story to have been little less, at such time as he joined with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty Years did well deserve that note (which *Tornilius* adventitiously gives) that if his Reign extended not so far, then the Reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of *Tornilius*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Seibius Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps

describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Loadstone, with Head-Lands, Bays, great Rivers, and other Particularities, agreeable to common Report, though many times controlled by following Experience, and found contrary to Truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such Liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Neque fœvædis
Pars inclausa calaribus
Mundi, nec Borea finitimum Lævi,
Duraæque Jole Nives,
Mæcæorum abignæ: horrida callidi
Vincum æquora Navæ.

Nor Southern Heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence.
The subtil Shipmen will find,
Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, do serve only to mislead such Discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curies, or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty Jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy Spanish Gentleman, who had been employed by his King in planning a Colony upon the Straights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Straights, which methought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his Enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters Wives Island*; saying, That whilst the Fellow drew that Map, his Wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Country for her; that he, in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the Blanks of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should run backward, and by reworking the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Ammius* or *Tornilius*, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not say, that the credit, which we give to *Ammius*, may chance otherwise to be given to one of those Authors whose Names he pretends. Let it suffice, that in regard of Authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornilius*, than *Ammius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious dispute; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capna* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the State-house, and offered their lives to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the Commonalty

had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The Condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every Name was read, all the Town cried, Let him die; but the Execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious Vice of the Person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his Quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that fading the worse and less Choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFTER this division of the *Affrian* Empire, follows the inauguration of the *Olympian* Games, by *Iphitus*, in the Reign of the same King *Ozzias*, and in his one and fiftieth Year. It is, I know, the general Opinion, that these Games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that Opinion so general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in profane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those Works of Time, which had no reference to their Affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of Accounts, we joynt them to matters of *Isaiah* and *Judas*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* Games and Exercises of Activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the Race by his own Foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his Body. They took Name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the Name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These Games were exercised from every fourth Year compleat, in the Plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many Years, till *Iphitus* by Advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the Reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cædemon*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this Institution, *Varro* accounted the *Grecian* times, and their Stories, to be certain: but reckoned all before either doubtful, or fabulous; and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the Reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth Olympiad, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cæsar*, *Polymius*, and others hath gathered, in whole time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cæxus*, and *Cæxus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing Brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*; namely to set them in the true Year of the World, and the Reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first Account, that is, of the Worlds Year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Oflus* or *Azardus*.

Enfibus who is contrary to himself in this Reckoning, accounts with those that find the first Olympiad in the beginning of the four hundredth and fifth year after Troy, yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Eratosthenes placeth the first Olympiad four hundred and seven years after Troy, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of Troy, and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of Troy to the descent of *Hercules* his Posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian Expedition*, threecore years; from that Expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his Government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first Olympiad, one hundred and eighty years. In this Account the first year of the first Olympiad is not included.

But vain labour it were, to seek the beginning of the Olympiads; by numbring the years from the taking of Troy, which is of a Date far more uncertain. Let it suffice, that by knowing the inauguration of these Games, to have been in the four hundredth and eight year current after Troy, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, setting that, and other Accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the Olympiads, must teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use, we have the ensuing years, unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided, by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the Olympiads, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*, eight, and forty years; forwards to the Victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the Battle of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to four hundred fifty and three years; which number be otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the Institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have Arguments, grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his Reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomical calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sun, as of that which happened when *Xerxes* let out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers others.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his Reign as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty nine years of Reign (following *Herodotus*, rather than *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth Olympiad. This later note of *Alexander's* Death, serves well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like Observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall find all to agree with the years of the Olympiads, wherein *Cyrus* began his Reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five

and fiftieth Olympiad, unto the end of the *Persean Empire*, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth Olympiad, we find two hundred and thirty years complete: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find complete two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Persean Empire*.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundredth and fortieth year from the institution of those Games by *Iphius*) followed the last of the seventy years, of the captivity of *Juda*, and defolation of the Land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years; and one hundred threecore and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these Olympiads; which by this Account is the one and fiftieth of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For Examples sake, that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threecore and seventh year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threecore and fourteenth Olympiad; leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threecore and ten years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the Reigns of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and wish what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily Exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those Feats, whereby there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of Exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable Quality, to make trial of their Skill. Yea the very Cyers, which proclaimed the Victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of having played the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games; whose Justice, in pronouncing without Partiality, who did best, is highly commended. As for the Rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other Commodity following, than the Reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three Sons crowned for their several Victories in those Games, one came running to him with this Gratulation: *Morre, Diagoras, non enim in celum ascensurus es; that is, Die, Diagoras, For thou shalt not climb up to Heaven: as if there could be no greater happiness on Earth, than what already had befallen him.* In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducit
Palma Castoris.*

Such as like heavenly Wights do come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Neither

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the Songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these Olympian Prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to have won the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those Games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous Victory, or Conquest of a Province.

That these Olympian Games were celebrated at the Full of the Moon, and upon the fifth day of the Month *Hecatembeon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Month begin with the new Moon, that the fifth day might be the Full; I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their Games, whom I shall meet in more serious Employments, when the *Persean* Quarrels draw the Body of this History into the Coasts of *Ionis* and *Hellas*.

§. VI.

Of *Jotham* and his Contemporaries.

Jotham the Son of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threecore cubits upright, and the threecore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the Land of *Juda*, and in the Forests, Towers, and Balances, he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundredth Talent, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand Measures: he reigned fix and twenty years; of whom *Isaiah* gives this Testimony. *Epiphanius* very Principally says, *ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideret: ne quis Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo iustitiam, artem ipsam tanta fide cura esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hominum quidem mirum contemderent, domesticis autem ejus modis atque civibus salix, fastum & fortissimum sua virtute esserit*; This was such a Prince, as a Man could find no kind of Virtue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his Men so righteously, he was so provident for the City, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his Virtue and Prudence he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his Enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his Reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and virtuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelstern* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, that *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the Race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglabphalasser, or *Teglabpheser*, the Son of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new Race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekaiab*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he took most of the Cities of *Neptalis* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the Inhabitants captive. This *Teglab* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzenius* finds, that with his Son *Salmanser*

he reigned yet two years longer: which years I would not ascribe to the Son; because the *era* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single Reign, but reckon them to *Teglab* *Phalassar* himself, who therewith reigned seven and twenty years.

Aschylus, the Son of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twenty years. *Alcarnenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*; but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, that *Pausanias*, a Prince of eminent Vertues, succeeded his Father, and reigned threecore years, and outlived the *Messenian* War: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the Son of *Nicander*, his Royal Companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the Prophet; who foretold the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the City of *Ninive*; which succeeded (saith *Isaiah*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sofarnus* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.

Achaz, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Pekah*, the Son of *Rimmon*: the same being also the last year of his Father's Reign; who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned fifteen, but not complete years. This *Achaz* was an idolater, exceeding all his Predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his Son for Sacrifice before the Idol *Atalch*, or *Saurim*, which was represented by a Man-like brazen Body, bearing the head of a Calf, set not far from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The Children offered, were inclosed within the Carcases of this Idol, and as the Fire encreased, so the Sacrificers, with a noise of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the Air, to the end the pitiful cries of the Children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and devilish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judea*, divers Authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of his *Æneids*—*Sanguine placuisse, &c.* and *Silius*,—*Pelore caute Deo*. *Saurim* is said to have brought this Custom into *Italy*, besides the calving of many Souls unto the River of *Tiber*, instead of which, *Hercules* commanded that the Waxen Images of Men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of Butchery, in so much that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own Children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saurim* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest Youths of their City to be slain, and offered to *Saurim* or *Saurim*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed

§. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the Reason of the Names of Latini and Latium.

IN Italy the Latines and Hætrurians were most famous, the Hætrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the Latines by the virtue and felicity of the Romans, who were a Branch of them, subsiding all Italy, and in few Ages whatsoever Nation was known in Europe: together with all the Western Parts of Asia, and North of Africa.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reynæcius* (following them) think to have been *Ætruscians*; and this Name of Aborigines (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they possessed: which Title the *Ætruscians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their Antiquity from beyond the Moon, because indeed, neither were the Inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their Seats, so oft as other *Greeks* were, who dwelt without that half Island, neither had the *Ætruscians* so unsure a Dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Country was less fruitful in Land, Mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of Latium, and held it long, did according to the *Ætruscian* manner, stile themselves Aborigines, in that Language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Ætruscians* who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, and are always noted as unapt Men to prove good Mariners, should have been Authors of new Discoveries, were a Question not easy to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of Children, in which those Ages abounded, inforceth a superfluous Company to seek another Seat, and that some Expeditions of the *Ætruscians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of Italy, are generally acknowledged.

After the Aborigines, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave Name to all Greece: but their Antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good Records. Neither was their Glory such in Italy, as could long sustain the Name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one People with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ætolians*, *Armenians*, *Etrusci*, and other People, did in Ages following disturb the Peace of Latium, which by *Saturnus* was brought to some Civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturnus* *S. Augustinus* calleth *Serces* or *Serapis*, others term him *Stereus*, and say, that he taught the People to dung their grounds. That Latium took his Name of *Saturnus*, because he did *Lætare*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionable a Fable. For as in Heathenish Superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Country or another, wherein a Man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most Fables and poetical Fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, that *Ætruscians*, by the memory of speech or some allusion,

they did mainly and darkly express (for so they feigned a passage over a River in Hell; because Death is a passage to another Life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful; therefore they named the River *Sisyx* of Hate, *Corymbus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Pain: so also because Men are stony hearted, and because the *Greek* *Λαοί* People, and *Λαοί* Stones, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Dædalus* Stones converted into Men as at other times Men into Stones) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturnus*'s hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*; as it is noted in the *Æt.*; whence also *Elyas* of the true God says, *tu Deus abscondi te*. For it cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew* *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I do not, but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reynæcius doth conjecture that the *Cæteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the Men who gave the Name to Latium. For these *Cæteans* are remembered by *Homæ* as Aiders of the *Trojans* in their War. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homæ*, calls them Subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reynæcius* gathers, that their abode was in Asia: viz. in *agro Elæiæ*, in the *Elæiæ* Territory, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Æolians* held in Asia, called *Elæa*, or *Elaiæ*, *Paulanus* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Colemi*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Colomni*, which Name last rehearsed hath a very near sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cethim*; the *Greek* Letter [D] having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to [T H] differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many *English* Words written with the same Letters. Wherefore that these *Cæteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaiæ*, or *Elaiæ*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Ætruscians*, *Pociani*, *Ætolians*, and *Elæans*, who all were of the *Ætolique* Tribe, are found the Names of the Mountain *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæus*, the People *Elæia*, the Cities *Elæus*, *Elæia*, and *Elæia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine Tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other Name than *Elaiæ*, from whence *Latium* may come. Now whereas both the *Cæte* and *Ætruscians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is something unlikely, that agreeing in Language and similitude of Names, they might nevertheless differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the Name of *Sabinus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Ætruscians* would call *Elaius* (of which Name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elæia*) be named of the *Cæteans* *Latinius*. *Reynæcius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Eurypius*, Lord of the *Cæteans*, being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Age*, the Daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*, was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, Brother to *Eurypius*, conduct the *Cæteans*, who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the Affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of Italy, where the *Ætruscians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reynæcius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian* *Ætruscians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother

Age, was

Age,

Age, an *Ætruscian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Ætruscian* Name, and to be called *Elaius*, which in the Dialect and Pronunciation either of the *Cæteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elaius*, and then *Latinius*: That this Name of *Elaius* may have been taken or imposed by the *Ætruscians*; it is the more easy to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidus*; the other of *Elaius*, who were Sons of *Arcus* King of *Arcadia*, which gave Name to the Country: and between these two Families the Succession in that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably for many Ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* War it fell into the hand of *Hippothus* of the Race of *Elaius*, in whose Posterity it continued until the last. Again, the Name *Latinius*, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an Accident. This is the conjecture of *Reynæcius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent Truth, or fair Probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the Originals of Latium.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines until *Aeneas* his coming.

THE Kings which reigned in Latium before the arrival of *Aeneas*, were, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinius*. Of *Saturnus* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applicable to this Man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks*, called by them *Xpion*, or some other, filled *Saturn* by the Aborigines. For the Age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the hero, but the Names of * *Stereus*, and *Stereus* (for it may be this Name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the People, but rather the Soil which they laid on their Grounds, had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other Man.

* *Piculus* one calls the idols of deities then discovered. And hence it may be that in the Evangelist we read for *Piculus*, *piculus*, which is interpreted of an idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stereus* should stick unto him.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good Horfman. The Fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill he had in Sooth-saying, or Divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowls. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gave to *Evander* the *Ætruscian* (who having slain by mischance his Father *Echonus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into Italy) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fauna*, the Sister of *Faunus*, was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetess, and highly commended for her Charity; which Praise in her must needs have been much blest by her Marriage, it self being merely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his Sister any Child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, save only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinius* as his Son, by a Nymph, called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, save only that her Abode was about the River *Liris* near *Minturna*.

Of the Name *Latinius*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circæ*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only *Sabinus* of the second, of whom he faith, that his Name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cæti*, were from his Surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reynæcius*, the difference conflicting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reynæcius* makes him his Nephew, by a Son of the same Name. This *Latinius* having obtained the Succession in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the Son of *Venulus*, who was Sister to *Amata* *Latinius* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arrived in those Parts with fifteen Ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked according to the rate which *Trocy* did allow to the Vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred Men: then *Latinius* finding that it would stand best with his Assurance, to make Alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great Reputation of *Aeneas*, which himself had heard of in the War of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former Appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed herewith, fought to avenge himself by War: which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinius*, it is very certain, that were she an Italian; she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Aeneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cæti* into Italy, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reynæcius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withal that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into Italy. That this Name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a Surname, it may seem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which Name very well might be derived from the *Greek* Name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the Name by which the High Priest call every Virgin, whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a Surname, no sooner *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venulus* her Sister.

Lavinia, the Daughter of *Latinius*, being given in Marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that Race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the Might and Greatness of the Romans.

§. IV.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Governors of Alba.

Aeneas himself being of the Royal Blood of *Troy*, had the Command of the *Dardanian*: he was a valiant Man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Cressa*, the Daughter of *Procas*, he had a Son called *Ascanius*; whose Surname was *Iulus*, having before the ruin of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been Surnamed *Iulus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his Wife, *Lavinia*, the Daughter of *Latinius*, being great with Child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a Son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his Father's Funeral. This Flight of *Lavinia* was

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to evil taken by the People, that *Ancus* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young Son, his half-Brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ancus* leaving to his Mother-in-Law the City *Lavinium*, which *Ancus* had built, and called after his new Wives Name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his Reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years; *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose Contention between *Sylvius*, the Son of *Ancus*, and *Tullus* the Son of *Ancus*, about the Kingdom: but the People inclining to the Son of *Lavinia*, *Tullus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his Race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose Posterity were afterward called *Sylvii*.

The Reign of the *Alban Kings*, with the continuance of each Man's Reign, I find thus set down.

1. Sylvius Posthumus	29
2. Sylvius Aeneas	31
3. Sylvius Latinus	50
4. Sylvius Alba	39
5. Sylvius Anus	26
6. Sylvius Capys	23
7. Sylvius Capetus	13
8. Sylvius Tiberinus	8
9. Sylvius Agrippa	41
10. Sylvius Alladius	19
11. Sylvius Aventinus	37
12. Sylvius Procas	23
13. Sylvius Amulius	44

Years.

Alia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*
Romulus Remus

The most of these Kings lived in Peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the Borders of *Latinum*: who finding much upon the Honour of their Original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albia*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tiberis*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into Italy. The Mountain *Aventinus* had Name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein; but *Virgil* hath it of other wife. *Tullus*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Ennius* as Father of another *Tullus*, and Grand-Father of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in Rome. *Namitor*, the elder Son of *Procas*, was deprived of the Kingdom by his Brother *Amulius*; by whom also his Son *Agrippa* was slain, and *Lia* his Daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the Issue of *Namitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two Sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some Man of War. Both the Children their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the Mother buried quick, according to the Law; which so ordained, when the Vestal Virgins broke their Chastity. Whether it was so, that the Mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Ambo*, the Daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two Children were preserved, who afterward revenged the Cruelty of their Uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Namitor* their Grand Father to the Kingdom: wherein how long he reigned I

find not, neither is it greatly material to know, for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of Rome; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of Italy) is dependant. After the death of *Namitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Namitor* left no male Issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in Rome; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magistrates; of whom only two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Clautius*, who in the days of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *ome*, died in the Camp; and *Metius Soffertius*, the Successor of *Clautius*, who surrendered the Estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the success of three Men of each side, who decided the Quarrel by Combat: in which, the three Brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curietis*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Alban* Forces against the *Veientes* and *Etruscans*) withdrew his Companies out of the Battle, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with *Tullus*; who notwithstanding this falsehood obtained the Victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel Death, causing him to be tied to two Chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cesar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten Pedigree, in full Assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare Industry, Valour, and Judgment, obtained the Sovereignty of the Roman Empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his Posterity; whereby the Name of *Aeneas*, and Honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of Glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of *Romulus's* Birth and Death.

OF Rome, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the Birth and Education of *Romulus*, the Grand-Child of *Namitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering People, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in pieces by the Iron Teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Porcius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Tamus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marcellus*, and many others of equal Credit, give the *Grecians* for their Ancestors: and as *Strabo* reports in his fifth Book; *Cecilius verum Romanorum scriptor ex argumento colligit, Romanos a Graecis esse conditam quod Romani Graeco rina, antiquo infinito Herculi rerum faciant, matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cecilius* (saith he) a Roman Historiographer, doth by this Argument gather, that Rome was built by the *Greeks*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish* Fashion, by ancient Ord-

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nance do sacrifice to Hercules: the *Romans* also worshipped the Mother of *Evander*.

Plutarch in the Life of *Romulus* remembers many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circé*; *Romus* the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* lent thither from *Troy*, or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drove the *Tyrians* out of that Country, built it. *Solinus* bestows the honour of building Rome upon *Evander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, that it was anciently called *Febria*, after the Name of *Febria*, the Mother of *Mars*; witness *Saint Augustine* in his third Book de *Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the Work of *Romulus*, even from the Foundation: of whom and his Consorts, *Juvenal* to a Roman Citizen vaunting of their Original, answered in these Verses:

*Atamen un longae repetas, longaeque revolvās
Maiores quosque primas fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut silvā quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy Pedegree so far;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or elfe, that I'll forbear.
meaning either a Shepherd or a Thief.

Now of *Romulus* Begetting, of his Education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his Mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his Father; that he was nursed by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepherd's Wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Gyrrus*, the same incredible Fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with Armour to *Rhea*, the Mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with Child; and therein it seemeth to me that he might have two Purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the Daughter and Heir of his elder Brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdom; the other to satisfy his Appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a Nun of the Goddess *Vesta*, it was Death in her, by the Law, to break her Chastity. I also find in *Faucher* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merope*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Faucher* says, *Let them believe it that list; Il le croira qui voudra*: also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are Poetical Inventions: but to answer these Imaginations in general, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or Passions of the Mind, or as there were of Vices and Vertues, then did many Women greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by professing to be forced by more than humane Power: so did *Oenone* consents to *Paris*, that he had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchises* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with Child by some Man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the God of Battle, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong Wit, and by such a one as had those Properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merope* might fancy a Sea Captain to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Evandus* was called for her Beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the Child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nursed by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the Cur-

rians in those days were called *Wolfs*, *que nunc* (saith *Halicarnassensis*) *beneficari vocula amica appellatur*; which are now by an homier name called *Friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his Life taken up into Heaven, or rather out of the World by his Father *Mars*, in a great Storm of Thunder and Lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the River *Nimicus*: but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for he re-heareth the other Opinion, that the storm was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his Birth and at his Death, and that he might be slain by Thunder and Lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Aurelianus* was slain with Lightning, so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slain with a Thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperor (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tigris*, was there slain with Lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a Man of War, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the Roman Emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was but the seventh King after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-Law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himself died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassensis* end this dispute: whose words are these. They (saith he) who draw nearest to the Truth, say that he was slain by his own Citizens; and that his Cruelty in punishment of Offenders, together with his Arrogancy, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported that both when his Mother was ravished, whether by *Jove* *Mars*, or by a God, the whole Body of the Sun was eclipsed, and all the Earth covered with darkness like unto Night, and that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the Birth and Death of *Romulus*: whose Life historiified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few Miles which had soon been forgotten, if the Roman Greatness built upon that Foundation, had not given it memory in all Ages following, even unto this day. A valiant Man he was, very strong of Body, patient of Travel, and temperate in Diet, as forbearing the use of Wine and Delicacies: but his raging Ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his Brother, and neglect revenge of the death of *Tatius* his Companion in the Kingdom, that he saw himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned seven and thirty years first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time the Sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a Man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it self in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long been sole Governours till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greek Emperor was crushed by foreign Enemies, and the *Latines* deploied of Imperial Power, the fell into the subjection of a Prelate, twining by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from Luxury to defensive Arms, and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes her self again to the Cross and Staff.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the story of the times of King *Aeneas*, during whose Reign in *Tenny*, the Foundations of this famous City were laid.

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CHAP.

Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemy's, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the History of the Bible.

A's the first Year of *Abaz*, his Reign was confounded with the last of his Father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen Years taken up in the three first of *Ezekias* his Son. This appears by the Reign of *Holoz* over *Israël*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Holoz* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it follows, that *Ezekia* began to reign in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Holoz*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may have been concurrent, *viz.* the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hofez* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost complete, some would find the means how to disjoin the first of *Hefezia* from the fifteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Abaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezezia*, may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

tes, it is the fourteenth of *Ezekia*, *Sennacherib* invading *Judea*, and the Countries adjoining, loft his *Angel*, and miraculous froke from Heaven, fied home, and was flain. The year following it was that God added fifteen years to the Life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the fame year was that Miracle feen of the Son's going back; of which wonder (as I hear) our *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for his skill in Altruometry, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fifth of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then *Thursday*. It is not necessary that any Works of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, is a necessary that he produce fome Record of observation made at fuch a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekia* is agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the like Ages for that faying, which is usual in the like Ages, that *Ahar* *lived with his Father, and* *Ezekia* his Son reigned in his ftead, it doth not more prove that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like faying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoshaphat*, and fuccellion of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whilft his Father lived, we have already faid enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his Devotion and Zeal. For whether it were so that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had out-worn his Reputation) gave way to his Sins proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first Year and first Month of his Reign, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doors of the Temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his Iole Government; we plainly find it so, have been his first work, that he opened the

Doors of the House of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut up, cleaned the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their Offices, and Estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and brake down the brazen Serpent of *Nefesh*, because the People burnt Incense before it, and he called it *Nabothian*, which signifieth a lump of Brass. He did also celebrate the Pass-over with great Magnificence, inviting thereto the *Israelites* of all the Tribes, many of them were converts of those Tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem* to this Feast. But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekiel* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the Memorial of their deliverance out of the *Ægyptian* Servitude, fell into a new Servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechie* his Reign, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath*, the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Holam* King of *Israel* had practised with *Son* King of *Ægypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of Miferities) forced it and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Son of the same Name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*, in whose Scars and Places the *Affryans* feat Strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Ifraclites*, as *thofe* of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Spernam*, besides *Babylonyans*: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

The latter *Affyrin* Kings, and the *Perfians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred Books. These therefore serve most apply to joyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is that of *Cyrus* and some other *Perfians*, we find in the Bible the same Names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmassar*, with other *Affyrin*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of Name hath bred question of the Persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speak of *Salmassar*, King of *Affir*, who reigned in the time of *Abaz*, and *Ezekiab*, Kings of *Judab*, and of *Holse* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same Man. The like Reason all requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnessar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerm*. hath well collected sufficient Proof from the exact Calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them

it appears that between *Nebuchassar* and the birth of *Cyrus*, there passed seven hundred forty and five Years: as which distance of time the Reign of *Samarmanassar* was: One great proof hereof is this, which the late *Bachmeiser* allegeth out of *Eranemus Reinboldus*, in the *Prænotitia* Tables. *Mardachab*, King of *Babylon* (whom *Prohmey*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Meredach*, who sent Embassadors to *Sassakab*, King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, between *Mardach* and *Salamannassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardachab* and *Nebuchassar*. Like wife *Eusebius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samarita*, to the devastation of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnessar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three Years: the self same distance of time is found in *Prohmey*, between *Nabonnassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Prohmey* seems to differ from this account, making *Nebuchadnessar* more ancient by an hundred and forty Years than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samarita* in the eighth Year of his Reign; so that the seven foregoing Years added to these one hundred thirty and three make the accounts of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Prohmey*. *Prohmey*'s computation is that from the first of *Nabopolassar* to the fifth of *Nabonnassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and five years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ending of *Nebuchadnessar*'s Years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we have the summe of one hundred and forty Years. In so plain a case more proofs are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Prohmey* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two Years after the first of *Nebuchassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the Authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematical observations do so thoroughly concurr.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest manifested, whereby he proved *Baldan* the Father of *Mardochai*, to have beened this *Nabnessar*, I will not spare to lofe a word, or to twin giving the Reader satisfaction herein. I am true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* Recorded, after the time of *Nabnessar*, were in the Reign of *Mardochai*; the second Year of whole Reign, is according to *Ptolomy* concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabnessar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardochai*, was from the beginning of *Nabnessar* twenty seven Years, fifteen Days, and eleven Hours: the account being from *Nabnessar*, beginning at high noon the first day of the *Aegyptian* Month *Thoth*, then ascending to the twenty fifth of *February*, and thence to the twelfth day five minutes before mid-night, or the twelfth day of *March* at Noon, when the first day thereof agreed with the new Year of *February* the first day of the *Aegyptian* Month. And thus it appears that the difference of time between the Kings *Nabnessar* and *Mardochai*, is not considerable, by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Aegyptian* Years. But how does this prove that *Mardochai* was *Mardochai*, was the Son of *Nabnessar*? yet, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successor or any way of his Lineage? It was enough to satisfy me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* him

Tell'd afterwards believe *Mardochæus* to have been rather the Nephew, than the Son of *Saladur*, or *Nabonnassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Country-man *Livy* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornælius*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emerenditate Temporum*, do hold up the 'same assertion, confounding *Saladur* with *Nabonnassar*: I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet cannot I find in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the Succession of *Merochab* to *Nabonnassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the asseer Succession of *William the Conqueror*, to *Henry the First*, to have been the Son or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonnassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing that our Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Amnius*, so far as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, Reigned in *Babylon*, and *Affrica*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Telois*, *Nabonnassar*, and *Mardacompasus*, and theret: no good History naming any others, that Reigned there in those Ages, and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa from Sennacherib.

When *Salmannasser* was dead, and his Son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourth Year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-Father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmannasser*, invited by *Shalmaneser* King of *Assyria*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Istael* had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Army to lie before *Jerusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his Peace, as he hoped; with thirty hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judea*; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Judea* to deliver Hostages, the *Assyrian* envied *Jerusalem* with a gross Army, and having his Sword in his Hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own Conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greatest Counsellors, to parly with *Rabfakes*, over the Wall, and to receive his demands : who used three principal arguments to perswade the people, to yield themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezechias* desired *Rabfakes* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* Tongue, and not in the *Jewish*, yet be with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude

Ptol. Al-
mag. l. 4
c. 8.

2 Kings
18. 21.

titude in their own Language. And for the first, he made them know, 1. that if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be enforced to eat their own Dung, and drink their own Urine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Egypt, from whom the Jews had hoped for Succour, and compared him to a broken Staff, on which who-soever leaneth pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the Gods who should help them, Ezecchias had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had been preserved ever since Moses's time; and whilal he had them remember the Gods of other Nations: now, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no means to rely on him; for they would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while when he had understood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerful Army, he himself left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and sought Sennacherib at Libna in Judaea, either to inform him of their resolution in Jerusalem, or to confer with him concerning the Army of Terabach the Arabian. Soon upon this there came Letters from Sennacherib to Ezecchias, whom he partly advised, and partly threatened to submit himself: using the same Blaphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But Ezecchias, sending those Counsellors to the Prophet Elisha, which had lately been sent to Rabfacc, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also beseought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and Blaphemous parts of Sennacherib's Letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, That the King of Ashur had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had put fire on their Gods; for they were no Gods, but the work of Mens hands, even Wood and Stone, &c.

2 Kings
19.Herod. 1. 2.
p. 57.Jes. 37. 1.
38. 1.Her. 2. 2.
117. 1. 2.

The reason that moved Sennacherib to desire to possess himself in halfe of Jerusalem, was that he might thereunto have retreated his Army, which was departed, as it seemeth from the Siege of Pelisium in Egypt, for fear of Terabach: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprize (which in these Books of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Paralipomenon, speak but of the Affairs of Jews in effect) yet the ancient Berofus, and out of him, Josephus, and S. Hieron, together with Herodotus, remember it as follows. Herodotus calleth Sennacherib King of Arabia and Assyria: which he might justly do, because Tigris his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Fekch King of Israel: as Gilkad over Jordan, and the rest of Arabia Petrea adjoining: the same Herodotus also maketh Sargon King of Egypt, to be Vulcan's Priest, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacherib's return from Pelisium in Egypt, which he also beseiged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weapons of that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of Terabach, remembered by Josephus, and Berofus, was the more urgent. S. Hieron upon the seven and thirtieth of Ely, out of the same Berofus, as also in part out of Herodotus, whom Josephus citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports Sennacherib's retreat in these words. Pugnavit autem Sennacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Egyptios, & obsedit Pelisium, tanquam extrinsecus aggeribus, ubi ca-

piende, venisse Taracham Regem Ethiopiam in auxilium, & una nocte iuxta Jerusalem centum viginti quatuor milia exercitus Assyriorum pestilentia corripuit morali Herodotus: & plenissime Berofus Chaldaeus Terabachem indicat quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est. That Sennacherib King of the Assyrians fought against the Egyptians, and Beseiged Pelisium, and that when his Armies were built for the taking of the City, & Terabach King of the Ethiopians came to help them, and that in one night near Jerusalem one hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrian Army perished by Pestilence, by these things (saith Hieron) * Herodotus reports: and more at large Berofus * A Writer of Chaldean Story, whose credit is to be in part taken from their own Books. Out of Ely it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Army was in this manner. Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with Thunder and Shaking, and there shall be a great noise, a Whirlwind and a Tempest, and a flame of devouring Fire. But Josephus hath it more largely out of the same Berofus, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not not of the to be omitted, Sennacheribus autem ab Egyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem suo Rabfacc Imperio reliquerat peste Divinitus immixta delictum, prima nocte postea quam Urbem oppugnare cepisset, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum viginti quatuor milibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regem que Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, & filius suus, Adramelech, & Sennacherib, citam amissi: occisus in ipso Sennacherib Templo quod dicitur Arasch; quem precipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium a popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asarcolus minor filius in Regnum successit. Sennacherib (saith Josephus) re- he was turning from the Egyptian War, found there his Army, which he had left under the Command of Rabfaccs, destroyed by a Pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault the Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Soldiers being consumed: with these Chiefs, and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and without afraid what might come to the rest of his Army, he made great marches into his Kingdom, to his Royal City, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the Treason of two of the Elders of his Sons, Adramelech and Sennacherib or Sennacher, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to Araceus, or Neftroch: whom he especially worshipped. These his Sons being for their Parricide charged away by the people: and flying into Armenia, Asarcolus his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdom. Who in the beginning of his Reign sent new Troops out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colony therein planted by his Grand-father Salmannassar. What this Mefoch was, it is uncertain: Hieron in his Hebrew Traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that Venus Urania was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus witness. Many fancies there are, of what cause his Son had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on Asarbadon. Tobit tells us, That it was fifty five years after Sennacherib's return, ere he was murdered by his Sons; during which time he flew, great numbers of the Israelites in Ninive, till the most just God turned the Sword against his own Breast.

§. III.

§. III.

Of Ezecchias his Sickness and Recovery; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

2 Kings
20.

Jes. 39.

Ez. 40.

After this marvellous Delivery, Ezecchias sickened, and was told by Iffiah, that he must die: but after he had besought God with Tears for his Delivery, Iffiah as he was going from him returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen Years. But Ezecchias somewhat doubtful of this exceeding Grace, praeit a sign to confirm him: whereupon, at the Prayer of Iffiah, the shadow of the Sun cast it self the contrary way, and went back ten Degrees, upon the Dial of Achaz. The cause that moved Ezecchias to lament (saith Saint Hieron) was, because he had as yet no Son, and then in despair that the Messias should come out of the house of David, or at least of his Seed. His dislike seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the Medicin given him by the Prophet, to wit, a mass of Figs, laid to the Borch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wife Men of Chaldaea had told to Merodach, King of Babylon, the first of that House, he sent to Ezecchias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezecchias shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet Iffiah, who told him; The days are at hand, that all that is in thine House, and whatsoever thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seem strange, how Ezecchias should have got any Treasure worth the shewing: for Sennacherib had robbed him of all, the Year before. But the spoil of the same Sennacherib's Camp repaid all with advantage, and made Ezecchias richer upon the suddain than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was strong temptation to boasting. After this time Ezecchias had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having Reigned nine and twenty Years. One only offensive War he made, which was against the Philistines, with good success. Among his other Acts (shortly remembered in Ecclesiasticus) he devised to bring Water to Jerusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoiced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his Enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to Strangers. But the reason which moved Ezecchias (speaking humanly) to entertain the Embassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the House of Sennacherib, his fearful Enemy. For Merodach, who was Commander, or Lieutenant under Sennacherib in Babylon, usurped that State himself, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his Son Asarbadon; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his Brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembering, that their Ancestor Phil Beluchus had set his own Master Sardapanus besides the Cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this Kings weakness did offer, as it had been for Beluchus to make use of the others wickedness: and so, finding himself beloved of the Babylonians, and sufficient-

ly powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The alteration of this History is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phil Beluchus; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut asunder the Line of Ninus, there were only five Kings.

Phil Beluchus	} who Reigned	{	48.
Tiglati Pilassar			37.
Salmannassar			10.
Sennacherib			7.
Asarbadon			10.

But so far as much as the last year of Salmannassar was also the first of Sennacherib his Son, we reckon the time, wherein the House of Phil held the Assyrian Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one Years; of which, the last five and twenty were spent with Ezecchias, under Salmannassars, Sennacherib, and Asarbadon.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media during the Reign of Ezekia: Of the difference found between sundry Authors, in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other Contemporaries of Ezekia: of Candaneus, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

IN the time of Ezekia, Medius, and after him Cardaceus, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in several Histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the Sons Reigning with the Fathers, have caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they governed Media, to exceed the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of Ctesias and Ammian his Metaphrases, have been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of truthfulness: so it is, that the names, number, and length of Reign, are all very diversly reported of these Median Kings, that followed Arbaces: Therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon Medius and Cardaceus as Contemporaries with Ezekia. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that vary from Eusebius, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the Roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry Authors have delivered it.

Ammian his Metaphrases orders them and their Reigns thus.

Arbaces	} who Reigned	{	28.
Mandanes			30.
Sosarmes			30.
Artaxerxes			22.
Artaban			22.
Artaban			22.
Artaban	} who Reigned	{	40.
Artaban			22.
Artaban			20.
Artaban	} who Reigned	{	30.
Artaban			30.

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Ammian made his Metaphrases follow Diodorus, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces

Abaces	28.	} who Reigned	} Years.
Alaudanes	50.		
Sofarmus	30.		
Acyas	50.		
Arbians	22.		
Aysau	40.		
Ayryes	22.		
Arabanu	40.		

Ashbara. } the continuance of these two he doth
Ashyages. } not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But so far as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesibus* and *Metaphanes*, I will lay the burthen upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an Age better furnished than ours, with Books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medius* and *Cardicus*, are found in *Eusebius*; for whether *Cardicus* were *Diodorus* his *Arbians*; I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, Reigned in this order.

Abaces	28.	} Reigned	} Years.
Sofarmus	30.		
Medius	40.		
Cardicus	15.		
Dejoces	54.		
Phraortes	24.		
Cyaxares	32.		
Ahyages	38.		

These names, and this course of Succession I retain; but add unto these, *Cyaxares* the Son of *Ahyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings Reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine Years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Governors of *Athen*: for ten Years; that is of *Charops*, *Asmetes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippotes*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own

Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be locked up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any Food: so that the Horse constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and Founder of that City *Romulus*, did Reign both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same Age.

This Region was first called *Mæonia*. *Lydis* the Son of *Arys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Aleus* the Son of *Hercules* by *Taranda*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclids* continued Reigning fifty five Years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the Son continually succeeding the Father. *Candaules* the Son of *Arsifus* was the last of this Race, who doated so much upon the Beauty of his own Wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the Son of *Dasylias*, to behold her naked Body; and placed the unwilling Man secretly in her Chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with Treason. So *Gyges*, being brought again into the same Chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*; and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He Reigned thirty eight Years, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his Son *Ardis* Reigned nine and forty Years; then *Sadyattes*, twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty seven; and finally *Croesus*, the Son of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who lost the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perfia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Croesus* his Progenitor dispossessed, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which governed several Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Myrians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as like-wise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusan*; besides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the *Heraclids* that Reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my self to take notice in the times of their several Reigns: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the Reign of Ezekia in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a League against the Assyrians.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Viceroy. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his History of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting down briefly the state of that Country, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Assyria for the mastery. Of *Cham*, the Son of *Noah*, who first planted that Country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroy or Stewards, such as *Isoph* was, and such as were the *Soldans* in later ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their Reigns, and other circumstances, proving them to have been Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand, to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of History doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnify their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forty two descents, which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the *Perfian* Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings, in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names we find scattered here and there; any Man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth Book of the Holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroy. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elbadecb* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtle Man, made himself *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an Arabian, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* ministered matter of quarrel to *Almarick* King of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little loss, an Invasion, which *Almarick* made upon Egypt. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any Forces wherewith to enter Egypt. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aid, who sends an Army of his Turks, under the command of *Syracou*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victory was *Dargan*'s, but he enjoyed it not: for in few days after, he was slain by Treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignity: which to establish he flew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the Caliph *Elbadecb* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the Administration of the Kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and e joy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the Caliph himself. *Syracou* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be incited there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more Company from *Damasco*, for the Conquest of all Egypt. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expel them; much less to repel the Turkish Army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends *Messengers* to King *Almarick* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aid, and to drive out the Turks. Of all this trouble, the great Caliph hears nothing, or not so much, as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the Caliph *Elbadecb* particularly, in his own Title. *Syracou*, Captain of the Turks, that had been in Egypt, goes to the Caliph of *Baldach* (who was appointed to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as Heir to *Mahomet*, that false Prophet, the Sovereignty over all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakness of the Egyptian, with his own ability of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismatical Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Byzantinian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms; and *Syracou*, with a mighty power, defendeth into Egypt. The noise of this great expedition

so affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his Forces he hasteth into *Egypt*: well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joyning all under one head. *Sauar* the *Sultan* perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his Friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the Enemies out of the Country. But this Victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in Title only, who meddled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the Christians (without whose help, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition, that he should abide by it. He prometh a great Tribute (*William* of Tyre calls it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Egypt*, for this bechevalous assistance. But the Christians understanding that the *Soldan* (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himself. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cesarea*, and a Knight of the *Templars*, are sent unto *Eldadech*, to ratifie the Covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the *Caliph* and his Estate.

These Embassadors were conveyed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troops of Soldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, and were kept by many armed Bands of *Extrangers*, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the *Soldan*, as he passed along. Through these freights the Wardens led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their Eyes. For there they saw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with Embossed works, curious Pavements, Fifty-ponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, unknown in these parts of the World, as coming perhaps from the *East-Indies*, which then were undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuchs conveyed them into other Courts within these; as far exceeding the former, as the former did surpass ordinary Houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how, the further they entered, the more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain Author. Finally, they were brought into the *Caliph's* own Lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entering the Presence, the *Soldan*, having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he were about his Neck, and throw himself on the Ground, before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* sat. Presently the Traverse, wrought with Gold and Pearls, was opened, and the *Caliph* himself discovered, sitting with great Majesty on a Throne of Gold, having very few of his most inward Servants and Eunuchs about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters Feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the Land stood, and the offers that he had made unto King *Almarick*, desiring the *Caliph* himself to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he would thoroughly perform

all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness concended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cesarea* saw that the *Caliph* gave his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holes to hide itself; Princes, that will hold Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargains with your Glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yield so far. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the Covenants, word by word, as the Earl spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatness.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great Estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his Neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the mean season, using all Royal power; making War and Peace, entertaining and expelling Armies of Strangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary to a Foreign Prince. What greater Authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the King's house will I be above thee; Behold, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt*.

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Avar, that where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burthen of that servitude, which he brought upon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient Customs, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomaeus Lagi*, and his Son *Philadelphus*, Founder and Establisher of that Race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their own Appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, Eunuchs, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient, to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroy Governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of Tyre; who lived in the same age; was, in few years after, Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Cesarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians*, have honoured with that Title; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we should make enquiry.

§. I.

Of *Acherres*; whether he were *Uchoreus* that was the eighth from *Olympandys*. Of *Olympandys* and his Tomb.

IN this Business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the Truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them, and late Writers, that have sought to gather the Truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Ammus* would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold myself contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in laying somewhat of *Ofiris*, *Isty*, *Orus*, and those Antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, have not been silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains, to range into some good order the Names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the Reign of *Thauris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call *Protem*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of Reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chembres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Olympandys*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Tismus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Olympandys*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight Generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Olympandys* to have been the Husband of *Acherres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited he *Josephus*) doth omit his Name, and insert his Wives, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his Wives Right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this Man: for he takes *Ogdon*, not to signify in this place of *Diodorus* (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* Name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two Names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my Brains in the unprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodorus* hath found of this *Olympandys*, was wrought upon his Monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the siege of a Town, the captivity of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the Conquest of *Babylon* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of Work, which *Diodorus* so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of *Burial*, to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Vice-Roy; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular Monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many Statues,

therein placed, by the Wars, the Judgment-Seat, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Revenues, and plenty of all Cattel and Food; all which were there curiously wrought; shewing the several Offices of a Governor. On the Tomb of *Olympandys* was this inscription. I am *Olympandys* King of *Kings*; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my Works. Let them, that hope to exceed his Works, Labour to know what he was. But since by those words, Or where I lie, it should seem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Joseph* whose Body was preserved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-lived him, erect in Honour of his high Deeds, among the Royal Sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattel, and all manner of Viands, had good reference. The Name *Olympandys* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Joseph* had one new Name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the Dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his increase of Honour. As for that Title, King of *Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Bagherbe*, as the Turkish *Pap-faes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joseph* and *Acherres*, (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Vice-Roy *Joseph* was) yet will I hereby seek, neither to fortify mine own conjecture, as touching *Joseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by some fifth King, as was *Gebor*, Lieutenant unto *Caliph* *Elcain*, who had *John* *Leo* going to his Masters wife, conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistress, though he himself were a *Dalmatian* Slave.

§. III.

Of *Cherres*, *Armeus*, *Rameffes*, and *Amenophis*. Of *Myris*, and the Lake that bears his Name.

WHEN *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdom fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameffes*, threecore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameffes* is that History understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the Greeks, under the Names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*; that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in Marriage to his Brother's fifty Sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her Husband the first Night; that only *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did save her Husband *Lycus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this Fact, all the bloody Sisters, when they died, were enjoined this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessel with Water.

The Reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameffes*, *Egyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Moria*, who caused the great Lake to be made which bears his Name. For my own part, as I can easily be-

cessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first year of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomon's* Reign, and the twenty-sixth of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacrilege no longer, than *Joa* the *Israhelites*, and *Croesus* the *Roman* did; who, after him, spoiled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Necho*, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the Greek Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the Succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Ethiopian*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Elijah*, that the Counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that House, inasmuch, that they said of *Pharaoh*,

12. 19. 11. I am the Son of the Wife, I am the Son of the ancient King.

But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the Reigns of *Josiah* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marries all, the Reign of *Josiah* being misplaced. This Error grows from his omitting, to compare the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Joram*, King of *Israel*, is made to reign three years after *Ahabaz* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekiah* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collateral than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other Kings reigned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned between the times of Rehoboam and Ezekia.

Following therefore the Greek Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemis*, first in the rank of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramids, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramid hath his Name from the Shape, in that it resembleth a flame of Fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being four-square, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was above six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by Weather in so long a space. From the Reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand years, which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramids, late Writers refuse, that they have seen them yet standing.

Diodore L. 1. After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclosing rather to the opinion, that his Son *Chabres* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be

Chabres) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been Brethren; but the length of their Reigns may argue the latter to have been Son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty six. These were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of Pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramids were ordained to be Tombs, for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their Bodies; and to have called their Monuments by the Name of an Herdsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their Houses, and entitling a poor Fellow to their Works, did hold to be the casting out of their Bodies: otherwise it is hard to conceive, how it might be, that they, who had no power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger Brother, or Son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the Tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughters: that her Father, wanting Money, did prostitute her, and that the, getting of every Man that accompanied her, one Stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike he was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluity of her Father's provisions.

Mycerinus, the Son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father six years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The People thought him a good King, for that he did let open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatened him with a short Life of six years only, because of his devotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt* should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their part; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years. It is very strange, that the Gods should be offended with a King for his Piety; or that they should decree to make a Country impious, when the People were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter Destiny, and make the Ordinance of the Gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* Gods. The true GOD was, doubtless, more offended with the reformation of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem*, in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* Superstition? Sure it is that his Reign, and the Reigns of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both Days and Nights, as if by keeping Candles lighted, he had changed his Nights into Days, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devil, than the reformation of Idolatry did then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reimercius* fifty years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been some error of the Print, though I find it not corrected among other such over-lights: for I know no Author that gives him so many years, and *Reimercius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Mycerinus* with a short Life, as is before showed.

Bocchoris is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong Man of Body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved Justice; and may be taken for that *Banckyrus*, whom *Suida* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons four and forty years of his Reign.

After *Bocchoris*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*, but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchoris*, hath *Aphis*; who made a sharp Law (as it was then held) against Debtors, that their dead Bodies should be in the Creditors disposition, till the debts were payed. This *Aphis* made a Pyramid of Brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised.

Besides this *Aphis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind Man, before the *Ethiopian*. The Reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnify their Antiquities, accounted between *Bocchoris* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Fimilicus*, so long doth *Reimercius* hold, that these two Kings, between them both, did govern. If any Man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable, that the Reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Phameticus*, and adding them to either of these: To add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his Reign, must have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*; as also the last of *Pharaoh Neco* was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, and the first of *Neuchadnezzar*. For mine own part I like it better to allow fix years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Senacherib's* War: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these Men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both *Aphis* and *Anysis* out of the Roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more, (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Phameticus* his Reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon Malefactors; by whose toil he both got much Wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works, of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Country. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sus*, the Scriptures call him *o*. *Hofai*, the last King of *Israel*, made a League with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good; for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelites* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the Victories of *Tiglath Phileassar*, and *Salmanassar*, having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the Reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his Reign began in the fourth of *Menaem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance

into *Palestina*: This caused *So* to animate the half subdued People, against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Senacherib's* Embassage compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken Staff of Reed. *Sus* indeed had *Hofai* found it, and such *Ezekiah* might have found it, had he not been supported by the stronger Staff of Him, that rules all Nations with a Rod of Iron. It appears by the words of *Isaiah*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* Forces, for *Chariot* and *Horse* men; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needless, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his Reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodore* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his Dreams, by the God which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his Reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely these *Egyptian* Gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their Servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as Gods, when their chief Gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device, of the fearful old Man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an Invasion, fought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Ethiopia*, where he had been bred in his Youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this Man) raised an Army against *Senacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt*, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Elijah*, who mentioned the Antiquity of *Pharaoh's* House) but only so furnished for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Aphis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his Government; his holding the Kingdom so long without an Army; and many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook to a private life, or whether he forwent his Life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

Of *Sethon* who reigned with *Ezekia*, and sided with him against *Senacherib*.

THE first year of *Sethon's* Reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fifth of *Senacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a War, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The *Assyrian* had the better Men of War; but the *Egyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered, half

half Subjects of *Affur*, many that were *Assyrian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward show.

Of this last fort were *Ezekia*, and his People; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharaoh*, to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his Country: the Multitude of *Judea*, looking into the fair hopes which this *Assyrian* League promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetful of God, taking counsel but not of him. The Prophet *Efay* complained much of this presumption; giving the People of *Juda* to understand, That the *Assyrians* were men, and not God, and their forces flesh, and not Spirit; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon repentance, and that *Affur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Assyrians* (said the Prophet) they are vain, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to be still.

According to the Prophets words it came to pass. For in the Treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports of Horfes and Chariots, that they did not look, (as *Efay* saith) unto the holy one of *Israel*, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wifely.

After a while came *Senacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of their Dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being uneasy, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Assyria* the Stage, whereon this great War should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money, for he sent Horfes and Camels laden with Treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Efay* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit in deed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Efay*, that the rich Treasures miscarried, and fell into the Enemies hands before any help appeared from *Thibacia*) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Lisba*, *Lachis*, and *Tersusalem* it self, which were in force fortified, till the Sword of God, and not of man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did go, for fear, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninive*, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; That it was purposed against *Assyria*, where the Men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear Arms in defence of him and the Country: that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Priest, benighted himself to his God, who by Dream promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, (which were Crafts-men, Shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Palestina*; and that a great multitude of Field-mice entering the Camp of *Senacherib* by Night, did devour the Bows, Quivers, and Straps of his Men's Armour, that they were fain the next Day to flee away into *Assyria*, finding themselves disarmed. In the same proof (saith *Herodotus*) the Statue of this King was set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Snake in his hand, with

this Inscription: *Let him, that beholds me, serve God*: Such was the relation of the *Assyrian* Priests, wherein how far they swerved from the Truth, being desirous to magnify their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diadorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the World, whereof every Child could have told, how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this History agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth: That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians*, and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borders upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Assyria*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priest) that he took his God now in so good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Assyria* should have been slain, if a merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were half against the Gods Will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Assyrians* to Piety, seeing that their Devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himself, and that the Mould in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Assyrian* manner of expressing things) the shameful illue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Army, by means which came, no Man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to Piety. But the Emblem, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being, perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a Fable; the Devil helping to change the Truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belye the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himself in danger, did call upon his Gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most Devotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like Miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as most were given to Idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Chariots of *Assyria*, because they were many, and *Efay* saith in the best-mend, because they were very strong, had it been told them, that *Sethon*, instead of sending those Horfe-men and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Assyrian* Gods) addressing his Prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the Prophecy of *Efay* took effect, which said, They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame, and also a reproach. Such is commonly the illue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been set down by *Eufebius*, under the name of *Tarachus* the *Assyrian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the Reign of *Sethon*. These have well observed, that *Tarachus* the *Assyrian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Assyria*, but as a Friend to that Country, or at least an Enemy to *Senacherib*, in the War

last spoken of: the *Assyrians* (as they are Englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose a right, that *Eufebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tribulus*, is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Assyrian* (as he is called) began his Reign over *Assyria*, by *Eufebius* his account, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first year of *Manasse* King of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his years, have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Eufebius* peremptorily, citing no Author, nor alleging Reason for it, sets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that Rule which I propound-

CHAP. XXVII.

OF MANASSES, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

The wickedness of MANASSES. His Imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.

MANASSES, the Son of *Ezekia*, forgetting the Piety of his Father, and the Prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the host of Heaven, as Gods, and worshipped them: and of all his Acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnom*, *Ben-hinnom*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Efay* (who was also of the King's race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Silo* to be fawn in funder, with a wooden Saw, in the eightieth year of his Life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eufebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Host of the Kings of *Affur*, which took *Manasse*, and put him in Fetters, and bound him in *Chains*, and carried him to *Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty years as a Captive, and deposed of all Honour and Hope; yet to his hearty Repentance and continual Prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the *Assyrian* heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his Father *Ezekia*, was the easilier persuaded to restore *Manasse* to his Liberty and Estate. After which, when he was again established, remembering

ed unto my self at the first; for measuring the Reigns of these *Assyrian* Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Reboham*, unto the fourth of *Iehaiakim*, I so divide among the *Assyrians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of Reign is uncertain; that is upon this *Sethon*. By this account I find the thirty three years, that are set down by *Eufebius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon's* Reign; therefore I conform my own Reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Plammaticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereunto the course of this History will shortly bring me; the *Assyrian* Affairs growing now to be entangled with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

§. II.

Of Troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The Reign of Plammaticus.

THAT the wickedness of King *Manasse* was the cause of the evil, which fell upon his Kingdom and Person, any Christian must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled God's pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the Kingdom of *Assyria*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissention, and after two years, ill amended by a division of the Government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their Colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all. This Interregnum, or mere Anarchy, that was in *Assyria*, with the division of the Kingdom following it, is placed by *Diadorus*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the Reigns of *Sabacus*, and *Plammaticus*; but *Herodotus* doth set the *Assyrian*, or twelve Governours, immediately before

fore *Psammis*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seems to have been the uncertainty of Title to that Kingdom (for that the Crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of Blood, I have often shewed, which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled, until one had obtained the Sovereignty.

These twelve Rulers governed fifteen years, in good feiring agreement, which to preserve, they made firmit *Covenants* and *Alliances* one with another, being jealous of their Estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this Token, that he should make a Drink-offering, in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper Goblet. Whilst this Unity lasted, they joyed together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Mari*; a Work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beheld it, affirms) no words could give it commendation, answerable to the stateliness of the Work it self. I will not here set down that imperfect Description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he preters it far before the Pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest Works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have been the Work of *Mari*, or *Memis*; a King which lived five Generations before *Protes*, that is, before the War of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* took the Pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Cret*. Who this *Mari* or *Memis* was, I cannot tell. *Reinceus* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, who reigned immediately before *Thoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodorus* for *Dadalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reinceus*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous Relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon*, and others, that are found in *Josephus*, touching *Amasis* and his Children, to the Story of *Amasis*, and *Ashanes* the *Aethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodorus*; held it consequent, after he had confectured *Manethon's* *Amasis*, to be *Diodorus's* his *Amasis*, that *Sethon* should be *Ashanes*; and that *Annemenes* should be *Mari*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which *Reinceus* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Ashanes*; *Ashanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Mari* was one of these twelve Princes, to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Amasis* the *Aethiopian* deposed *Ashanes*, *Sabacus* the *Aethiopian* deposed *Ashanes*, *Ashanes* governed well, and was mild in punishing Offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Mari* the next King. *Amasis* built this Labyrinth, and the next (saith *Herodotus*, whom *Diodorus* imits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same Work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the Truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodorus* believed the Priest, might be a part of the *Egyptian* Vanity, which was familiar with them; in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their Antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other Circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this Building, do help to prove, that it was the work of these great Princes. But I haften to their end.

At a solemn Feast in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their Drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth no more than

eleven Cups. Hereupon *Psammis*, who standing left, had not a Cup, took off his breast *Helmet*, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon self purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being jealous of their Estate, they banished him into the marsh Countries by the Sea-side. This Oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodorus* as a Fable, which I believe to have been none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* agree, saying, that *Psammis* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionis*, by whose aid he vanquished his Companions, and made himself sole King.

The years of his Reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Eusebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty four years to his single Reign, and ten to his Ruling, jointly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a Man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme old Age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threecore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Eusebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Antiquities*: though peradventure *Psammis* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by Election, or as next of Blood) into the place of some Prince that died, and was ten years Companion in that Government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this Reckoning. The years of these *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time, between the fifth of *Reheboam*, and the fourth of *Jehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Sethon's* Reign; that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather do; because *Psammis* may have followed better Authority than I know, or then himself alleged, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the Truth) we must confound the last year of one Reign, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no Man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in Chronological Tables, reigned precisely so many years as are ascribed unto them, without any Fractions: it is enough to think, that the surplussage of one Man's time, supplied the defect of another. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammis*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, who entertained any Strait Amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionis*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large Rewards and Possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left Wing of his Army, whilst his Mercenaries held the right Wing, (which was the more honourable place) in an Expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers; to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Aethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by King Messages; nor by the King himself, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Country, their Wives, and Children, they answered that their

their Weapons should get them a Country, and that Nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such sort as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that Nature would teach the Children to speak that Language, which Men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the Children cried, *Becum*, *Tecum*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* Tongue, served greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* Antiquity. *Geopius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as *Baker* in *English*) a maker of Bread. He that will turn over any part of *Geopius* his Works, may find enough of this kind, to persuade a willing Man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs, used none other Tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confusion of Languages at *Babel*; the Name it self of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble, and talk, one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of *Psammis*. The most remarkable of his Acts was the Siege of *Acatus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any City endured so long a Siege as this; yet *Psammis* carried it at the last. This Town of *Acatus* had been won by *Tertan*, a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonians*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

What reference these *Egyptian* Matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of *Manasses*. In what part of his Reign *Manasses* was taken Prisoner.

Where it certainly known, in what year of his Reign *Manasses* was taken Prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained Liberty; I think we should find these *Egyptian* Troubles to have been no small occasion, both of his Captivity and Enlargement: God so disposing of humane Actions, that even they, who intended only their own business, fulfilled only his high Pleasure. For either the Civil Wars in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were into twelve pieces, or the War between *Psammis* and his Collegues, or the Expedition of *Psammis* into *Syria*, and the Siege of *Acatus* might minister unto the *Babylonians*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Army unto those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure work with the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the delivery of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Country, but only waite it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit, by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Manasses*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their Bargain upon such another Accident: and the *Babylonians* (to whom the *Egyptian* Matters presented more weighty Arguments of Hope and Fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford,) had no reason, to spend his Forces in pursuing a small Conquest, but as full of difficulty as

a greater, whereby he should compel his mightiest Enemies to come to some good Agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses* his Reign, wherein he was taken Prisoner, or concerning his Captivity it self, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornilius* three Opinions, the one of *Belarmine*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifth year of his Reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Adversus Coronologiam*, who affirms, that it was in his twelfth year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* upon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his Repentance. The first of these Conjectures is upheld by *Tornilius*, who rejects the second, as more improbable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the Reasons alleged by *Tornilius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather prove him to favour the Cardinal, as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two Arguments he brings to maintain the Opinion of *Belarmine*: the one, that *Amnon* the Son of *Manasses*, is said by *Josephus*, to have followed the Works of his Father's Youth; the other, that had *Manasses* grown old in his sins, it is not like that he should have continued, as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these Arguments, I see no reason, why the Sins of *Manasses*, might not be distinguished from his Repentance in his old Age, by calling them Works of his Youth, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; however it be a fearful thing, to cast off unto the last those good motions unto Repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the Sins, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with final impency. But against these two Collections of *Tornilius*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in this wickedness, than *Belarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi* hath affirmed. In the second Book of Kings, the evil which *Manasses* did is remembered at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his Life, the story of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the Acts of *Manasses*, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of *Juda*. The other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the same Book, where in rehearsing the Calamities, with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon *Juda*, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of *Manasse*, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he shed Jerusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Whole considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was earlier than fifteen years before his death, or most probable, That when he was twenty seven years old, he repented,

and becoming a new Man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissension in *Aegypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdom was weakened, by partition of the Sovereignty; the War of *Phamias* against his Associates; and four and twenty years, of the nine and twenty, wherein the King of *Assus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasse*, did leave no one part of his Reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonians*, whose Men of War had continual occasions of visiting his Country. All which I will add hereto is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasse*, was the last year of *Seton* in *Aegypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Mordach* his Reign, or (accounting from the death of *Abraham*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasse* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Mordach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Phamias*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the Son of *Mordach* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to give mine opinion on, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great mastery that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmassar*, yet *Ezekias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib's* Enterprize against him, by presenting him with three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty of Gold, besides the Plate which covered the doors and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasse* being pressed with greater Necessity, could refuse no tolerable Conditions, that the *Babylonians* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of Servitude) that he might not hold Peace with the *Aegyptians*, whilst they were Enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with Men of War all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Phamias*, whose Party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonians*, with whom he had thenceforth no more Controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharaoh Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all Reason and Policy, if it had not been his Duty by Covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

6. IV.

Of the first and second Meflian Wars, which were in the Reigns of *Ezekias*, and *Manasse* Kings of *Juda*.

NO concerning such Actions as were performed abroad in the World, about these times of *Manasse*, the most remarkable were the *Meflian* Wars; which happening in this Age, and being the greatest Action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Perlian* Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Meflian* War began and ended in the days of *Ezekias*; the second in the Reign of *Manasse*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our History, I have thought it best, to relate them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the Posterity of *Heracles*, driving the issue of *Pelop*, and the *Achaeans*, out of their Seats, divided their Lands between themselves,

and erected the Kingdoms of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Meflia*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the Bond of Kindred, and sought one anothers ruin with bloody Wars; whereof these *Meflian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Meflian* Warfare scarce worth remembrance; they were to fight. Ambition was the true cause of it; whereas the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polycharis* a *Meflian* had slain many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meflian* on the other side, excused *Polycharis*, for that he was grown frantic, through injuries received from *Enphras* a *Lacedaemonian*.

This *Enphras* had bargained to give *Phaistos* to the Cattel of *Polycharis*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattel, and Slaves that he kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a fair Tale to his Friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the *Lys* was yet scarce out of his mouth; one of the Slaves that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonians* being thus deprehened, offered all, and promised large amends; which to receive, he carried the Son of *Polycharis* home with him, but having him at home, he villainously slew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedaemonians* having refused, after long fate made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Thief and Murderer, sought now to pick matter of Quarrel out of those things, which he did in that madness, whereunto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Meflian*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand into the Judgment of the *Aphidians*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair cause. But the *Lacedaemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair Country of *Meflia*, that lay close by them, were not content with such Allegations. They thought it enough, to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old Injuries, to and without sending any Defence, secretly took an Oath, to hold War with *Meflia*, till they had maltreated it: which done, they seized upon *Amphip*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Meflian* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious Battle was fought between them, which ended not until dark Night, with uncertain Victory. The *Meflian* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedaemonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two Enemy Nations tried the Matter, for a while with their proper Forces; the *Lacedaemonians* waiting the inland parts of *Meflia*; and the *Meflian*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was no longer Friends on both sides, were called in to help. The *Aradians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Meflia*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Soldiers out of *Cree*. So a second, third, and fourth Battle were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that, in the fourth Battle, the *Lacedaemonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other Fights, the Victory was still uncertain, though

though in one of them the *Meflian* lost *Enphras* their King, in whose stead they chose *Arifdemus*.

Many years were spent, ere all this Blood was shed; for patient Diseases, and want of Money to maintain Soldiers, caused the War to linger. And for the same Reasons, did the *Meflian*, forsake all their inland Towns, excepting *Lisnos*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more, than the Enemies were likely to do.

But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedaemonians* were to oblige in this War, because of their Vow, that having abandoned themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their Wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young Men, promiscuously to accompany the young Women, who got to many of them with Child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Meflian* War, when the De-

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when the *Lacedaemonians*, hasted to quench the Fire before it should grow too hot, with such Forces as they could raise of their own men, without troubling their Friends, to deal with their Enemies, ere any Succour were lent them. So a strong Battle was fought between them, and a doubtful; save that the *Meflian* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to think them their Equals. Particularly, the Valour of *Arifdemus* appeared such in this Fight, that his People would have made him their King: but he, refusing the Honour of that Name, accepted of the Burthen, and became their General.

Within one year another Battle was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedaemonians* brought with them the *Cratichians*, and some other Friends to help: the *Meflian* had the *Argives*, *Aradians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloody Fight; but *Arifdemus* did so behave himself, that finally he made the Enemies run for their Lives. Of such importance was this Victory, that the *Lacedaemonians* began to bethink themselves, of making some good Agreement. But one *Tyrtaeus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this *Arifdemus* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in Fight *Alexander* King of *Sparta*, who did yet upon him, in hope to have recovered the Booty.

But all these Victories of *Arifdemus* perished in the loss of one Battle, whereof the Honour (if it were Honour) or surely the Profit, fell unto the *Lacedaemonians*, through the Treason of *Arifdemus*, King of *Aradia*, who being corrupted by the Enemies with Money, fled away, and left the *Meflian* exposed to a cruel Butchery. The loss was so great, that all *Andania* their principal City, and the Towns in *Meflia*, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned, and for lack of Men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed, as into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedaemonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self was a strong piece, *Arifdemus* with three hundred stout Soldiers did many incredible Exploits that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the Siege. He walked all the Fields of *Meflia*, that were in the Enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all Provisions, necessary for his own People; the Slaves and Household-stuff he changed into Money, suffering the Owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief the *Lacedaemonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meflia*, nor the adjoining parts of their own Country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private Men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtaeus* appeared this Uproar with pleasing Songs. But *Arifdemus* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the Fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sacked *Amyle*, and finally called the Enemies to enclose and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other Services, three *Arifdemus* was taken Prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that Fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away Prisoner, with

fifty

fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* fled to call head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest Offences. To this punishment were *Arifomenes* and his Companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor Men died with their falls; *Arifomenes* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead Carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of Light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead Body. Hereupon he thought himself, that this Beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made himself to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the Tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his Cost into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his Guide, until the way was too faint for him; and then dimissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Arifomenes* delve so long with his Nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some Fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Arifomenes* was returned home, their Tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead Man was revived. But when the *Carinian* Forces, that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the Siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily believed, that *Arifomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilst the Enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arifomenes* with small Forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a Slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This Fellow had enticed to lewdness the Wife of a *Messianian*, and was entertained by her, when her Husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the Husband came home unlooked for, whilst the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her Husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Arifomenes*, he was wounded of late in Fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the Enemies would stir, in such a dark-rainy-night, as this was. The Slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the News. There he found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the King's absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that Night. For the Alarm was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of Wind and Rain, hindered all Directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel Fight; one part being incited, by near hope of ending a long work; the other intraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance, which Women and Children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their Husbands and Fathers; partly by the narrowness of the Streets and other Passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messianians* were in continual toil; their En-

mies fought in course refreshing themselves with Meat and Sleep, and then returning supplied the places of their weary Fellows, with fresh Companies. *Arifomenes* therefore, perceiving that his Men, for want of Relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed Men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Acadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Acadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arifomenes* their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arifomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the loftiest of his Men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste to *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manured, the people being run forth to the Spoil of *Messene*. In this Enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Acadians* that offered to join with him; but *Arifomenes* marred all, by sending speedy Advertisement hereof, to *Alexander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Alexander* sent back to *Arifomenes*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Acadians* flung him to death, and casting forth his Body unburied, erected a Monument of his Treachery, with a Note, That the Perjuror can not deceive God.

Of *Arifomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his People to the charge of his Son *Geryus* and other sufficient Governours, who should plant them in some new Seat abroad, he resolved himself to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His Daughters he bestowed honourably in Marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reigned in the Isle of *Rhodes* took to Wife, being wiled by an Oracle, to marry the Daughter of the best Man in *Greece*. Finally *Arifomenes* went with his Daughter to *Rhodes*; whence he purposed to have travelled unto *Arady* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but Death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messianians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messianian* and went into Italy after the former War) being Lord of the *Rhigiens* in *Sicily*, to take his part against the *Zancleians* in *Sicily*, on the other side of the Straits. They did so; and winning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which Name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messianian* War ended in the first year of the twenty eighth Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebel; but were soon vanquished, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few Ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*; and then followed

lowered their ancient Countreimen into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a Seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourcore years, this banished Nation retained their Name, their ancient Customs, Language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country, with a desire to return to it. In the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, that great *Epaninondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Messianians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaninondas* restore unto them their old Possession, and help them in building a fair City, which, by the name of the Province, was called *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

S. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media. Whether Dejeoces were that King Arphaxad mentioned in the History of Judith.

WHILE *Manasse* reigned. Whether *Dejeoces* the Mede were that King *Arphaxad* which is mentioned in the Book of *Judith*. Of the History of *Judith*.

Arady King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messianian* War. *Arady* succeeding unto his Father *Gyges*, began his Reign of nine and forty years, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his Father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletum* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Arady* won *Priene*, and assailed *Miletum*; but went away without it. In his Reign, the *Commerians*, being expelled out of their own Country by the *Sophians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this Man's Grand child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the City of *Sardis*; though the Castle or Citadel thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Arady*; whose long Reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six years after the *Messianian* War ended; the same being the last year of *Manasse* his Reign over *Judah*.

Dejeoces the Father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fifty of these five and fifty years in which *Manasse* reigned. This *Dejeoces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict Form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessors had done. For they following the example of *Arphaxad*, had given to the People so much Licence, as caused every one to desire the whole-some severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Dejeoces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he took unto him a Guard, for defense of his Person; he seldom gave preference, which also when he did, it was with high Anterity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like Ceremonies he bred in the People an awful regard, and highly upheld the Majesty, which his Predecessors had almost letten fall, through

neglect of due Comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and severely administer Justice, keeping secret Spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the Bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Dejeoces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the Story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holophernes* sent to work wonders, upon *Phid* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Dejeoces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the Reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this Book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent, with ill success. The Reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this Age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the Story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as I am would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the Story of *Judith*, is found standing and dedicated: The other two *Perfians*, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; wherefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*; whose part they refused to take; and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes*, hath little convenience, slightly facing this History; and above all the opinions of a few ancient Writers (without whose Judgment the Authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this Argument in the *Perfian* Monarchy, inclines the Matter to the Reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, ascribe him to the *Babylonians*. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from Captivity; lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Tachim* High Priest; and a long Peace, of threecore and ten years or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Ninive*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded, all Temples of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whole Vice-Roy or Captain General knew not the *Jewish* Nation, but was fain to learn what they were, of the bordering People.

Of all these Circumstances; the Priesthood of *Tachim*, with a return from Captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasse* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long Peace following, agree with the Reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of Circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captivity of the *Jews* and desolation of the City. Wherefore the brief decision of this Controversie is, that the Book of *Judith*

is not Canonical. Yet hath *Tornellius* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposed, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Dejoces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposed to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling; and that *Nabuchodonosor* having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth under *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances, rehearsed before be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jerry* were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as he supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief, from this conjecture; and the supposition it self is very hard, that a Rebel, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand Men, should presume to go far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Archers on Horseback, as to think that he might do what he list, yea that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be laid against this device of *Tornellius*: yet if there were any necessity, of holding the Book of *Judith*, to be Canonical, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the Text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmin* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Tornellius*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the Reign of *Manasse*, *Tornellius* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were, to break through a Wall, in saying that the Text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Tornellius*, are the Children of mere fantasy, it is to plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *extra anni solisque vias*, in an Age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Judith.
2. v. 23.
2. v. 25.

Surely to find out the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the South, and over against Arabia; or the Countries of *Phad* and *Lad*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question had done Chronologers. But I will not busy my self herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasse*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first year of *Manasse* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one year the Romans wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a Sabine chosen; a peaceable Man and favouring very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to some good Civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as persuading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he delivered unto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgment, no better than mere delusions; that served only as rudiments, to bring the Savage multitude of Thieves and Out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boisterous and wild natures was otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his Grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His Grave was opened by chance; in digging a piece of Ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Chests of Stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latine Letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the Son of *Pompo*, King of the Romans lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his Books wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own Constitutions seven, and other seven of Philology. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretor of the City desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn Oath, that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquire himself, unto wiser Ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison which he had infected *Rome*, when he sat in his Throne, had not left working, when he manifested the Antidote out of his Grave. Had these Books not come to light, until the days of *Tully* and *Cicero*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better dissipated; likely it is that they had not only escaped the Fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confusion, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa Reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasse*, and Reigned two and thirty years, buifed, for the most part in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thyrcians*, caused them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common Enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins born at one Birth (*Diomysius* says that they were Cousin Germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several Countries. They were that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romans* got the Victory, though two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight. Man after Man, ere they could joyn together and set upon him all at once. *Diomysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever one from the other as he threwed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* History, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own Colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governor, utterly razed, the People being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Lains*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasse*. Also the three last Governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only the names, *Lycrates*, *Aphander*, and *Erichia*. After *Erichia* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governors for ten years, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of Rule was shortened, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely, that they would Govern the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to live private Men under the command of others. I follow *Diomysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the Olympiad, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the conti-

nuance of his History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charops* his Government in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Paulinus*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the Reign of *Manasse* it was, that *Midus*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Afles Ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many Fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (his Meat and Drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from his miserable slavery, by causing him to walk himself in the River *Pactolus*, the Stream whereof hath ever since forthwith, abounded in that precious Metal. Finally it is said, he dyed by drinking Bulls Blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the Life of *Romulus*) observed the Moons Eclipse at the Foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milefians*, or (as *Eschylus* hath it) the *Athenians*, having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Maciocrata* a City on the Coast of *Aegypt*. *Plutarchus* herein seems to have alluded them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Aegypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athens*, were now of power sufficient, to plant a Colony in *Aegypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* with his Companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuse* in *Sicily*: a City in after-times exceeding famous.

The City of *Nicomedia*, sometime *Alaenae*, was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Ziotes* Native of *Thrace*. *Sibylla* of *Samos* according to *Paulinus* lived about this time.

About these times also was *Cronos* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the Companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*: *Syracuse* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Paulinus*.

About the same time, the *Parthians*, being of age, and banished *Lacedaemon*, were conducted by *Phalaris* into *Italy*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Paulinus* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. Also about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the City *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Cela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbris*, now called *Urbis* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcidius* in *Asia*, over-against *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasse*: that which hath already been told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, rehearsing only *Den Merodach*, and *Nabulasser*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasse to the destruction of Jerusalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon and Josias.

AMMON the Son of Manasse, a Man no less wicked than was his Father before his Conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which

2 King 21. God hardened the hearts of his own Servants against him: who il-w him after he had reigned two years: *Philo, Lulubius and Nicophorus* give him ten years, following the *Septuagint*.

Josias succeeded unto Ammon, being but a Child of eight years old. He began to seek after the God of David his Father, and in his twelfth year, he purged *Juda* and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images. He caused all the Images, as well those which were Graven, as Molten, to be stamp'd to Powder, and strewed on their Graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Carriots and Horles of the Sun to be burnt. Of Josias it was prophesied, in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a Child should be born unto the House of David, Josias by name, and upon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall be sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee. A Prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his Reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Heliah* the Priest found the Book of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe Commandments therein written, the prosperity promis'd to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his Garments, and commanded *Heliah*, and others, to ask Counsel of the Prophets *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book, who answered the Messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord, behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of *Juda*, because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other Gods. Only for the King himself, because he was a lover of God and of his Laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his days, but that he himself should inherit his Grave in peace.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a Covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the Laws and Commandments in the Book contained.

The execution done by Josias upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and Bones of the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any Victory of Josias in War got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*,

after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asorhaddon*, did use the advantage which the Faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to People. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammetichus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the Siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasse*, together with his liberty as much in *Israel*, as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had to long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a Bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their Territory with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasse* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captains of war in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* itself more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortify himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions, only for his minds sake. The earnestness of Josias in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasse* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankful requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make Josias sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharaoh Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to War upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last year of Josias his Reign it was, when as *Neco* the Son of *Psammetichus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Juda*, determining to pass that way being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to fight enghen the passages: 2 Chron. 35: 12 that River, about *Careemish* or *Cereethum*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this; *Diodorus* is said by *Amianthus Marcellinus* to have done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* itself. For it seemeth that the travel of *Psammetichus* had not been idly considered about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adadi* Kings of *Damascus*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing the War against *Babel*. In which War, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Soldiers than

Egypt

Egypt could of it self afford; and the danger wherein *Affrica* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better; and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the War; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharaoh Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, Josias advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country; Now though it were to his *Neco* himself desired by his Embassadors, leave to pass along by *Juda*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Affrians* only, without all harmful purpose against Josias; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had alliance therein: as that of *Hofea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Affrian*, and wholly trulited to *Sabacus* or *Som* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his Life and Estate, which the *Affrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezekias*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Serbon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasse*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were always unready; when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek, to have the *Jews* renew there ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the passage between him and the *Affrians*. This was an easy thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did loon after this out-face *Nebuchadnezzar*, upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawfull excuse of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and virtuous Prince Josias, was not stirred up only by politic respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdom was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasse*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their Enemy.

Some think, that this action of Josias, was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to ask the counsel of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might believe that an enter-

prise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of Josias in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionable far from hearkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give entrance to the miseries ensuing. So Josias levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, encountered *Neco*; and there he received the stroke of death, which lingering about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet: who inferred a Lament. 4: 7-9, 22. sorrowful remembrance thereof into his Book of Lamentations.

§ II.

Of Pharaoh Neco, that fought with Josias: Of Jehoahaz and Jehoakim Kings of *Juda*.

Of these Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might pass, out of *Nilus* into the Red-Sea. It should have reached above a hundred Miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toilsome business twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a loss great enough to make the King forsake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were he was not a Man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he used the services, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found Recorded, save only this Victory against Josias, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdala*, and the *Jews* *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Juda* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdala* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battle was fought. After this, *Neco* took the City of *Cadysh*, which was perhaps *Careemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himself Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josaphus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phanicians*, one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Affrica*, setting sail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whereto they both landed, as need required, and sowed Corn for their sustenance, in that long Voyage which lasted three years. This was the first navigation about *Affrica*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good Hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the Portuguese found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phanicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by

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the Pillars and Streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the Straights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africa* still on the right hand: but the *Partingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the same Straights, leave *Africa* on the Larboard, and bend their course unto the East. That report of the *Phoenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a manifest of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that such a Voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving these Discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Aegyptians* were buile at *Carchemish*, had *Jehoiakim* their King, in the room of his Father *Josiah*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger Brother; aluding perhaps to the short Reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* Reigned but one month; *Jehoiakim* no more than three. He was not the eldest Son of *Josiah*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Aegyptian*, as appears by the sequel.

An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when *Neco* had dispatched his business in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Juda*. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himself came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into Bonds and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder Brother, to whom of right it did belong. This City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here *Jehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom, an ill gain since he could no better use it. But however *Jehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharaoh* sped well, making that Kingdom, Tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three Months before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to wait his forces upon *Juda*: but now the reputation of his good success at *Megiddo*, and *Carchemish*, together with the diffusion of the Princes *Josiah* his Sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preference of his younger Brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a Conquest of the Land; perhaps upon the same reason which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had suffered much, in the *Aegyptian* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven to forsake that party and join with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; seeing they were such a people, as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his Victories, thought that any heretofore should lay upon them: to good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; that so he might both reap at the present, some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed carry-

ing along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Jehoiakim*, who died in his Captivity.

The Reign of *Jehoiakim* was included in the end of his Fathers last years; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehoiakim* his successor did Reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incomplete. If any Man will rather call the three Months of this short Reign, into the first year of the Brother, than into the Fathers last; the same Arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of Disputation; and so I leave it.

Jehoiakim in Impiety was like his Brother, in Faction he was altogether *Aegyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharaoh*. The wickedness of these last Kings, being exprest in Scriptures none otherwise than by general words, with reverence to all the evil that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith *Ahas* and *Manasse* had infected the Land was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Josiah*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Ten unto the chief of the Priests*. *2 Chron. 34. 14.* and therefore it was not strange that the Kings had their part therein. The Royal authority was much abated by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this troublesome Age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Aegyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though, herein also the Princes do appear to have been infligators. This holy Man denounced Gods judgments against the City, and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same Age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to Death. Hereupon the poor Man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jehoiakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassadors, and sent back to the Death; contrary to the custom used, both in those days and unto Strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane Crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all privileges.

It concerned *Pharaoh* to give all contentment possible to *Jehoiakim*; for the *Affrian* Lion that had not stirred in many years, began about these times, to roar so loud upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Ninus*, threatening to make himself Lord of all the *Forre*. The cables that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Aegyptian* in his Conquests of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this, the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the Kings of *Babel* could not give attendance on their business in *Syria*; which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the Son of *Badadan* who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the diffusion between his Children

Children presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy *Ashaddad* the Son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Affrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezraia*, some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Ashaddad* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Affria*, if not (as is commonly but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Affrians* I will not here stand to enquire; his long Reign following, and his little interfering in matters of *Syria* make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Tyrphus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* to self; which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the time soon following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Pharates* the Median. Perhaps he yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject when the Kings being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Affrian* King whose Captains took *Manasse* Prisoner; but I rather believe those that sold the contrary; for which I have given my reasons in due place: To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his Friends, and the *Aegyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Plammicus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his Son.

Ten Merodach the Son and successor of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his Son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasse* Prisoner and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Plammicus*, by the vertue of his mercenary Greeks, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasse*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*; which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ten Merodach*, had greater business in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: inasmuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-sight of *Plammicus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Pharates* King of the *Medes* invaded *Affria*, and besieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of *Syrians*, who in those ages did over-flow those parts of the World, laying hold upon all, that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Syrians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they first fell, were builed in the same times with hopes of conquering *Affria*.

Pharates, the Son of *Dejaces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many Victories enlarged his Dominions,

conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself Lord of *Nineve*.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Sovereign Lady was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her self she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this Imperial Seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the means to set it self at liberty; as after this again it did appear, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharp War, and the very novelty of sudden violence, use to difmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custom of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted all the fury, wherewith either Domestical tumults between the Sons of *Sennacherib*, or Foreign War of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the less wonderful, that *Pharates* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he undervalued their Forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough, that we may herein believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the Son of *Pharates*, a braver Man of War than his Father, was as much of *Asia* the leas, as lay Eastward, from the River of *Hays*; he sought revenge upon the *Affrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Nineve* to self, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe *Eusebius*, that he took the City and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than *Herodotus*, that the *Syrian* Army came upon him whilst he lay before it. For where equal Authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other Authors, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the *Syrians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Soldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War so dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that *Syrian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Affrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Isaiah*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which Book whoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nabum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final destruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more Authority, than the reformed Churches yield, to the Book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the Victory over it, to *Ten Merodach*: a needless conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the Son of *Ten Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such

such time as the Country of *Affria* was abandoned by *Cyxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling Spirits of the *Nimivie* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so allayed, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this unthankful People and their King, rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.

†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have shewed, what impediment was given by the *Affrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled, to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*: it is time that I speak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* People in general, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with content of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needless to rectify them, for they are far enough distant from the business in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place: left otherwise I should either seem to make my self too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or else to be too forgetful of my self, in bringing to act upon the Stage, those Persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years he saith that the *Scythians* reigned in *Asia*, before *Cyxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War, between *Cyxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the Siege of *Nimivie*; the Siege of *Nimivie* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquished the *Medes*, did pass into *Syria*, and were encountered in *Palastina* by *Plammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These Narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in such order of time as he hath marshalled them. For *Plammiticus* was dead before *Cyxares* began to Reign; and *Cyxares* had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Lydian* Wars, Reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Plammiticus* the Son of *Pharaoch Neco*, by the name of *Plammiticus*; and this King *Plammiticus* may, by some strained conjecture, be thought to have been that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himself refers all that business of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palastina*, to *Plammiticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore

I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those Memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in divers places: a work necessary, for that the greatness of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a general History; yet not easie, the content of those that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the Reign of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the *Chimmerians* over-ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Plammiticus* the *Egyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last years, unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years complete after the death of *Plammiticus*, leaves the space very scant, either for the great Victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For how may we think it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his Kingdom against the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he stood in daily fear of losing his own; to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his Neck? To speak simply as it appears to me; the Victories ascribed to *Cyxares* and *Halyattes* over these warlike People, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeitures of some Troops, that infected their several Kingdoms; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* having the like success, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the outrages of these hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* Rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassar*'s Reign, in compals whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can lay of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these Oppressors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their journey.

Touching the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Chimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with having won the Land of the *Chimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of Men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Chimmerians* were an odious and base People; the *Scythians*, as mischievous and foolish; or else, *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country Men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionis*, more than once, grievously wronged. The great valour of the *Chimmerians* of *Cimbria* is so well known, and their many Conquests

so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is insufficient to stain them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose re-flow did overwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now treat. He that would more largely inform himself of their Original and Actions, may peruse *Georgius Bezanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Orelusius* is said to have spoken, of all *Georgius* his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we find it proved, by such Arguments and Authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Chimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Lineage and Nation; whosoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers Tribes, Professions, or perhaps Dialect of Speech. *Homér* indeed hath mention of the *Chimmerians*; whose Country whether he place in the West, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with Eternal darkness; certain it is that he would have them near Neighbors to *Hell*: for he had the same quarrel to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his Life affirms) to insert into his Works the names of such as lived in his own times, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himself deserved. And for this reason it is proved by *Eusebius*, that the *Chimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps, that Invasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homér* puts a remembrance into *Praxinos* his Discourse with *Helen*, was the very fame, which *Eusebius* noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of *Homér*, at what time the *Chimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Asia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons*; and the *Chimmeris* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it be not in express terms written, that they did with joyned Forces, yet seeing they invaded the self-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were Companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the Streights of the *Chimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them assistance. The same Author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no less Warlike than their Husbands; alleging the example of that Queen, who is said to have slain the great *Perseus* *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the Wars; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; other place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the *Chimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may the better approve *Georgius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were near Allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the *Chimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the sending a Colony of them forth into *Asia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them,

in purchasing a new Seat, and establishing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were Companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which Country is the fame that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same People made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Mosca*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their Neighbors; they had in their Army above three hundred thousand fighting Men, besides a huge Multitude of Women and Children; they wandered over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible Betrels by the *Roman* Consuls. Mere necessity enforced these poor Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Country, being more fruitful of Men than of sustenance, and shut up on the North-side with intolerable cold, which denied it self that way to their overwhelming Multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, People had. Their sturdy Bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardships, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore commonly they prevailed very far; their next Neighbors giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them; others giving them, besides passage, Victuals and Guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate People.

†. III.

Of the Chimmerians War in Lydia.

THE first Company of these, consisting for the most part of *Chimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had fill on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucasus*. These having passed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelia*, entered the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Papilagonis*, fortified the Promontory whereon *Sinope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most unserviceable of their Train, together with the heaviest part of their Carriages, under some good Guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in Conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spoke even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Arminius* now stands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionis*, was shut and open to the *Chimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountains or deep

Plutarch in the Life of Marius.

Herod. lib.

deep Rivers to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Haly* they had already passed.

What Battles were fought between these Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part was and lost, I find not written nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Arads*, the *Commerians* got possession of *Sardis*, the Capital City of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Arads*, Kings of *Lydia*, before this Invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Croesus* in the times following; all that *Arads* did against the *Commerians*, and all, have burning the *Milefians* Cornfields, that was done in twelve years by *Sardiates* his Son (who was done in his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those Wars; but were glad enough that they did not lose all.

Certainly, the Miseries of War are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their own Seats, labours to root out the established possessors of another Land, making room for themselves, their Wives and Children. They that fight for the mastery are pacified with Tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no Sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the Affiliants bring so little with them, that they need all which the Defendants have, their Lands and Cattle, their Houses and their Goods, even to the Cradles of the sucking Infants. The merciless terms of this controverted arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either win, or perish by Famine; the other defend their Goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples hereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such Invasions. But our Isle of *Britain* can best witness the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy Victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all civil Arts; in exchange of Liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before, whereas as the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *British* Race, and desolating all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Commerian* Blood) found such end of their enterprise, as it may seem that the *Commerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many Battles the *Danes* won; yet none of singular importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerors: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, had bred such acquaintance even of utter enmity, as bowing the natures of both these People, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons*, in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disbur-

thened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their Graves abroad. And last (as I think) was the end of the *Commerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though some Victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add herewith my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Commerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Haly* should divide their Territories. For *Haly* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern-side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Commerians* and other *Scythian* People; whose Wives and Daughters these warlike Women are supposed to have been.

And herewith the quarrel ensuing, between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Commerians*, being much weakened with mutual slaughters, should have joined in a League of mutual defence, for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom so far Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that were chafed out of their Country by faction, till it came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* Tongue, and feat of Archery. Now it to fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless otherwise mislead their Game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and choleric, bitter, they reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the latter King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand; the other refusing to betray such Men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians*, to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country Men, that were in his Kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

† I V.

The War of the *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*.

AS the *Commerians* held their course Westward, along the shoars of the *Euxine* Sea: so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* Sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Arms; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was

in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Panaminicus* Reigned in *Aegypt*. If it were in the sixth year of *Nabulaffar's* Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have Reigned five and Thirty; or otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the Great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely, for the Invasion of *Syria*, which Expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the Sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome Guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countries pleasant and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be persuaded, that a little more travel, would add a great deal more to their content. For they relied too much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the bravest Men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* persuaded them into *Aegypt* I do not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulaffar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them I do not read. But it is well known, that his Dominions lay in the midst between *Media* and *Aegypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their Horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them Preceder.

Panaminicus hearing of their progress (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Aegypt*; left the fight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion, that he could use, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keep them back. *Aegypt* was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill spent in laying all. Yet *Panaminicus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obligate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southernmost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*; but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding Sun-beams, as agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so far different from their own. *Panaminicus* had at his back a vast Wilderness, over the scorching fumes whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of Cold and wet, than of the contrary despatches, could ill have endured to pursue him, through unknown ways, had they

fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdom of *Aegypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Aegyptian* King (besides that he preferred his own Estate from a dangerous adventure, by his great Army to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the process of his Wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves, with the return of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolved now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the Country, taking what they lifted from the Owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking off) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher *Asia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caspian* and Red Seas, and between *India* and *Asia* the Less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new Conquerors; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private Men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful Country not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the Constitution of their Bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extreme *Herod. lib. i.* mity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by Stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunk; and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Contrivance, with greater cruelties than ever they had practised before. That the *Scythians*, which escaped this bloody Feat, made any fire in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by Invasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media* was very strong, and encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, took good effect, with less bloodshed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in eight and twenty years had so well felted

[A a a] them.

themselves, that they were delicious of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go joy with the *Commerians* in *Lydia*, or seek their fortunes in other Provinces, among their own Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have been with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*: Mens love of their wealth being most effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that

Jer. 25. 9. *Nabuchadnezzar*, as ever after, join his first beginning of War, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in Ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians*, after another fashion: and this new success of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane means, to such addition as this of new Forces.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers Authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their Kindred and Friends, in acquiring a new Seat, and establishing their Plantation. For these had left their Wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* Women to comfort themselves in their Husbands absence, became bedfellows to their Slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the Children of Slaves which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens Eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boys, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe the Tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as find it, in Mr. *Deſtor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe* Commonwealth. They understood by the way that their Choloep, or Bond-slaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Towns, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villany of their Servants, they made the more speed home: and so far from Novogorod met them in *Wallack* manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to sit upon them with no other show of Weapon but with their Horse-whips (which as their manner is every Man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrify them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and talking all together with their Whips in their hands, they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the ears of their Villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the Whip, which they had felt before, that they fell all together like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this Victory, the *Novogorodians* ever since have stamped their Coin (which they call a *Dingee* *Novogorodsky*, current through all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a Whip aloft in his Hand. It may seem, that all the Women of that Country, have fared the worse ever since, in

regard of this universal Fault: for such a Padkey or Whip, as terrified those Slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first Present that the *Asserian* Wife, even in time of Wooing, sends to him; that shall be her Husband, in token of subjection; being well assured, to feel it often on her own Loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians*, (for *Novogorod* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abetting themselves any more so long from their Wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian* Expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause, of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the Centre of our Discourse.

S. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries in those Ages.

HAVING thus far digressed from the matters of *Judea*, to avoid all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and Men of Mark, as were between the death of *Manasse*, and the ruine of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much, as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullius Hostilius* held the Kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of *Jesias*; at which time *Anus Marcius* succeeding Reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come Stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the Sons of *Anus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekias*, and Reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedemonians*, being thinking them how to be avenged of the *Aceadians*, who gave succour to the *Missians* against them in the former War, entered the Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phistia*, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the Race of the *Basida* made himself Lord of *Critium* about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for Successor his Son *Perandrus*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile Acts, slew his own Wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* Women stark naked, burning their Apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wisdom of the *Greeks*, was not excellent in those days; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zalencus*, and *Draco*, famous Law givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every

every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Laws of *Zalencus* were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was Drunk; or to go forth of the Town by Night, unless it were to some Sweet-hearts Bed; or to dress herself up in some immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a Lover. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the Dispensation. It is noted in this Man as a singular example of justice, that when his own Son had committed Adultery, and was therefore to lose both his Eyes; he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one Eye of his own to save the young Man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need, so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks* with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively prefer themselves, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befall them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the History of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very near borders. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in these many Ages, were erected, and thrown down: as likewise, many memorable Acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the convenience, may pardon the necessity.

S. V.

The oppression of *Judea*, and destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*.

NOW to return to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, entred *Judea* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his Vassal in despite of *Necho* that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a Child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the Church-Treasures; but staid not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* basted to the succour of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*: where in this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his Army, it being a Country of

an evil affection towards him; as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* Horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back out of that rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his Father, happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home; and take possession of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far and to bid him battle, until the New Year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank of *Euphrates* (his own Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a revolved contention for Victory, *Necho* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save it self, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This Victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Chaldeans* the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forbore to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reverendness of *Jehoiakim* was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Phamnis*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoiakim*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and letting him up, as a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful Brother. Against all such accidents, the *Judeans* had prepared the usual remedy, practised by his Forefathers: for he had made his own Son *Jehoiachin* a King with him long before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but Eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoiakim*'s return; the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him Captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp Steel, as of fair Gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Phamnis*. *Apries* who Reigned after *Phamnis*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a bigg look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as Men, that meant to do nothing, use, of their glorious Acts forepassed, against *Josias* and *Jehoiakim*. In this case it was easy for *Jehoiakim* to give them satisfaction; by letting them understand, the sincerity of his affection towards them; which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehoiakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aside all thought of *Pharao*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabu-chodonosor* for three years. At this time *Jeremy* the

phet cried out against the Jews, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to Repentance, but because they had spelt their Ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their Captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatened to all the Neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumeans and the rest: foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the Wine of His Fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seventy years expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the Medes, and the Judeans permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jehoiakim after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado but did cut the Book in pieces and cast it into the Fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead Body of *Jehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the Heat, and in the night to the Frost, and that there should be none of his Seed to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonians, yet well thought of by the Egyptians, the mighty City of Tyre opposed it self against the Chaldean Forces; and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the term of seventy years, was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Jerusalem, and other Towns and Countries, it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have lost Authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the Siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much dispute. The third year of *Jehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince, his Son, with an Army into Syria, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in express words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered Egypt; and then began to Reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that Vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure

the succession of great Kingdoms, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but return unto the Siege of Tyre, which began in the seventh of his Reign.

The City of Tyre covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the Main, by a deep and broad Channel of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleet, and were no Seamen; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every Wind, from one part or other, brought needful provisions into the City. Wherefore neither Force, nor Famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the Judgments of God (denounced against it by *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, &c.) had threatened the destruction; and the obdurate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast piece of work; even to fill up the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old Tyre, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Libanus* near adjoining that was laden with Cedars, and abundance of other Trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopeless business. Which needeth not seem strange: for *Alexander* working upon that Foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor*'s Peer; and being withal assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a Shelf; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were confound, the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his Foundations in the bottom of the deep, striving as it were, to fill the empty Belly of this Cormorant; whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every Man knows, God could have frustrated the accomplishment of his own threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or such of his more immediate Weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of Man, to use the hand of Man; even the hand of Man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of Nature and Fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, Every hand was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was Master of the Town.

When he was entered upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that some Idlers received some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely; and so *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumors of the Egyptians, gave courage to his evil willers; *Jehoiakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into Judea, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the Egyptians having left him, as it were in a dream) that he entered Jerusalem, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*: whom he first bound and determined to send to Babylon, but changing Counsel, he caused him to be

slain in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Ass, to be devoured by Beasts and ravenous Birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* his Son; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonosor* removed and sent Prisoner to Babylon, with *Ezekiel*, *Methuselah*, and *Jedechah*, the High Priest. The Mother of *Jechonias*, together with his Servants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest Men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the Counsel of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befel him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in general words, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mabbania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of Judea, and called him *Zedekias*, which is as much to say, as the Justice of God. For like as *Necho*, King of Egypt, had formerly displaced *Jehozabab*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehoiakim* the Son of another Mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehoiakim* who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his Son *Jechonias* Prisoner to Babel, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedekias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehozabab*, whom *Neco* took with him into Egypt. From *Zedekias* he required an Oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedekias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesses in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of Chaldeas.

In the first year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Judeans that were carried away Captive, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a Book all the evil that should fall upon Babylon, which Book or Scroll he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedekias* to Babylon, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive Jews, and then to bind it to a Stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. The journey of *Zedekias* to Babel is probably thought to have been in way of Visitation, carrying some Presents. But I further think, that he had some Suit there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made Bonds and Yokes; one of which he wore about his own Neck, others he sent unto the five Kings of Edom, Moab, Amman, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedekias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Judea abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possess and enjoy their own Countries; if not, they

should assuredly perish by the Sword, by Fire, and by Pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in Jerusalem, should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the wooden Chain which *Jeremy* wore, in sign of the Captivity of the Jews, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; restore *Jechonias*, and all the Jews, with the Vessels and Riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy* instead of his wooden Yoke gave a Collar of Iron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and false hope to the People, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which fell upon him in the second month. After this, when *Zedekias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his Reign he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promised great aids of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose assistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian Yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward Jerusalem, and besieged it. *Jeremy* persuaded *Zedekias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from Egypt, and being persuaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdom of Judea should be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Isaiah*) he despised the words of *Jeremy* and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King, that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should be taken, but not be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of the King of Babylon; that he should not perish by the Sword, but being carried to Babel, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being, the following year, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosor*'s Army; the King of Egypt, *Pharaoh Hophra* according to *Jeremy* (*Hovadad* call him *Apries*) entered the border of Judea, with his Army, to succour *Zedekias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal Author. But *Jeremy* gave the Jews faithful Counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them, that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans removed from Jerusalem to encounter the Egyptian, their vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poor People of Jerusalem to their destined miseries.

In the mean while the Jews, who, in their first extremity, had manumitted their Hebrew Bonds-men (as Gods Law required at the year of Jubilee) and made them Free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the Chaldean Army, repent them of their Charity: and tinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the Chaldeans being returned to the Siege, the

Finis Libri Secundi.

THE



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

*Intreating of the Times from the destruction of JERUSALEM to the
time of PHILIP of MACEDON.*

The THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing between the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the Fall of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and Profane History.



THE course of Time; which in Profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some outworn foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the Eastern Countries by the account from Nabonassar, left surer marks, and more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the War of Troy, or any other token of former date; begins at

length in the ruine of Jerusalem to discover the connexion of Antiquity fore-spent, with the Story of succeeding Ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progress of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first Creation: as likewise that the Affairs of Kingdoms and Empire afterwards grown up are not to be found among those, that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the Story of the World unto that Age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption or fabulous discourse derived unto us,

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I hold

I hold it now convenient briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry Metals, discovered by God unto *Nabuchadnezzar*, did Reign over the Earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful, to insist upon those Authorities, which give, as it were by hearsay, a certain Year of some old *Assyrian* King unsay, to some action or event, whereof the time is found expresse in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his Line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to rely upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmony, which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by Prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year their Reign began or ended, were it not that the Reign of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the Sacred and Prophane Histories. For under *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Juda*, which ended when 70 years were expired; and these 70 years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the Race of Men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his Reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joined with the first year of the 55. *Olympiads*, where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversy. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those Antiquities of *Greece*, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes, ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, *S. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved Faith and Industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the Battle of *Albium*, which was (peradventure) in this place impertinent to be set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity are the marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest interruption, it is very through any Story, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the 70 years, during which it continued, even from *Nabuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions, touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an Answer to the cavils of Porphyry, insinuating against S. Matthew, and Daniel, upon whom the later of these Opinions is founded.

Many Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began when *Jechonias* was carried Prisoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekia*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth Chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, in these words: *In the five and twentieth year of our being in captivity in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Berosus* is of opinion that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Josiah*, which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of S. Matthew, and Daniel, whose words afford matter of long dispute, but serve not to make good so much as *Berosus* would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole Book of Daniel, have manifested occasions of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched Man Porphyry, who, not understanding how the Sons of King *Josiah* were understood by divers names, as *Euphrosimus* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the Sons, or, according to some Translations, the Son and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyry doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians, affirming that these Prophecies and Visions remembered by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the seventy Interpreters who converted the *Old Testament* about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turn this Book of Daniel out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there any other Argument to confound Porphyry, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, who was sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have *Is.* 46. destroyed it, this Book of Daniel, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only staid his hand from the harm of that City and People, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

It is true indeed that the Jews themselves give less Authority to Daniel, than to *Moses*, and the Prophets, accounting his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or Holy Writings, which they say *Eldars* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*.

But first, that the Book of Daniel (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical: Secondly, that it was written by Daniel himself, and not by *Eldars* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils, and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368 after the death of *Jovianus* the Emperor, and after the Nicene Council three and forty years, this Book of Daniel was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the Epistle of the same Council it may be seen, and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add S. Hierom, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* Books or Holy Writings the Jews and Rabbins reckon to be these, Daniel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was Daniel, and not *Eldars*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in Matthew and Mark, alledgeth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of John, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in Daniel the twelfth, verse the second. S. Paul describeth *Antichrist* out of Daniel, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of Daniel's visions.

§. III.

That the 70 years of Captivity are to be numbered from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of *Jechonias*.

Having thus far digressed, in maintaining that Authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70 years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius* and some few nameless Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Berosus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away Captives to *Babylon*: First *Manasse*; then *Jehoiakim*, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet: thirdly *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities the beginning of the 70 years is referred by none that I have read; to the second by few and with weak proof; to the third by very many with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words. Thus saith the Lord: After 70 years be accomplished at *Babel*, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* had already in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, denounced the judgment of God against the Land, for the sins and impiety of that obstinate people, in these words. Behold, I will send and take to me all the Families of the North, saith the Lord, and *Nabuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babel*, my Servant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the Mill-stones, and the light of the Candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of *Babel* 70 years. And when 70 years are expired, I will visit the King of *Babel*. Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of 70 years, which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehoiakim*, who then Reigned, was taken by *Nabuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonias*; but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*: at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70 years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is laid thus. They burnt the house of God, of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and they burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious Vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to *Babel*, and they were Servants to him and to his sons, until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *Jeremiah*, until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the days that the lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70 years. But in the first year of *Cyrus* King of *Persia* (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *Jeremiah*, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the Spirit of *Cyrus*. We seldom find one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise, how either the desolation could have been expresse more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly foretold, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in to evidence a case, the ninth Chapter of Daniel yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lie wast 70 years. For in the first year of *Darius the Mede*, which was the last of the 70 Daniel obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by Prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth us in these words. In the fifth year of his Reign, I Daniel understood by Books the number of the years, whereof the Lord had spoken unto *Jeremiah* the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70 years in the desolation of Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of Daniel's own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonias*, did account, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the

nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of 70. years. This I will not further seek to prove, by the Authority of *Tolsephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfy any Man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70 years.

What Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these 70 years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the Age where in they lived, nor the length of their Reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The Conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the Victories obtained by *Nabuchodonosor* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous Building of his great *Babel*, for the House of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem that he and his Heirs kept a great State, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Soldiers, in such Skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no less. For whereas under *Nabuchodonosor*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished, that hardy piece of Work, of winning the strong City of *Tyrr*, by joyning it unto the Continent, siling up the deep and broad Channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a Mole, or Peir of Earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexander's* Works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their Bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs, as soon as any, though inferior in numbers, adventuring within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions, from the end of *Nabuchodonosor's* Wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and Reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70 years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three foolish Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their Children, living in the *Assyrian* servitude; resting satisfied in both with the general allured sum.

Yet for as much as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70 years, not only by the Reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting

their Opinions, and shewing what I think, may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The Opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several Reigns. The first (as I take it) the first, is theirs, who merely follow the Authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very fame. For God, by the Mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his own Will, and making it known that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, until the very time of his land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein than such as may grow out of Mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures unto Prophane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the content of all Histories were on the one side, and the Letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports are so slender and insufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this case. For some there are, who following *Tolsephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through five Generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years, to *Evilmerodach* 18, to *Niglissar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40, to *Labofardach* the Son of *Niglissar* 9 months, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Tolsephus* intimates to be of the Race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this Opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the Son of *Labofardach*) *Saint Jerome* doth follow, alleging *Berosus*, and *Tolsephus* as a Scriptor of *Berosus* for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Tolsephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us that *Evilmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonosor* did Reign but two years, being for his wickedness and lust, slain by his Sisters Husband *Niglissar*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Labofardach*, who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Tolsephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of Years, or of Generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some Authority, so that the Names which they have inferred, are taken as it were upon Trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three

last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this Opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpicius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground, have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were Brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his Son. And so common grew this Explication, that *Saint Jerome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the Grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the Phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* Languages, he was called the Son.

Amnius his *Metaphisus* his very rightly the seventy years of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 43 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* 14 years; that is, to *Reg-Aster* the eldest Son three years, to *Lab-Aster* the second Son six years, and to *Balthasar* the third Son five.

To this Account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of Generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Amnius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfy my self herein; both for that none of the ancient, and few such of the modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with *Metaphisus*; and for that in making *Balthasar* to succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* War I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken Feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all Circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar*, by *Amnius* his *Metaphisus*, was far short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70 years he pleased among the reft. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days, but when he recovered he did the Kings Business: from which Business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queen* used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a Man of such Account and Place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my Judgment a very strange Conceit, which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented, to think the whole Story (thus related) a part of *Amnius* his Importunities.

Out of these Reports of *Tolsephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by con-

jectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nabuchodonosor*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply the years of these three defects, by inferring some whose Reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Metaphisus* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Tolsephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbered 28 years, and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach* should be written 23: in the first number the figure of [1] is mistaken for the figure of [2] and in the latter there should have been added the figure of [3] to that of [2]: this granted [to wit] that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 49, then 4 years of *Niglissar* according to *Berosus*, 9 Months of *Labofardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Nabonidus* or *Balthasar* make up the number of 70 years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by Error in Figures, or in Words, the Numbers be utterly mistaken, in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who have nothing to help them, save only the bare Names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy, to have that place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their Authority?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the Number, Persons, and Reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Metaphisus*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same Answer. That of *Tolsephus* *Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nabuchodonosor* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* 2, to *Balthasar*, 5; and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nabuchodonosor*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus* he accompteth only 30 years; beginning as (many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the Transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fall of the *Chaldean* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchodonosor's* Reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his Reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did

Jerem. 52.
cap. 33.
v. 34.

among other things take order for him at his Table; and that he did continually eat Bread before him all the days of his life. His Portion was a continual Portion given him of the King of Babel, every day a certain; all the days of his life until he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the Authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jeconiah*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort fed by God, whose Commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jeconiah* did live it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby that all his remaining days he eat Bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely, for he was but 53 years old when he was put in liberty, having been 37 years in the Prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young Man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threefore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Belshazzar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborodach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nabuchadnezzar's* Daughters Son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Nightfleeper*, as Husband to *Nabuchadnezzar's* Daughter, and Protector of his Son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belshazzar* alone, agreeing nearly with the 9 months assigned by *Berosus* to the Son of *Niglissar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nabuchadnezzar*, and to his Son, and to his Sons Son (not to his Daughters Son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him, to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthazar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same Stock or Race a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the Travel of that most learned Man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the Phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he won it by force of Arms. Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the Greek Translation, which expressing no force of Arms doth only signify, that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next King entered by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateeth not the means and circumstances of *Balthazar's* death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cause to use the most expressive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the City, did win the King-

dom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his Forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his Works printed at *Basil*, in the year 1559. I find only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alphibius*, That *Nabuchadnezzar* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as far (as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a Divine fury, he cried with a loud voice, O *Babylonians*, I foretell ye of a great Calamity that shall come upon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the Gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, half an *Ass*, that shall bring *Levery* upon ye: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, faving that *Nabuchadnezzar* was before hand, that his Empire should be trampled, as *Daniel* had foretold from the Golden Head, to the Silver Breast. But that he won all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger's* Copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us that *Nabuchadnezzar* won both *Africa* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment to much the leis: and am as little moved with the Authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*, as where it tells of *Nabuchadnezzar* his own vanishing away. Indeed that fame Title of half an *Ass*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his Parentage was more Noble on the Mothers side, than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principal Foundations whereon this Opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it hath within it self, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing, for men fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any Man believe that one so judicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would over-throw himself in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own insufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfy Men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Babylonia* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must believe our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthazar* lost his Life and Kingdom, than that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces, inasmuch that the *Greek* Historians did commonly call those Wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Wars of the *Medes*. Yea to clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ram with two Horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was Partner with

with *Cyrus* in his Victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the less regarded for affirming that *Balthazar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Neighbours *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose Authority elsewhere he gladly cieth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any Mans Faith or Knowledge of those times, half so well as *Daniel's*, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alledge all Authors that had any mention, though imperfect of the same things that were contained in the Writings of the *Jews*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* World, where they were Strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do *Eusebius*, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the Testimonies of Heathen Books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same *Ethnick* Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaliger's* Opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his Learning and Judgment, which if in some things it had not failed, the Miracle had been very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his Successors.

It now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the 70 years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose Feet have failed them in the slippery ways of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my Opinion, wherein the Judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Niglissar* and *Laborodach* to be meant the same Persons which are called in Scriptures *Evimerodach* and *Balthazar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the Reign of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jerusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43 years of Reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19 year of *Nabuchadnezzar*, is joynted with the 11 of *Zedekia*; as also that his eighth year, was the first year of *Jeconiah* his Captivity; the Reign of *Zedekia* occupied all the

mean space being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs. As for the beginning of his Succellor *Evimerodach*, it was in the seven and thirtieth year of *Jeconiah* his Captivity; so that *Nabuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the first of *Jeconiah* his bondage) reigned 33 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the fix and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Jeconiah* was enlarged with so great favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these four and forty, which *Nabuchadnezzar's* Reign did well-near occupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the Captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the city, we have remaining fix and twenty years of the seventy, that were almost wholly spent, when his Son began to Reign.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole sum being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were lustful Princes. Neither can any Man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70 years; for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath required to follow both unlikely and separate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account at *Nabuchadnezzar's* death. we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having Authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in giving us seventeen years to *Balthazar*, we find left in our hands to bestow upon *Evimerodach* fix and twenty years. Of the year belonging to *Darius* the *Mede* I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthazar* did Reign seventeen years, we have the Authority of *Josephus*, before cited in express words; we have also the general consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthazar* to have been one. But nothing moveth me so much to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third year of *Balthazar* he followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his Reign, (a year sufficient of no few years, passing under this Man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel's* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his Wars against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this Man's Father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the midway. I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible that the Reign of *Evimerodach* was not short: and that Men of Great Judgment have found it most probable that he was King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such Antiquity,

2 King. 2.
8. & 9.
3. & 4.
24. 12.

Dee. 28

Dee. 2. 8.
2. 1. 10.
27. 8. 12.
2. 11. 13.

Antiquity, as those of *Berofus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his Works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore conclude them to be in some one point, where the Scriptures were his open Enemy. How much less ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight Lines, and part even of the 1st corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scribes have told us that God gave the Empire to *Nabonidus*, to his son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berofus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he desired not thereby the general Truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berofus* or *Tolsephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second Figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character β (that stands for 2, than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numeral Notes β & γ expressing 26, were not far enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked Hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former Letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to be not two different Figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in $\beta\gamma$ standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical Figure α now in use, they were long after the time of *Tolsephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain to this Bufileis; unless we should guess that his Works were corrupted in that unlearned Age, which following the *Saracens* Conquest, was little occupied in the Studies of Humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berofus* our Friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his Authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel*; when they seem his opposites.

6. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained between the Destruction of Jerusalem and Conquest of Egypt.

W^Hilst Actions this time of 70 years was entertained by the *Babylonian Kings*, few have written, or little is remaining in Record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was and is yet thought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an Argument we might as well deny to many People even their being. For every Nation (I know not how I should excuse) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some foolish Age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the Posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their Ease and Pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wildom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their An-

efforts, which wearied away their days in the reflections of purchasing. Though indeed the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in Victorious Arms, do small part of his Life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy Labours past. The nineteenth year of his Reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Tersalem*, he enriched himself with abundance of Spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, until his three and twentieth year, he laboured in the Conquest of those adjoining Regions, which God had exalted unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his Yoke; namely the *Edemites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonites, and Egyptians*, though none of these were already become his followers, *Tersalem* and his when *Tersalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* City was founded on an Island, free from any danger of a Land-Army, and whose Fleet was so strong that they needed not to fear any Enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their Neighbour Cities, nor with the obnoxious Resolution of this mighty Prince, imploving all his Power to their subversion.

That the City of Tyre was rather well pleased than any way discomfited with the fall of Jerusalem (which had held the same course that Tyre did, and endured all that might be in the same Quarrel against the common Enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* commendeth as the common Voice of Tyrrus; *Alas, the Gate of the People is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing life is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, that great Work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the Waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Ezkey*,
which appoint unto this defolation of *Tyre* the
same term of 70 years, that was prescribed unto
the Reign of the *Chaldeans*, do plainly shew, that
the following *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year
of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like
Fortune. The Particularities which doublet:
were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a
Siege, are in a manner utterly off. Thus much
we find, that the Citizens perceiving the Town
unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and
fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless it seems
that this evasion served only the principal Men,
who escaping with their Goods, abandoned the
poorer sort unto the Enemies fury. For not only
such People of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent
(who are called her English in the Field) were
put to the Sword; but the like execution was done
in the Islands, into which with excessive Labour the
Affrican made way for his Horses and Chariots.
Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Army to serve a
service against *Tyre*, wherein every head was made
bald, and every Shoulder was made bare, yet had
no wages, nor his Army, but was fain to rest con-
tented with the Honour of having destroyed that
City, which in all Mens Judgments had been held
invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, having made the Name of the *Chaldeans* dreadful in the Ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that Reputation which he had obtained by Victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with less pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country

Chap. I.

to abound in all Riches and Pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough to bear the yoke of Quarrel against it; and so far an Enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*; that and it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the Conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful that before he entered into this Buile, the Countries adjacent should be reduced into such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the Decree of God was concurred, as in all prosperous Enterprises, with Reason of State. For the People of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adjoining Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* Swords, were such, as regarding only their own Gain, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the Carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his Victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*; all of them thinking, that when the *Affrivan* had satisfied his Fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistims* had shewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good Service they had done to the *Chaldeans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own Purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession, as if now the *Affrivan*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that Practice had of *Banish* King of the *Ammonites* when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the Blood of *Judah*, to murder *Gedaliah*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the People that abode in *asaph*, with no more than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many Labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like Policy the *Ammonites* did exercise; whose Pride and Wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the Art of Ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon Defarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish Wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut afunder all their Devices by sharp and sudden War; overwhelming them with unexpected Ruine, as it were in one Night; according to the Prophecies of *Ejaj*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the Mилery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moad* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Ejaj*, threatening *Moad* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the Ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being the Ruine of the *Ægyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns of these Regions were burnt, and the People slain, or made Slaves, few excepted, who began preleried by Flight, had not the courage to return to their Habitacions over-hastily, much less

to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but lived as miserable Out-Laws, or at least oppressed Wretches, until the end of the seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

• VIII:

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by Nabuchodonolor, contrary to the Opinion of most Authors; who following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

WHEN by a long course of Victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought unto subjection all the Nations of Syria and the bowing down of them in such manner as he himself, now Friend of the *Aegyptians*, was lately at his Back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding; or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the Conquest of *Aegypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more Authority, or to cite for Proof of fact that which may be alleged out of these. Nevertheless we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable dilgence unto such a Sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the Honour of having done some spoil in *Aegypt*, omitting the Conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*; and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hephra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many Men take in the means and second helps conducing to their Purpose, that often-times they prefer the Commentator before the Author; and to up-hold a Sentence giving Tellimony to one Clause, do carefully overthrow the History it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The Reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Aegypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved till this place. *Herodotus* affirms that he was a very fortunate King, but whose exact tellings are false (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the War which he said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that he reigned five and twenty years, and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did let up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The Rebellion of the *Aegyptians* he imputeth to a great Loaf which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the People of *Aegypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as lay dead at home. So they who escaped, and the Friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who lent *Amasis* to appease the Tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the Rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was dri-

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ven to trust unto his foreign Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept in readiness thirty thousand good Souldiers, that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the *Egyptian* Forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by Birth and Education, Men of War. *Amasis* himself being taken Prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, until the *Egyptians* exclaiming upon him as an extreme Enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and frangled him; yet gave him Honourable Buriall. Such is the Report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* nearly agrees, telling us that *Amasis* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phoenicians* in Battel at Sea, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, was the other Towns of *Phoenicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This Authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Amasis* his History, if greater Authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonians*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no concurrence with these Relations, hath greater force to compel our Belief, than have the Traditions of *Egyptian Priests* (which *Greek Historians* followed) and greater Probabilities to persuade those that look only into Humane Reasons. For *Ezay* prophesied long before of the shameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Ashur* should carry away naked, young and old, in such wild that the *Jews* who fled unto them for deliverance from the *Affrian*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in Men so unable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, for they handled this Argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nabuchadnezzar*, as Wages for the Service which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by Name should be destroyed and go into captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his Army should be slain by the Swords. Wherefore it must needs be a violent Expolition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such Threatenings to an Infurrection and Rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings Person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Amasis*, by force indeed, but by the uniform Consent of all the People. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* should fee *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his Enemies, as *Zedekiah* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that Rebellion whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general Opinion hath over-ruled it, then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the Clay of a Brick-hill, those very Stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchadnezzar* should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than false, which exprest the end of *Pharaoh* thus. Behold, I will visit the common People of No, and *Pharaoh* and *Egypt*, with their Gods and their Kings, even *Pharaoh*, and all that *Jerem. 45. trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of 23. 26. those that seek their lives, and into the hands of his Servants*. The clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation

of many other places, which referred all to the Rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those *Commentators* would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the *Greek Historians*. Wherefore looking upon *Tacitus*, who had in another place taken the Enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis*, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian Priests* upon a vain-glorious Purpose of hiding their own Disgrace and Bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the History of *Nabuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews* whom it concerned, than to the *Greeks* that scarcely at any time heard of his Name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchadnezzar* in the three and twentieth year of his Reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodorus*; who being mere strangers to this Business had no greater reason to labour in teaching out the Truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of Authority, we should only consider the Relations of *Josephus*, and of the *Greek Historians*, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent Circumstances, without reflecting upon the *Hebrew* Prophecies or *Egyptian Priests*, me thinks the death of *Amasis* can no way be approved as having been wrought by consent of the People, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea though no Man had opposed the Reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For the great Love and Honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform Testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the Report of *Diodorus* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Amasis* having won great Victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his People, or which may serve to persuade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or do demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural Subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand Souldiers *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt* whom *Amasis* took Prisoner, is said to have kept for his Defence: doth it not argue that he was a Foreigner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, withing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own Bodies? it were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alledged in this Case. The very death of this supposed *Amasis*, which the clamours of the People obtained of *Amasis*, who fought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some Foreign Governor, not a natural Prince; otherwise the People would have desired to save his Life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of Truth, considering that the voice of Truth it self cries out against it; but leave the Circumstances proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchadnezzar* to be observed, where due occasion in course of the Story following shall present them.

§. IX.

§. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered, by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous Actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchadnezzar*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all his former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*: who reckons up in his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as People subdued by these Wars arc in a manner utterly lost; but that the Victory was easy and swift, any Man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself safe in *Egypt* by the well defended situation of his Country, did very unwilfully in suffering his Enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by confining all his Friends and Adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this Business did more harden than weary the *Chaldean* Army, so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the Enemy was to make through the *Arabian* Deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in Provision for the War, and much afterwards them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the Hearts of Men fail, when those Helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own Virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the Rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand and five hundred and forty years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness, yet, that it was never dreadful unto others, God having said of that People, *I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wife, I am the Son of the ancient Kings*; and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became Fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient Linage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth year of *Nabuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He flew the King then reigning, placed another in his Room, and carried Captives thence to Babylon*, the *Jews* whom he found in that Country. Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this Business, and the Business it self, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away thence unto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable Ruines

of that great City; which was in the same three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is not improbably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us that there was another King put in the Room of *Amasis* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a *Viceroy*, and not (as some have mistaken it) that king that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his Reign in the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the Prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience imagine that there were two successively bearing the Name of *Amasis*; others that there were two *Amasis*, the one slain by *Nabuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a Name, it being once granted that the Person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of Life and Kingdom by the *Affrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Amasis* of whom the *Greek Historians* wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nabuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Neco*, and made War (as they report) upon the *Phoenicians*, who were, before the *Egyptians*, become subject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add perhaps, that he whom *Nabuchadnezzar* left as Governor of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had some *Chaldean* or *Affrian* than *Egyptian* Name; unless we should think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and for rewarded by the Conqueror with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were frivolous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchadnezzar* made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any Man may guess; that he appointed one to Rule the Country, it is consequent unto the former, and hath Authority of *Josephus*; that this Governor (or some Successeur of, his) was afterward taken and slain by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to persuade my self; and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Amasis* is supposed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the Garrisons of mercenary Souldiers which were left by the *Affrian* for the Guard of his *Viceroy*, and custody of the new subdued Province: as likewise the Company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barris*, who together with the Friends of such as were slain in that Expedition, remembered before out of the *Greek Historians*, deposed and slew *Amasis*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* Fugitives which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, At the end of forty years will I gather the *Egyptians* from the People where they were scattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of *Egypt*, and will cause them to return into the Land of *Pharaoh* into the Land of their Habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom. If the *Egyptian Priests* alledged hereunto in the Tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised Matter that had no shadow of Truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the Truth with them.

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§. X.

§. X.

Of the sundry Accounts drawn from sundry Acts of Nebuchadnezzar's and of the destruction of Ninive, by him; the time of which Action is uncertain.

THEse Victories brought the Greatness of the Assyrian Empire to the fall, and from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzar's Reign in sundry places of Scripture. To speak any more of the Questions arising about the supposition of Nebuchadnezzar his times, might seem to be the over-handing of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas Daniel was carried captive in the third year of Jehoiakim's Reign (which ran along with some part of Nebuchadnezzar's first year) and was kept in Diet three years more, before he was brought into the King's presence; it could not be the second of Nebuchadnezzar's Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten Dream of the great Image, foretelling the Succession of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The fame or the like may be said of divers places which refer sundry Matters unto their set years; as that of Ezekiel before-cited, where he fore-tells that Egypt should be given in Reward for the Service done before Tyru, dating his Prophecy in the seven and twentieth year; and that of Daniel, placing the Erection of the Golden Image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependence upon either the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to some memorable Action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not ealie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by Nebuchadnezzar after such time as he returned from the Conquest of Egypt I do not read: excepting that against Ninive, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet Nabum. Ninive had long before been taken by Merodach (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah tributary Kings of Juda had done, tasted likewise of the same Fortune. That the destruction of Ninive followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the Comparison which Nabum the Prophet made between this City that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt that was fallen already. But how long after this came to pass, it is (me-thinks) unpollible to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of Nebuchadnezzar's Reign; the place of Nabum last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian Wars; the whole Prophecy of Nabum which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other Circumstances of the War, whether managed by Nabuchodonosor in Person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain Curiosity of Tiberius Cesar, enquiring who was the Mother of Heceba, or to the like idle pains which he should take; who would seek to learn what Woman that Huzzab Queen of Ninive was, whose woful Captivity the same Prophet Nabum likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; his Building, Madnes, and Death.

OF the Time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant; save those which we find among the Prophecies of Daniel. Among these we may reckon his great Works at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himself so well that he brake out into these glorious words. *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the House of the Kingdom, by the might of my Power, and for the honour of my Majesty? Surely if those things be true that are by Josephus rehearsed of him out of Berofus and Megasthenes, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent Buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple Wall; that besides other stately Works, he raised those huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains, which most sumptuous Frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in fifteen days.*

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own Greatness abased him unto a Condition, inferior to the poorest of Men. And not undeservedly fell these Judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many Victories, and much happiness in his own Life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his Dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the Prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful Power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worshipped: ordaining a cruel Death as Reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly Will and Pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof S. Jerome hath well noted; *Vexat oblitio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuas suis fieri jubet, ut ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur: A happy forgetfulness of the Truth, that he who is lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a Statue to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God. From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery Furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were assisted by an Angel; preserved from all harm of the Fire; loosened from their Bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former Honour, by the King: who amazed at the Miracle, made a decree tending to the Honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of Nebuchadnezzar was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a Dream of the terrible Judgment hanging over his Head, which Daniel expounding, advised him to break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercy towards*

towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his Error. Hereby it seems that Injustice and Cruely were the Faults, for which he was threatened, but this threatening sufficed not unto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among Men (according to the tenor of the Dream and interpretation) yea compelled to dwell with the Beasts of the field, and made to eat Grafs as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in Man's Judgment, that easily it might be thought an idle Dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leisure to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which repit of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods Sentence. For at the end of twelve Months; walking in the Royal Palace of Babel, he was so overjoyed and transported with a vain Contemplation of his own seeming Happiness, that without all fear of Gods heavy Judgment pronounced against him, he uttered these lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of his Majestical Works which he had reared, as well beeming his Majestical Person. But his high Speeches were not fully ended, when a Voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the Sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That Solomon and many other Princes and great ones, have taken delight in their own Buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for rejoicing in Works of this kind (though it is hard in Joy, or any passion of the Mind to keep a just measure) excepting only this Nebuchadnezzar.

The like may be said of David: for other (and some very goodly) Kings have mulctured all their Forces to the very last Man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as David was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoice in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed us; but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a full and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane Affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure Clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed Light, which clarifies the Soul of Man, and predisposeth it unto the brightness of eternal Felicity; so that insolent joy, which Man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own Worth, doth above all other Passions blast our Minds, as it were with Lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these male mentis gaudia; The evil joys of the Mind, were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than sorrows, Cares, and Fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is so unlikely Token of Vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable fumes of proud and vain Joy, do rage in a Mind, that should have been humbled with a just Repentance and acknowledgment of ill deserving.

This was verified upon Nebuchadnezzar, whose Punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among Beasts in the Fields and Woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a salvage Man, but as a salvage Beast, for a Beast he thought himself *secundum suam imaginacionem*, as Thomas noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same Food that Beasts

do; Not that he was changed in Figure external according to Mediana, in so much as he appeared a Beast to other Mens Eyes, as S. Jerome in the Life of Hilarius (how true God knows) speaks of a Woman that appeared to all other Mens light a Cow, but to Hilarius only a Woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon was laid to be into a Hind, nor made a Monster as Dorotheus and Epiphanius dreamed: but according to S. Jerom's Exposition of these words. *At the same time was my Understanding refused unto me, etc. Quando dicit (saith S. Jerome.) sensum sibi reddidit, offendit non formam sed mentem; sed mentem; When he saith that his Sense was refused unto him, he sheweth that he had not lost his humane Shape, but his Understanding. Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore Nebuchadnezzar, both to his Understanding, and his Estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his Life, confessing his Power and everlasting Being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his Works were all Truth, and his Ways righteous. Which gave Argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely S. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyrus, Carisostemus, and others. And for that place of Esay the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to Balshazar, because I say both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter speakech of the King, and the destruction of Babylon jointly.*

§. XII.

OF EVILMERODACH.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the Succession and Years of Nebuchadnezzar's Posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of Evilmerodach, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a War that consumed it to Ashes. He lost Egypt by rebellion of the People, in the nineteenth year of his Reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the Account of Herodotus, who allows to Amasis four and forty years of Reign; nor with that of Diodorus, who gives him five and fifty, saying that he died in the third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, when Cambyfes did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of Evilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fifth of Cambyfes his Reign; wherein he was in Egypt; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that Plamenius, the Son of Amasis, reigned three; so that Amasis could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two Greek Historians have been abused by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his Reign. This is the plain Answer to this Objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and four and forty set down in stead of four and thirty, or that Amasis did temporize a while with the Assyrians, and not bear himself as absolute King of Egypt, until the nineteenth of Evilmerodach (at which time, and

[Ccc 3]

not

not before, it hath been proved out of Ezekiel, that Egypt became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excise.

Whether these Egyptian Troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deal with Evilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in Fame and Reputation, gotten by the decayed Valour of his People, than in present Forces; or whether (as I rather think) some foul received by the Assyrian invading Media, emboldened the Egyptians to rebel against him: I will neither undertake, nor seek to define.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. Xenophon tells that the first Service of young Cyrus in War was under *Ahyages* King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous Fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set upon him; at which time Cyrus was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore Cyrus lived three or four years more (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short Life, then was this Encounter in the third year of Evilmerodach his Reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the War began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their Fight in former times, with other Circumstances intimating as much, are found in the same place of Xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonosor gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand upon prouder Terms with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing Estate they durst have used. Howsoever the Quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchy. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his Party the Lydians, and all the People of the lesser Asia, with Gifts and strong Persuasions, hoping so to overwhelm his Enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingering War.

This happened after the death of *Ahyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth year of Evilmerodach, at which time *Amasis* took possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian having his hands already full of Business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the Egyptians, of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within it self, against the far more mighty Persians.

The issue of these great Preparations made by Evilmerodach against the Medes, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which were many years before uttered against Babel by *Elsay* and *Terny*.

For the Assyrians, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their Numbers, thought to have buried the Medes, and Persians, under their thick showers of Arrows and Darts, were encountered with an Army of stout and well-trained Men, weightily armed for close Fight, by whom they were beaten in open Battel, wherein Evilmerodach was slain. So that great Frame of Empire which Nabuchodonosor had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously cracked under his unfortunate Son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew: a Man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private Conjecture of the Author, serving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berofus, concerning the Successors of Evilmerodach, without wrong to the Truth, the Quality, and Death of Balthazar.

Though I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that Balthazar was the Son, and immediate Successor to Evilmerodach, yet considering earnestly the Conjectures of those Writers, which following Berofus, insert *Niglisar* or *Niriglisar*, and his Son *Lubassardach* between them: as also that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris* a famous Queen of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some Errour might have crept into the History of those times, and thereby have brought to us a needless trouble of searching out the Truth, as it were by Candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by Day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I observe, that the time which Berofus divides between Evilmerodach, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which Nabuchodonosor lived wild among brute Beasts in the open Field: Secondly, that the suddenness of this Accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtless the Honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his Calamity pitied, and his Restoration hoped; the Prediction of *Daniel* finding Reputation in that Clause which promised his Recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common Reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdom, for settling the Government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with Condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossess it. In this his Rule Evilmerodach being to supply the utter want of Understanding in his Father, as *Proteus* do the unripeness of it in young, but *Herodotus* reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the Insolencies, or fall into the Troubles, incident to such an Office. That he had in him very small Ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own Right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Sister) was a Woman of an high Spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and useful Works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her Fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Towns from the Assyrians, and amongst them *Ninive*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a Woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers misgovernment, used Practices to get the Rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in Berofus (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Niglisar*, who got the Kingdom from Evilmerodach, was his Sisters Husband; which argues this to have been the same Woman. As for *Lubassardach* the Son of *Niglisar*, if at the end of nine Months Reign he were for his lewd Conditions slain by the Nobility,

as

as the same Berofus reporteth, it seems that God prepared here by the way for Nabuchodonosor's restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by railing such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the People. I will not here use many words to comfort that which Berofus hath further set down of Evilmerodach, telling us that he was slain by his Sisters Husband: for the plain words of Scripture naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Telmouch*, do plainly testify that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers Reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded Evilmerodach in the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of Balthazar who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had such conditions, as God permitteth to be a King for the ruine of the People. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young Man that should have married his Sister, only for spite and envy to see him kill two wild Beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javeline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his Beauty, said it were a happy Woman that should be his Wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the Ene, my as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of Record, but as a Coward and a Fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give Battel to them that daily took somewhat from him; yet carefully seeking when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was bale and miserable, for he died as a Fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful Vision, which had shewed his ruin not many hours before even whilst he was drinking in that Wine, which the Swords of his insulging Enemies drew out of him, together with his last Blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable Reign of seventeen years he perished like a Beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of Cyrus, to whose Story that of Balthazar is but an Appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the Original and first Greatness of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes were chief Actors in the Subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of Belochus being now extinguished in Balthazar, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was joyued first to that of Media, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom Cyrus became Lord and Monarch, both of Assyria and of Media it self.

Of the Race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governors having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the Race of *Arbaces* dying about two years after that the Line of Belochus was ended in Balthazar; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to Cyrus of the House of *Achæmenes*, the Princes of which Blood reigning in Persia, had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of *Achæmenes*, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*; that they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Dionysius* have

found Record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called *Hydapes*, and *Dionysius* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, slain by the Assyrian in the beginning of their Empire. But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the Assyrians; I take the List and Number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

<i>Arbaces</i>	Who reigned	23 years.
<i>Sofarmus</i>		30 years.
<i>Medius</i>		40 years.
<i>Cardace</i>		13 years.
<i>Diocles</i>		53 years.
<i>Pharaces</i>		24 years.
<i>Cyaxares</i>		32 years.
<i>Ahyages</i>		38 years.
<i>Darius Medus</i>		

And though the Greeks ascribe the Conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scriptures teach us that *Darius* was not only King of Media, and had the Persians his followers, but that the Army victorious over Balthazar was his; as the Assyrian and

and Babylonian Empire also was during his own life. For we find in *Daniel* that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom being threecore and two yeares old. And further what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdom. And so was it pre-
 cephed by *Isaiah* long before: Behold I will lift up the *Medes* against them, &c. And by *Jeremy*, The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the *Medes*, for his purpose is against *Babel* to destroy it; and the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the *Medes*, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking Authority from *Liodor*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to Reign, which also agreeth with *Serabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Per-
 sians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the *Medes* to the *Perians*.

HOW the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians; but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the Conquest of *Babel* to the *Perian* only. For some there are who deny that *Affyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Affyages* (whom he calleth *Affyages* or *Apama*) but only that having vanquished him in Battle, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reprov'd of wilful untruth.

Viginius a diligent and learned Historian of this Age, produceth many probable reasons that *Affyages* had no such Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Mandane*; and to confirm his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Ispocrate*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who do not find any such Successor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Jerome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Affyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of Argument, *ab authoritate negat*, doth never enforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great Lift of Noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirm that either *Affyages* himself must have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; or else to give him some other Successor, according to *Josephus*, and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his

life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subject to his Authority; the strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perians*, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

But it is very certain that the honour of that great Victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself, not only for this action, but for the delivery of his Church; a greater work in the Eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy, how powerful soever.

And it may well be thought, that the Soldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best Man of War, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in Riches and Power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his Posterity, did much augment the fame of his virtue, which among Prophane Historians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in Person; as also because he soon after quitted the World, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relations of the *Perians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fifth, and sixth Chapters of his Prophecies, makes it plain that himself not only lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the year of *Darius*'s death, could not have been distinguished from the Reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned jointly; neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus*'s permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's relation of the War which the Medes and Perians made with joyn't Forces upon the Affyrians and others.

THESE Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Affyrian* had enlarged his Empire with Victories, and was become Lord of all Syria, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoining able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threecore thousand Foot, and above ten thousand Horse, to which the Forces of *Peria* being joyned made an exceeding strong Army.

The *Affyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Cresus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in Men and Treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the less to his assistance, alleging that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoyned by League and many

many Alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strengthened with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand Foot, and threecore thousand Horse, of which, ten thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot were led by *Cresus*, who had great cause of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; but this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Perian* Forces, utterly broken; upon which Defeat the *Affyrian* King being also slain, so many of the *Affyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summs of Money out of *Asia* the less, *Aegypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered Forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, posselt himself of a great part of the lesser *Asia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cresus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Sifters Son, prevailed against *Babylonia*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Perians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him led, are numbered thirty thousand Foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart and the Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this Argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition; so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and grofs of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writer, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tied himself to the Phrase of the Speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear that *Xenophon* hath handled his undertaken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Perians in times foregoing this great War.

FOR it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achamenes*, the Son of *Peres* being Governor of *Peria*, did allocate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that Rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the Victory obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the *Affyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their Posterity; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Dejoces* took upon him the full Authority and Majesty of a King.

From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the Reign of *Dejoces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years, in the last sixty whereof there reigned in *Affyria* mighty Princes, namely *Salmassar* and his Successors, whose great achievements in Syria and elsewhere witness, that the *Medes* and *Perians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive War against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the League continued as yet between these the Successors of *Belshazzar*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Dejoces* to the first of *Affyages*, there past about ninety years, in which if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Peria*, and how he and other the Kings of *Media* by many Victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had been but an unadvised enterprise of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have wasted themselves against the Syrian and *Aegyptian*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Peria*, and that the *Perians* themselves were not Masters of *Susana* in *Nabuchodonosor*'s time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonians* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares* or *Affyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Cresus*, which after some six yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affairs of *Peria* stood in so many ages, I do not find any memory. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous Country which they then posselt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more security than fame: For if these Kings, being the Posterity of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatness which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of these Wars and the state of those Countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appears, that the Race of *Achamenes* held the Principality of *Peria* from Father to Son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Peria*: than to those that make him a mean Man, and say, that *Affyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in Marriage, to the end that her Son (whose Nativity he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers inability.

For what cause of grief could it be to *Affyages*, that the Son of his Daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that upon such a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child should have increased, and his care been the greater to have married him to some Prince of strength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I think the deviser of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confess, that the Line of the *Achamenes* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in his height of his Prosperity did thence derive himself, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, nor had they been the Vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himself.

Achamenes.

cap. 13. v.
17, 51. v.
11, & 28.

L. b. 16.

2m. l. 1.
c. 16.
Jof. Ant.
l. 12. c. 13.
2m. l. 18.
p. 6.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers Skirmishes, the

The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus

Memoriam
meus : tri-
mit : timor
voci est
incitamen-
tum, &c.
Solin. c. 7.

*Homo qui
in homine
calamitoso
misericors
est memini
sui. Cass.*

How Cyrus won Babylon

in

Scroph. Cy-
rped 3. 7.

Dom. 5, 61

Dom. 1. 18
19. 20.

this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his wife men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting God's goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgement of God's infinite Power he restored him to both. This King, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Stone and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel Upharais*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbered the time of his Kingdom, and finished it; That he was weighed in the balance of God's Justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes and Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his epycals, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himself, whose enigma he followed in this Warfound the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no less filled with the vapours of Wine, than their hearts with the fear of God's judgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whole channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Affrican* Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the King's Palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the Prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Ezra* two hundred years before this subversion; in his (seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction to feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words; *Come down, and sit in the dust, O Virgin Daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor*, and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the Idolatry of the *Judeans*; yet *Ezra* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Ezra*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst show them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken down: whosoever joyeth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces be-*

Jer. 37.
Jsa. 47.

Cap. 47.

Jsa. 14.
To wit,
Eustace
died and
Balthazar

fore their eyes, their boues spoiled, and their Wives ravished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this Victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the fame to posterity after it happened, than *Ezra* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors let down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of *Saint Hieron*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three days after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compass at three hundred and threescore *Stadus* or Furlongs, which makes five and forty Miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six Chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clinacrus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty Mile and one Furlong, but finds the Wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickness but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circles; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. He also, in entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Brass, with Posts and Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Ezra* rightly inscribe *Babylon*, The Princess and Glory of Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stripped her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologists to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all Wise Kings that are desirous to establish a royal Power to themselves and their posterity.

§ VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THE last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetae*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an encounter between the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battle, beat the *Persian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words,

words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill and satiate thyself.*

It should here seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was persuaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, Father to *Alyattes*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyriake*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Spartetha*, though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book rectifyeth, that *Cyrus* surprised the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorheus* King of the *Derbicani*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasargadae*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undeunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego Jam Cyrus qui Persi imperium constitui, pulchrum hoc terra quo meum regitur corpus mihi ne incidatis. Obitu Man, quodviser thou art, or whencesoever thou comest, for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Quintus Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, that *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*, and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Ezra*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*,

was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of God's power, used for the chaffing of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an instrument of God's goodness, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth; which must last for ever, though Heaven and Earth shall perish.

§ VII.

Of *Cyrus* his Decree for building the Temple of God in Jerusalem.

HAVING therefore spoken of his great Victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodnefs: I hold it meet at length to speak of the Decree made in the first of his Reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* should return again into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now ended and finished the threescore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the Grandfather of *Balthazar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldea* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Sadaiah*, and Nephew to King *Jecoonias*, and *Jesús* or *Josafas* the Son of *Josadak*, were about fifty thousands; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoining, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governors of those Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Provincial Lieutenantes, and other officers of less place, but *Cambyses* himself, who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: they may herein relieve themselves out of *Esdas*, That by the confederacies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus*'s life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of *Jobn*, That the Temple was 46 years in setting up, having received so many hindrances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the natural and politick causes which moved *Cambyses* to withstand his Father's Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himself became sole and Sovereign Monarch: we shall find them in that Envy remembered by *Esdas*, written by *Belshazzar*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellours in *Phoenicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublemakers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyses* having in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence under *Moses*, when they conquered *Judea*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to *Cambyses's* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be understood, as *Codman* and others have observed, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Governours of *Phoenicia* complained against the *Jews*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hyaspes*, as in the sixth and seventh Chapters of *Esdra's* it is made plain: and also that those Governours (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and enclosing of the City, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the King's Answer, it is evident.

Also in the sixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finished it (to wit the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artahastate Kings of Persia*. Lastly, in the seventh of *Ezra* it is written: *Now after these things, in the reign of Artahastate King of Persia*: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius's* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdra's* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the re-building of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrus. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death, he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldest Son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxerxes* his younger son to be *Satrap*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Justin*) but thirty.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus to the Reign of Darius.

§. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian Kings.

OF the Successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbered the Persian Kings, and their times as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> jointly.	27
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	22
<i>Prissus Artaxerxes</i> .	20
<i>Darius Longimanus</i> .	37
<i>Darius Nothus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	55 years.
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	26
<i>Artes</i> , or <i>Artanes</i> .	4
<i>Darius</i> , the last, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> .	6

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But

§. VIII.

Of *Cyrus* his Issue: and whether *Atossa* were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with *Queen Heltir*.

Cyrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Arystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married: *Arystona*, *Darius Hyaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius* and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Josephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should have been *Eisler*, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the Son of *Hyaspes* or *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby the thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codman*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Eisler* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that *Eisler* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codman's* inference is nothing probable, that the should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Eisler* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this error, yet the People, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder Brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

Cyrus

<i>Melan.</i>	<i>Cyrus</i> in all.	30
<i>grec. Cy.</i>	<i>Cambyses</i> with the <i>Magi</i> .	8
<i>robin 29.</i>	<i>Darius Hyaspes</i> .	21
	<i>Xerxes</i> .	36
<i>lut. 10.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	49
	<i>Darius Nothus</i> .	19
<i>Melan.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	43
<i>lut. 40.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	26
<i>Melan.</i>	<i>Artes</i> .	4
<i>lut. 16.</i>	<i>Darius</i> the last.	6

which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers, and the best learned approve. These Persian Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his historical Animadversions, hath gathered the places; finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, ch. 36. vers. 22, 23. *Ezra*, 1. ch. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyses* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* understands that place; but under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hyaspes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named *Abasuerus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great War which he should make against the *Greeks* by *Daniel* also remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seven, who is also called *Aribasathas*, c. 4. l. 1. *Ezra* v. 7. and chap. 7. v. 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. v. 24. and cap. 5. v. 6. *Nehem*, cap. 12. v. 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem*, cap. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Artes*; for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the son of *Atossa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Eusebius*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every Persian King with their AOs, to some certain *Olympiad*: As the War of *Altyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Cresus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*. The beginning of *Cyrus's* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* to the third year of threecore and third *Olympiad*, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between several forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the Era of *Nabonassar* began on the six and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*. So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolemy*, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time answerable to two

hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty days from *Nabonassar* to the sixteenth of *July*, in the seventh year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greeks*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threecore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyses's* seventh year, in the first of the threecore and fourth *Olympiad*: which first of the threecore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolemy* the two hundred and six and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassar's* Era and the *Olympiad*, viz. eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threecore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Josephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*, which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accounts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being constant in itself, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of *Cambyses*, and the conquering of *Egypt* by him.

VVE will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, having the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof he was possessor in his Father's time, while *Cyrus* made War in the North. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer Reign than agreeth with the *Grecian* account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threecore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Didore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrow the King thereof, *Psammetichus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependents, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nixetes* the Daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Army fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entered *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammetichus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrtus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the best Copies of *Herodotus*) but six months, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the Government of *Egypt*, and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*; but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians*

to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Plaminius*, was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyfes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he found him *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Perfians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the Worms might not devour them. The *Perfians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Perfians ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Syle* Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that Element, fearing the Law called *Taliois*, or like for like, because himself had uncombed the carcass of *Cajus Marius* after his death. *Her. l. 7. Plin. l. 6. c. 24. Strabo & Juft. l. 1. pag. 87, 88. Her. l. 3. Sect. 1. 7.*

§. III.

The rest of *Cambyfes* his *AGIs*.

AFTER this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyfes* sent an Army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Ezelbas* King thereof to acknowledge him who before held that Island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyfes* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia* to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his *Oratory*, raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of the Country is covered, as the *Perfians* were therewith choked and overwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be reliev'd, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those inconveniences, which his first-levied troops had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over-men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *English* Proverb, *Go, faith the King, Stay, faith the Tide*.

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he caused *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slain: a deed very commendable had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of him that only is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seemed unto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the Royal Throne of *Perfia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus* he gave in charge to his favourite *Smerdis*, to murder *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Sisters, contrary to the *Perfian* Laws, he committed a most cauleless and most detestable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himself with child, because he bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*.

Her. p. 89. dis. 5. I find it written of this *Cambyfes*, That because his Predecessors observed religiously the Ordinances of the Empire, he assembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Perfians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Sister; it being his own intent to do: the Judges (who had always either Laws or distinctions in store to satisfy Kings and times) made answer That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customs, that it was always left to the will of the *Perfian* Kings, to do what itself pleased themselves; and so as *Naxelorus* terms it, *inveniens occasionem*: that is as much as to say, The

Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the King's private satisfaction, he caused *Sifannus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his inconsiderate march, to be flayed alive, for an unjust judgement given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgement-seat. After which, bestowing the Father's Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the same partially deferved the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the Son of his beloved *Praxaspes*, was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the *Perfians* thought of his condition, *Praxaspes* answered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praise from all men, only it was by many observed, that he took more than usual delight in the taste of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And, Are the *Perfians* double-tongued, who also tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first thou pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I miss the mark, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my Subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the stroke, *Cambyfes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoicing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying instead of an Epitaph: *Now Praxaspes thou mayst rejoice thy self, that I have not let my wits with Wine, but the Perfians theirs, who make such Report*.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felonde* *foy*. For when he was informed, that *Patzizites* and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdus*) Ministers of his domestic affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the King's Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, posselt themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards *Perfia*; and in mounting hastily on horse-back, his sword disheathing, pierced his own Thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was absent.

In *Cambyfes* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaspes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Opbitis*; by *Antioch*, the same was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Lutopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

§. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum between *Cambyfes* and *Darius*.

CYRUS and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeits of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyrus*, *Aspatis*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achemenes* the first *Perfian* King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joynd their forces together

ther surprized and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Juflin*) *Intaphernes*, and *Aspatis* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governor, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness itself, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them too; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; make other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabyrus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgement, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most virtuous, because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

CHAP. V.

Of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*.

§ I.

Of *Darius* his Lineage,

DARIUS was descended of the Ancient *Perfian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenides*, of which *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* delivers him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had

Trispitrus, who begat

Artaxerxes, who was Father of

Aspatis, the Father of

Hystaspes, the Father of

Darius, Six-named *Celrus*, the Father of *Xerxes*.

Gen. 14.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars against the *Sophians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Perfia*; others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governor of the *Perfian* *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then joynd with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neighing of his Horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he more assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus*'s Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his Wives.

* *Herodotus*.

Her. 1. 104.

Her. 1. 105.

Her. 1. 106.

Her. 1. 107.

Her. 1. 108.

Her. 1. 109.

Her. 1. 110.

Her. 1. 111.

Her. 1. 112.

Her. 1. 113.

Darius gave the third Judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few duration of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen, that the discord of many Rulers hath enforced the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partially, it was accorded that the morning following, these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-rising, should first neigh or bray. In the Evening, after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarnus*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whercon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato, in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, wherof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

§ II.

Of *Darius* his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of *Babylon*.

DARIUS devised equal Laws wherby his Subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promitted by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himself mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus*'s time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threecore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyfes* made afar off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Perfia* for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Perfian* yoke; wherof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this fort dissembled and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave

gave

Hir. l. 5.

gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable overthrows given to the *Perfians* upon fallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands, who had by then been it twenty months.

§. III.

Of *Darius* his favour to the Jews in building the Temple.

Ezra. 6.

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Jerusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phanician*, and midland Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindered the Captains beyond his time, *Darius* gave commandment that they should not thenceforth come near unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latin* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; With-draw your selves far from them; In our English, Be ye far from thence, to wit, from the City, and Temple now in building.*

Ezra. 6.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, that whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disburser hanged on the Gallows made maketh invocation to God; *That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to after, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree (the Jews being really furnished with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

§. IV.

Of *Darius* his *Scythian* War.

Her. l. 4. 5.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Justin* calleth *Laubimius*, and faith, that *Darius* undertook this War against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convey his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the less) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who persuaded the *Asian* *Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty, but the same was resisted by *Hystaspes* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionis*, which Nation, being a Colony of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Country, because they joynted themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entering the Desert Country called *Essarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any succourance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chirim Tartars*, their posterity, at this

day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graziers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggon they placed at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than such as *Agora* (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought himself. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messengers to the *Scythians*, bidding him his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Perfians* used to demand, as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythians* returned an Heroicall answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumb they drew interpreting by his own-will, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Cobryus*, one of the seven Princes, who had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; O ye *Perfians*, get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the Earth, for else ye shall not escape our Arrows. And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Perfian* Camp, drove the horse-men into the Trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were so fearless of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of courting a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick, and weak behind him, and with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, persuaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Perfian* King should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystaspes* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fall to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the *Perfians* in Europe, after the *Scythian* War.

Darius having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabates*, who maltreated the *Peonians*, and transplanted them, and posselt *Perimbis*, *Chalcidion*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being also soon after subdued, and added to the *Perfian* Empire by *Oannes*, the Son of *Symmetes*, whom *Cambyses* had executed for false Judgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and a *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Perfian*, who having now reduced

of *Thrace* to the South of *Constantinople*: i. *Cardia*. a City upon the Coast of *Thrace*, at the foot of *Lysimachia*.

duced under his obedience, the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Ambassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adorning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Sovereignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Ambassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Perfians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Ambassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatness and many Victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the King's Son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Perfians* barbarous presumption, besought his Father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Ambassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while: promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the Feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Perfians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpire them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his Sister *Gygis* in marriage to *Eubazis*, a principal Commander of *Darius*'s forces on that side, who persuading her husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that Tempest, which threatened to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the less, called *Lucic*, falling out at the same time.

§. IV.

The first occasion of the War which *Darius* made upon Greece, was a rehearsal of the Government in Athens, whence the quarrel grew.

NOW the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after, between the *Perfians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which City endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius*'s invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave rise to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Perfian* Monarchy, *Persepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatness, the *Perfians* had raised in Athens.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how Athens, and other parts of Greece, were anciently Governed, the same being already set down, though scattering, and in several times among others the Contemporary occurrences of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though they also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books

remembered, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as thinking none worthy to succeed him they changed their former Government from Monarchical to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontide*; and of these there were twelve Generations belides *Medon*, to wit,

Archippus, in whose time the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionis*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Ensebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Ensebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Therippus.
Phorbas.
Mexades.

Digenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans*.

Pherecles.

Archeus.

Thetippus, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belocus* and *Ardoce*.

Agamemnor.

Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Ensebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcemon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decemviral Governors: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Elymedes.

Elydians.

Hippomimer.

Leocrates.

Alcander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the decemviral Governors, which, from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into annual Magistrates, Mayors, and Burg-masters, of which *Thetius* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others find *Leocrates*; and then

Antisthenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damifias.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinus Priscus*, and were in after ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government, the State of Athens was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippias*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and infidelity to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and feigned that by malice of his enemies he

Paus. 248. 159. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Hittæus had fought to put himself into *Miletus*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves, without his help. The strength of their City by Land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings and their good Fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try theutemselv, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatenings as by force: many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardons; and many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town it self, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

§ VIII.

The War which Darius made upon Greece with the battle of Marathon, and Darius his death.

This War with good success finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable success; *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and Conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the War but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambassadors, demand an acknowledgment from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Ægians*, and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, after divers encounters forced them to give and) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, and caused his companion King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations and civil Wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the *Hellepont*: in the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Army, he committed to *Darius*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athen* twenty years before, and by *Artabanes* his Brother. Governor of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the less. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, embarked themselves in six hundred Gallies and other Vessels; which lay in the mid-way between *Asia* the less, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might always themselves relieve themselves in the passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and out-rage.

To this end, they first posited themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: which Island, the Inhabitants despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apoll* was Native: which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sack, but recalling the Inhabitants, he gave order to beautify the places and Altars of *Sacrifice* to *Apoll* erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Euboea* for that City (as already hath been shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* took

ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after six days assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphrates* and *Philagius*, they took it, sacked it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sails. From *Euboea* the *Persians* pass their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athen*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athen*.

The *Athenians*, finding the time arrived wherein they were to dispute with their own virtues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Athens*, encountered in the way a familiar Devil, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who would him to assure the *Athenians* of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battle, to assist them, and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, feeling he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from Heaven, which he did not doubt (though the device was somewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stirred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries; than by any just cause or solid reason.

The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the *Platæans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thébans*, did in this extremity witness their thankfulness and grateful disposition) began to dispute. Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athen*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Platæans*. In the end, and after great diversity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the trial by battle, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battle. The *Persians* when they perceived so small a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather disposed of their understandings, than posited with the resolution whereof they made show. So invincible and refulgent, the *Persians* esteemed their own numbers to be, and that small troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be feared withal: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully balanced for a while, sometime the virtue of the *Grecians*, and sometimes the number of the *Persians* prevailed; the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Persians* for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered and put to rout, the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-shore; where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their Ships.

The *Persian* Army consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, of which there were slain in the place six thousand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourscore and twelve. For howsoever it came to pass, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Fœnic* terrors, or by some other affright, it seemeth that the invading Army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Hercules*

set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Julius*'s report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perfwader of the enterprise was slain, with *Julius* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

The greatest honour of this Victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the trial by battle, and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsel which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of mark and commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cyrcus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the threecore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow Romans: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governor of *Athen*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hyblides*, after *Halicarnassus*.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned back into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders at *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his Companies in threecore and ten Gallies, after six and twenty days assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to *Athen*: where those ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other

the most renowned at the battle of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles*, (who envied his fame) call him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his Estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankful and witless people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and Famous Nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegesippa*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his Father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in Justice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking great care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for his loss he received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The diffention also among his Sons of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by so great a Mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder Brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any man's affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyined him to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the battle of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achæmenes* Governor of *Egypt*, *Mages*, and *Anabiges*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§ I.

The preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Grecians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perse* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hydarnes* for his Grand-father, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artazotres*, perswaded by many arguments the European War. But *Artabanes*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the *Sythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbarck himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberation and found counsel for conductor, though the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath

Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variability of her own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanes*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the King's hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this Invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seven hundred thousand foot, and eight hundred thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts of carriage, if we may believe *Hærodotus*: for *Herodotus* of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand foot-men.

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Perse*, either by marriage in the King's house, or otherwise; for to this were all commandments of this nature given, none few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*,

to whom were joyed come others of *Xerxes* his nearest kindred, as Generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand fleet *Perfians*, called the Immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole numbers died, or were slain, there was another prickly chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand Horsemen were led by the sons of *Darius*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200, and eight furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cyprins*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Hellaspontines*, who were trusted with the furnishing of their own Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perfia*, as by *Artabagis*, the Son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certain Gallies furnished by *Artemesia*, the daughter of *Lygdamer*, Princess of *Helicarnassus*, and the Islands adjoining, which her self commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himself was embarked.

§ II.

XERXES'S Army entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Atlios from the Continent: his bridge of Boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse between him and Artabanus upon the view of the Army.

WHEN this World of an Army was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their Rendezvous, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he entered the Border of *Cætes*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven thousand of the *Perfian Daries*; which make so many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seven thousand *Daries* should be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the Present. But soon after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (because himself was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son) *Xerxes* most barbarously cauled the young man, for whom his Father sought exemption, to be sundred into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carcase should be laid on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Atlios*, making the same (with the halt Island or Head-land, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountain and the *Chersonesus*, or Neck of Land it self: a work of more operation, than of use, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs, (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to pass in front. The Cities so severed from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Aerobon*, *Thysus* and *Gleone*.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the *Hellespont* between *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finishing, was by a Tempest torn asunder and disfigured: where-with *Xerxes* being more enraged than disfigured, commanded those to be slain that were Masters of the work, and caused six hundred three score and four Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the *Phenicians*; was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boarded and railed, the whole Army of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and four score thousand Horse, with all the Moyses and Carriages, pass over it into *Europe* in seven days and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cesar* afterward use. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridges, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought near to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all the Troops, assembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoining: and after he had gloried in his own happines, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerful an Army and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: The cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembered, is, That the life it self which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few days given us in the world: there is no man among these, or elsewhere, that ever found himself to accompany with happiness, but that he oftentimes pleased himself better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases and sorrows whereof to mankind is subject, being so many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long: to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to over-cast those joys which they had now in pursuit with late remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the Invasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himself of the King's resolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it self, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should find, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of so great a Fleet; inasmuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition

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of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiated desire of roan to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diffable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it self both by Sea and Land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacy had not misperceived them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, not succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his Fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counsel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point: It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it less than two millions of Souls, besides his Beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few days suffer famine, and using *Machibael's* words, *Mourne sans cressies, die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Country, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the sharpened points of their Weapons, destroying with all whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylae*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Landresses, Harlots and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that who-soever should enterprise any greater matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Perfian* Kings had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possessed so many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were never undertaken without great peril. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that War. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Perfians* endured, and that *Greece* were separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus; & impedimenta potius sunt, quam auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in force, rather a luggage than aid*.

Besides, as it was impossible to Marshal such a world of men in one Army, to the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion

among the *Perfian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the Builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their Territory, brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a Sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea: yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*; the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perused the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

§ III.

Of the fights at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

AFTER such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Greece* (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Liffus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near *Pissyrus* by his Cattel, and about accidents in his Marches towards *Greece*) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of half an Acre of ground, lying between the Mountains, which did divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with Gates which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeates* and *Malintians*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *eloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge Army of the *Perfians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first days fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handful of thole men, whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second days attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved in vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Perfian* Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode in him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the virtue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that

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he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the Field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* Arrows was so thick as would hide the Sun, he answered thus; It is very good news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all Land-forces should assemble together to defend *Ithaca*, that freight neck of ground which joineth *Peloponessus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred Ships well manned, should be sent unto the Coasts of *Laconia*, to spoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their Neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterwards bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred Ships should seize upon the Island then called *Cybera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a place of Rendezvous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endangering the enemy: whereby that ancient Speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easy to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* Fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole days together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magestia*, four hundred Ships of War, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbour wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes* persuaded his Brother not to disperse his Fleet; for if he did after the loss of four hundred Ships he shall send away other three hundred to seek all adventures then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land Army and Fleet, should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* Fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium*, in the straits of *Eubæa*, where the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the Island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas*, in a safe not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubæa* from the Main, was in the same fort held by a Navy of two hundred three score and eleven sail against the huge

Persian Armado, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred Ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was two well known in the *Persian* Fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-fort, taking and sinking thirty Vessels, forcing the rest to take the Seawhere, being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and call all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty three *Athensian* Ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Cretcent, thought to to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did prevent them betwixt *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parts. For, though more of the *Persian* Ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greeks* Fleet, which being small, could worse bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worst, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were forcibly crushed in the battle, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they weighed Anchors, *Themistocles*, General of the *Athensians*, engraved upon stone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks* or stand neutral; (persecution, he hoped, would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.)

§ IV.

The attempt of *Xerxes* upon *Apollo's* Temple: and his taking of *Athens*.

WHEN *Xerxes* had past the straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the Country of the *Boeotians*, and the Regions adjoining; as for the Inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and reserve themselves to a day of battle, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his Army he sent to the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great Personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the Goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great afflictment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnassus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superfluous. Yet *Hærodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Misera*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of enriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that license to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported,

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was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoil his Gods?* and elsewhere; *Have any Nation changed their Gods, which were not his Gods? Go to the Isles of Kittim, and behold, yet are not to Kedar and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alleged the burning of *Cybele's* Temple by the *Athensians*, when they set fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waft which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize against *Dolchos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousness so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athensians* had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus. He came to *Athens*, which finding forsaken, he took and burnt the Citadel and Temple, which was therein. The Citadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; that *Athens* should be safe in wooden Walls, had fortified that place with boards and Palisades: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophesie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

§ V.

How *Themistocles* the *Athenian* drew the *Greeks* to fight at *Salamis*.

THE *Athensians* had before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Trezen*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheless this great zeal, which the *Athensians* did shew for the general good of their Country, was ill required by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the Isle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Ithaca*: which rock of land they did purpose to fortify against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponessus* by Land and Sea, leaving the rest of *Greece* as indefensible to the fury of the Enemy. So should the Islands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athensians* (which were there bestowed as in mercenary security) have been given over into the hands of the *Barbarians*. Against this resolution, *Themistocles*, Admiral of the *Athensian* Fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with fear of losing their own, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtain of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends, and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the Enemy at *Salamis*; As first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the self same fear, which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*,

upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to discover the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own City and Estate: Then to the Council of War which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of Courage might work in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Ithaca* was in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer Ships, to determine the matter in the straits; and that, besides the safeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Ithaca*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea: which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave them so good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themistocles* with the loss of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A base and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than all his former persuasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athensians* wanted not a fairer City, than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was easy for them to transport their Families and subsistence into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure Habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Town he said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athensians* in process of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our selves, leaving unto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much began to enter into better consideration of the *Athensians*, whose affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and confederate even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the *Athensians*, when they first embraced that Heroical resolution of leaving their Grounds and Houses to Fire and Ruine, if necessity should enforce them so far, for the preservation of their Liberty; did employ the most of their private Wealth, and all the common Treasure, in building a great Navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong Fleet would either procure Victory at Home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to pass, that, had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athensians*, whose forces by

Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of no more than three hundred and four-score bottoms. Wherefore these *Perlopesians* began to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the Fleet of *Athenians* had forsaken them; were soon persuaded, by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Perfians*; and laying aside their insolent Bravery, they yielded to that most profitable Council of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the *Perfians* consulted about giving battle: and how Themistocles by policy bid the *Greeks* to their resolution; with the Victory at *Salamis* thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean season the *Perfians* had entred into Consultation, whether it were convenient to offer Battle to the *Greeks*, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the Fight: but *Artemisia* Queen of *Aegina*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in person, was of a contrary Opinion. Her Council was, that the King himself directly should march toward *Perlopesia*, whereby it would come to pass that the *Greek* Navy, (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of Provision) should presently be discovered, and every one seeking to preserve his own City and Goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give Battle, so on the other side the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the Loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the Profit of the Victory which we desire. For if we compel the Enemies to fly, it is no more than they would have done, we sitting still; but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worst, the Journey to *Perlopesia* is utterly dashed, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common Consent of the other Captains, and withal, this disagreeing Opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her Advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse Council of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that as out of their own Judgment, which they thought most comfortable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain persuasion of much good, that his own Presence upon the Shore to behold the Conflict, would work among the Soldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his own Tent upon the Mount *Aegleus*, which is opposite unto the Isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that Action, having Scribes about him to write down the Acts and Behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the News of that timorous Diligence, which their Countrymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Perfian* Army marching apace thither, did now again forrifice and amaze the *Perlopesians*, that no journey nor

contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madness to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the Victory, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate Island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the Wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent Fear had stooped upon their ears against all good Council, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholesome Decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busied in wrangling altercation. As soon as the Council brake up, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the *Perfian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended Flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navy about the Island, which encompassing the *Greeks* might prevent their escape; giving them withal a false hope of his assistance. The *Perfians* no sooner heard than believed these good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own assured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them, which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captains with rich Rewards, and the People with restitution of their City and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the Morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Perfians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their Ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the Enemy in Rear, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Pisistale*, which lieth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Græcian* Party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the Shore. Thus did meer necessity enforce the *Græcians* to undertake the Battle in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, stemming the foremost of the Enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great Battle to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome task of writing down many Disasters that befel the *Perfian* Fleet, which ill acquired it self that day, doing no one peece of Service worthy the Presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that Victory with equal Courage, were it not that the principal Honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the Ships of *Aegina* having possessed the Straights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of things following after the Battle of *Salamis*: and of the flight of *Xerxes*.

AFTER this Victory, the *Greeks* intending, by way of scrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that Honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto virtue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Perfian* King, as not amazed with this Calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the War, began to cast a wary Eye upon his Master, fearing lest his Council should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation; he advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which Forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* unto the subjection of the *Perfian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to soothe *Xerxes* with many fair words; telling him, that the cowardice of those *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than Slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late Sea-Service, did not concern his Honour, who had always been Victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea, taken *Athen* itself, against which the War was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who presently betook himself to his Journey homeward, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to fill to *Hellspont*, and there to break down his Bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not so strong, as it should have been, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybides* give Council that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that Bridge, lest Necessity should enforce the *Perfians* to take Courage, and rather to fight like Men, than die like Beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of Friendship, send a false Advertisement to this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his Bridge were dissolved: which Council *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the Bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by Tempests, and he thereby driven to Embark himself in some obscure Vessel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did most willingly embrace the latter of these reports. However it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of People, which as Locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The Negotiations between *Mardonius* and the *Athenians*, at also between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; after the flight of *Xerxes*.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had with-drawn himself into *Theffaly*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the Son of *Amintas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received, and of extending their Territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their Liberty and Laws, if they would make Peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entered their City, but not as yet brought back their Wives and Children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Army of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, understanding what fair Conditions this Embassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear. Lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athen*, who arriving, before the *Macedonian* had Audience, used the best of their persuasion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatened the subversion of *Athen*, till they and all their Confederates Arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawn into the Quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injustice could not leave them. We know, if they that, they have endured great Calamities, losing the Fruit of the Grounds, and being driven to forsake the Town, the Houses whereof be ruined, and unfit for your Habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your Wives and Children amongst us, as long as the War shall continue, hoping that ye, who have always procured Liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into Slavery and Bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needful to use many Arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sun continued his course they would be Enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any Riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their Liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their Wives and Children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Army to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Theffaly*, having once received such a peremptory answer. In this their Opinion of *Mardonius* his readiness to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For he, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obdurate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their Confederates.

From *Athen* he sent his Agent unto them with instructions, not only to persuade them to acceptance of the Conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was that either

the People, wearied with forsaking their Houses to often, would be desirous to preserve them from Fire, and to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be won with great Rewards, to draw them to his purpose; all which projects if they should fail, the destruction of Athens would be a good mean to please his Master King Xerxes, who must thereby needs understand, that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the strong-cast part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one Lycidas, or (as Demetrius calls him) Cypselus, advised the Senate to accept the Conditions, and propound them to the People; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Council-house heard what he had said, immediately fell upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the Women of Athens in the file of Salamis, hearing of his bad Counsel, and bad conduct, assembling together, did enter his House there, and put his Wife and Children to the like Execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slackness of the Peloponnesians in giving them aid, they were fain to be taken themselves to Salamis again, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardness in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe Messages to Sparta, complaining of their slackness, and threatening withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common effort of all was to little regarded. These Messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the Peloponnesian Wall, builded athwart the Isthmus, was almost finished. But as the Lacedaemonians waxed careless and dull, so the Athenians hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in their dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of Athens took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the Persian Fleet lay upon the Coast of Asia, not daring to draw nearer unto Greece, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the Greekish Navy contained it self within the Harbours upon Europe side; both to do service where need should require at home; and withal to shun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had adventured over far. So mutual fear preserved in quiet the Islands lying in the midst of the Aegean Seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counsellor of Sparta, that the Wall upon Isthmus would serve to little purpose for the defence of Peloponnesus; if once the Athenians gave ear to Mardonius: considering that many doors would be opened into that Demi-Island, as soon as the Enemy should by winning the Friendship of Athens, become the Master of the Seas about it. The Lacedaemonians upon this admonition, making better perusal of their own dangers, were very careful to give satisfaction to the Athenian Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their Alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand Spartans in the Evening, under conduct of Paulanias: they gave Audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered

with vehement protestations of their readiness; deeply swearing that the Army of Sparta was already far upon the Journey; and giving them leave to take up other five thousand Lacedaemonians, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The Athenians, though distastful such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the final conclusion; and leaving the number appointed of Lacedaemonian Soldiers, made what haste they could to encamp in Attica. The other Grecians were nothing slack in sending forth Companies, whose near approach caused Mardonius to forsake Attica as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horle, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of Athens, tearing down the Walls of it, and running all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great Battel of Plateæ.

IT was too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many Skirmishes between the Greeks and him, in the Country of Boeotia, which Mardonius had chosen to be the seat of that War. Much time was spent before the Quarrel was decided by trial of one main Battel: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assail them.

The Army of Mardonius contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of Xerxes his Army; to whom were adjoined the Forces of Thibes, Macedony, Thebais, and other parts of Greece, that now siding with the Persians, furnished his Camp with fifty thousand men. Against these the Lacedaemonians, Athenians, and their Confederates, had levied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousand were waightrily Armed, the rest were only Affiants to these forty thousand, being Armed more lightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of Service; Mardonius, whose Victuals began to fail, resolved to begin the fray. The Greeks were promised Victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the Athenians, and in the Plain of Ceres and Proserpina, making Prayers unto certain Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the Oracle designed. For the Plain of Ceres was indeed in the Territory of Athens; but there was also an old Temple of Ceres and Proserpina, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the same place, upon Mount Citheron, and the ground served well for foot-men against Horle; only the Land belonged unto the Plateans, and not unto the Athenians.

Whilst the Greeks were perplexed about the Interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the Plateans, to make all clear, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Town upon the Athenians.

This Magnificence of the Plateans caused Alexander the Great, many Ages after, to re-edify their City, which was ruined in the Peloponnesian Wars.

All things being ready for Battel; the Lacedaemonian General thought it most meet, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished

vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should entertain the Thebans and other Greeks which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the Athenians changed place with the Lacedaemonians; which Mardonius understanding (whether fearing the Athenians, of whose Valour the Medes and Persians had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers of Greece) he did also change the order of his Battel, and oppose himself to Paulanias. All the Greeks might perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and Paulanias thereupon returned to his former Station; which Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their Archers on Horle-back, who did to molest the Greeks at their Watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and none to the Enemy, lie near to that Fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the Morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their fight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer Cowardice) he charged them in the Rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient Valour, that the Lacedaemonians being over-taken by the Enemies Horle, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for Victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of special mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as Paulanias had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the Superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of Battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who did then sit up on the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barbarians, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the Greek Army that was in march, being revoked by Paulanias, came in apace to succour the Lacedaemonians: only that part of the Army which was led by the Athenians, could not arrive unto the place of the great Battel, because the Thebans, and other Greeks confederated with the Persians, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the Spartans, with other their Affiliates, did to well acquit themselves, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius with many thousands more slain in the Field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such Courage as desperate Necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the Lacedaemonians were not acquainted with the manner of Assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the mean season the Athenians, having found strong opposition of the Thebans and Thebaisians, did with much labour and courage obtain Victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the Lacedaemonians, whom they found wearily busied in Assaulting the Camp, with more Valour than Skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, which breach first, and then on all sides, the Greeks entered, with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are

slain, nor to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with Artabazus, when the Persian Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it, greater than of the Affiliates; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having lost their General with other principal Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemies Country, against an Army of men far more Valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present Victory. Therefore the same Wall which for a few hours had preserved their lives, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. Artabazus fled into Thrace, telling the People of Thebais, and other Countries in his way, That he was sent by Mardonius upon some piece of Service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great difcomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and fought with his ruin to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making for large Marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behind and lost, he came to Byzantium, whence he shipped his men over into Asia. Such was the end of the vain-glorious expedition, undertaken by Xerxes against the Greeks, upon hope of Honour, and great Conquest; though forcing otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had foreseen, and rather worse, for as much as it began the Quarrel, which never ended, before the ruine of the Persian Empire was effected, by that Nation of the Greeks despised and fought to have been brought into Slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the Vision appearing to Xerxes, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the Persian Monarchy by the Greeks, who thus provoked, entered into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale, with a strange Accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and Examples of the like.

THE same day on which the Battel was fought at Plateæ, there was another Battel fought at Mycale, a Promontory, or Head-land in Asia, where the Persian Fleet rode. Lewischides the Spartan, with Xanthippus the Athenian, Admirals of the Greek Navy, at the request of some Islanders and Ionians, did fall into those parts, to deliver the Semians, and procure the Ionians to revolt from the Persian. Xerxes himself at this time lay at Sardis, a City in Lydia, not far from the Sea-side, having left therefore thousand under the Command of Tigranes, for defence of Ionia and the Sea-coast. Therefore when Artabazus and Iphicrates, Admirals of the Persian Fleet, understood that the Greeks bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their Ships a ground, fortifying with Palisades and otherwise, as much ground as did seem needful for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. Lewischides at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard the

the Shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* Tongue to remember Liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*; trusting that either these persuasions would prevail; or if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousy in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own Compagnions. It need not seem strange, that this very fame stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to persuade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now, in his declining Estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of Liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former Bravery, little regarded, and less feared any Treason, to be contrived by their Subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Semians*, which were amongst them, they took away their Arms; the *Milefians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence, of the fraught Passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milefians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Semians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the Fight, and laying hold upon such Weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Camp; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that whilst the *Greeks* were yet in march towards the Enemies Camp, a Rumor suddenly ran in the Army that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Soldiers) was very true. For the Battle of *Platœa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report, of that great Battle, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four days, as *Li-
vie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battle by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnese*: That of the Battle against the *Tarquinians* and the *Laines*, presently notified at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the Victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperor. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperor; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War; it was suddenly reported that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the Gods, and show all manner of public joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of these tidings could not be found, the Emperor *Domitian* betook himself to his Journey against the Rebel; and being with his Army in March, he received advertisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the Rumour notified before in *Rome*, of the self same Victory, he found that the Report and Victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand Furlongs (which make about five and twenty hundred Miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the

like. And indeed it was very strange, if among so many Rumours, begotten by forged or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in Dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrify those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous Noises; as he rallied the Siege of *Samarra*, by causing a found of Horles and Charlots to affright the *Assyrians*; and as he threatened *Senacherib*, saying: *Behold, I will send a Ra-
phail upon him, and he shall bear a wound, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such a mean as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, least their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandering to seek out Enemies afar off, upon the Coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the Battle fought at *Platœa* being noised among them; every man desired that his own Valour in the present Fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and straight Passages, to win the higher Ground. The *Athenians* did first for the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the Palisadoes and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the Place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this Fight the *Semians* did good Service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milefians*, who upon the like jealousies, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the Passages; did now (as if they had been set on purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the Sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retired in whole Troops; making them fly dispersed in very much disorder, where by the *Milefians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last Fight of that huge Army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive War.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous quality of *Xerxes*: with a transition from the *Persian* Affairs, to matters of *Greece*, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

XERXES lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battle; but little mind had he to revenge either this or other his great Losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom, when he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it best to make a March between his own Son *Darius* and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such fa-
miliarity

miliarity, as might work out his Desire. But whether it were so, that the Chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the Beauty of her Daughter allure him; he soon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himself in Peace, as to guide his Army in War. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife; caused the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands Conversation with her, which the imputed not so much to the Beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the Cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon the conceived extremest hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feast, wherein the Custom was that the King should grant every Request, he craved that the Wife of *Majestes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her Disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the Abuse of such a Custom, or have deluded the Importunate Cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her self with the like, to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the Request, and sending for his Brother persuaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villainously that poor Lady should be treated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. *Majestes* refused to put her away; alleging his own Love, her deserving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him; saying, That he now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promised unto him. *Majestes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when returning Home, he found his Wife most brutally mangled by the Queen *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Majestes* enraged with this Villany, took his way with his Children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebel and avenge himself. But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the Sword. Such was the tyrannical condition of the *Persian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joined with absolute Power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much Virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrown, and

lying upon the Ground, said, That he doubted, whether, in regard of his Virtue, he should again erect it, or, for the Mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a Coward, and consequently merciles.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the Virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so firmly laid, that all the Wickedness and Vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a Virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In Wars against the *Ægyptians*, the Fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had been very good; but against the general Estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his Posterity, did ever make offensive War, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* served but as an Introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Soldier at his own doors, than in a foreign Country: whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof as soon as the Affairs of *Athen* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the Estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* Estate continued in her Greatness many Ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the World had no other Kingdom representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the Riches and Power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unweildy, and (as it were) farned for the hungry Swords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that *Xerxes* and his Successors were fain to defend their Crowns with money and safe Policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain Battle with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private Malice and Jealousie urged every City to envy the height of her Neighbours Walls, and thereby diverted the Swords of the *Greeks* into their own Bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued to hew out the way of Conquest on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian War to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

After that the Medes and Persians had received their last Blow, and were utterly beaten at Mycale: Leuctides, who then commanded the Grecian Army, leaving the pursuit of the War to the Athenians, assisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedæmonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta, and other places, out of which they had been expelled. The Athenians in the mean while besieged *Sepos*, a City on the Straight of the *Hellepont*, between which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greeks, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellepont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their Wives and Children, since the Invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Attica*, in divers Islands; and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their Houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the Walls of the City over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and so fortified their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their Wives and Children, with any private Buildings: Whereof the Lacedæmonians being advertised, and mistaking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwall'd, as also because the Athenians were grown more powerful by Sea, than either themselves or any other State of Greece, they dispatched Messengers to the Athenians to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private milike or jealousy, but pretending, that if the Persians should return to invade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their Enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the Athenians promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their Works by the advice of *Themistocles*, they told the Lacedæmonians in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their Walls to that height, as they cared not for their milikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (so gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards Lacedæmon, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the Athenians resolutions, till the arrival of his Fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedæmonians expectation being converted into jealousy (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, that the Walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe Reports and vain Rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose Relation they might resolve themselves,

and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the Athenians, first to entertain the Lacedæmonians with some such discourse as might retain them a few days, and in conclusion to hold them among them till himself and the other Athenian Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their Liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his Associates and *Arifides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the Lacedæmonians know, That it was true, that the Walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their City; praying the Lacedæmonians to believe, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for such, as right well understood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own Safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the resolution of their own Counsels and Courage, and not thereto taught or persuaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War against the Persians, they found their own Judgments, and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or less fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-wealth among the Greeks; and therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their own Affairs, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confederated within Greece should be left open, or else that the Wall of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedæmonians finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their milike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the Division, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received back from them their own Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pireus*, by which they might under convert imbarck themselves upon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and prosperous Wars made by that State upon the Persian.

The Athenians having settled things in good order at Home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the Persians, to which the Lacedæmonians added other twenty; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the Lacedæmonian; where after their landing, having possit themselves of many principal places, they imbarcked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the Persians by force the City *Bizantium*, now Constantinople:

Constantinople: from whence, *Pausanias* behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the Ionians, lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of Lacedæmon, and not only accused of many insolent Behaviors, but of Intelligence with the Medes, and Treason against his Country. In his stead they employed *Darius*, who either gave the same cause of offence, or else the Athenians, who affected the first Commandment in that War, practised the Soldiers to complain; though indeed the wife and virtuous Behaviour of *Arifides*, General of the Athenian Forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available in rendering those detected, whose Vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedæmonians being no less weary of the War, than the Athenians were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their Ease, and the other the Execution and Honor, which they desired: for all the Greeks (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the Commandment of the Athenians, which was both the beginning of their Greatness in that present Age, and of their Ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy Money according to their Discretion, for the Maintenance of the general Defence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on Europe side, in Asia the less, and the Islands, from the Persians. This Tribute (the first that was ever paid by the Greeks) amounted to four hundred and threescore Talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Arifides*, to whose discretion all the Confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the Virtue of *Arifides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the Athenians great Commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their Commodity, corrupted their Vertue, and robbing them of the general Love which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her Treasurer, which with her in the next Age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore Talents were raised to six hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous Tyranny had converted their Followers into Slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these Sums were laid up; and where, at the general Assembly, the Captains of those Forces, sent by the Confederates, were for Form sake called to Consultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger by Sea than all Greece besides, had lockt up the common Treasure in an Island under their own Protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War, was *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eion*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristij*, and brought into servitude the *Naxij*, contrary to the form of the Confederacy: So did they other the Inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they failed of their Contribution, or disobeyed their Commandments; taking upon them and usurping a kind of sovereign Authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated

Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own Persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in Money, than either in Men of War, or in Ships; leaving the provision of both to the Athenians. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navy and their Experiences, being always armed and employed in Honourable Services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their foot-men. Yet was the Tribute-money, levied upon these their Confederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well Manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral scouring the *Asiatick* Seas, took in the City of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended Neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the Greeks, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a Fine, and to become followers of the Athenians, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the River *Euxymedon* in *Pemphylia*, where the Persian Fleet rode, being of six hundred Sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty; and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the shore: All which Forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in Greece, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred Ships taken by the Athenians, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk, ere ever they had swam in the *Greeklisk* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very soon presented with a third. For four-score Sail of *Pharacians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, under the Persian Command) thinking to have joyined themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach *Cimon* weighed Anchor, and meeting them at an Head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only sought to run themselves on ground; by which means preserving few of their Men, they lost all their Ships. These losses did so break the Courage of the Persian, that, omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condescended to whatsoever Articles it pleased the Athenians to propound, granting liberty unto all the Greeks inhabiting Asia; and further Covenanting, That none of his Ships of War should fail to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyanea* and *Cebelidonia*.

This was the most Honourable Peace that ever the Greeks made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as, under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which War few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great Command, but served altogether under the Macedonians.

§. III.

The Death of *Xerxes* by the Treason of *Artabanus*.

Besides these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the Persian of seeking Peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving that the King his Master did easily

easily take small occasions to shed the Blood of such, as in Kindred or Place were near unto him, began to repose less hope of safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Sovereignty, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his Cruelty, and despised for his Cowardice and Misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer Death as a Parricide. Who-ther it be true, that by this great Wickedness he got the Kingdom, and held it seven Months; or whether intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprized, it were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole Family put to Death by extreme Torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse.

*Raro antecedentem scelus
Deservit pede pena claudo.*

Seldom the Villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The Banishment of Themistocles: His flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and his Death.

ARTAXERXES being established in his Kingdom, and having to compound with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his Predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the People of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merits in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the *Greeks*, but, even within their own Walls, they would admit none other form of Government than merely Democratical. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the Estate of any such as had born great Office, longer than, by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanor much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had laid the foundations of his greatness upon Popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthened to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new Accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting *Paulanias*, about betraying the whole Country of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his Affairs by the Council and Assistance of *Themistocles*,

proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infected *Egypt*, causing it to rebel against the *Persians*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and crowning those Eastern Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that Peace, which to their great Honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King lend his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* Estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelihood of good success, in leading a great Army of daftardly *Persians* against the Warlike People of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his virtue it is more commonly reported) the loss of his Country would not permit him to seek Honour by the ruin of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great Forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to his well-deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving People, by finishing his life with a cup of Poison.

§. V.

*How the Athenians, breaking the Peace, which to their great Honour they had made with the Persians, were justly beaten in *Egypt*.*

THIS was *Artaxerxes*, driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* War, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong Enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred Sail fringed was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which Conquest seemed easy both to make and to maintain, the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a Peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persians*, who had made so good proof of the *Grecian* Valour, that he was nothing detestful to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found sailing towards *Greece*, the Peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole Estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an Enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the League which in his own worse fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore fought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their Revenues and Power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure Honour by Profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the Straights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by Trade with those Countries, or to insist one or more of them when they are his Enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sudden wholly choked with a greater morsel, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily have swallowed

lowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exasperated by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small Forces as the *Sarapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sudden of his own *Guards*, or levy out of the ordinary *Country*, were by him defaced, the naturals of the Country, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soon break faith with him who had no other Title to that Kingdom than a good Sword. Further, he persuaded himself that the People, unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him, the Author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him: For having taken and cruelly slain *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the War. But he considering his own weakness, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater Forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the virtue of the Soldiers therein embarked; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdom of *Egypt* as a far greater Reward of their Adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their Estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly forced according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the Peoples love, they were of most power. But the illuse of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good as hopeful success: For they entered the Land as far as to *Mempbis*, the principal City; and of the City it self they took two parts: to the third part, which was called the White Wall, they laid such hard Siege, that neither those Forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well devise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look home-wards to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure Assistance of the *Greeks* one against the other, by stirring them up with Gold to the entertainment of private Quarrels, for the good of their common Enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expense, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole Force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief, who had now the space of six years defended his Masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his Name, the Son of *Cyprus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the revolted People; over whom he obtained a Victory, which made him Master of the Country, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Mempbis* the great City. It cannot be doubt-

ed, but that long abode in a strange Air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: Sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Country to Obedience, attempted the City it self, whether his former success had amended the Courage of the *Persians*, or want of Necessaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Mempbis*, and purified them so near, as they were forced to fortify themselves in the Isle of *Protophis*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen Months Siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assailed the *Athenians* without impediment of Waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the Sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Libya*; the same Entertainment had fifty other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesum*, and fell unawares between the *Phœnician* Gallies and the *Persian* in the Army; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but mouth of that part held by *Ammyrtus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Libya*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenian* six years War in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many Enterprizes at once.

§. VI.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians for the most part with good success, about the same time.

NOTWITHSTANDING these overthrow in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their Forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Hadra* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great Victories soon after; the one over the *Poloponnesians*, near unto *Cephallenia*; the other over the *Ægians*, near unto *Ægina*; where they sunk and carried away threefore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their Forces on the sudden, and besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great Fight, with equal loss, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to sit up their *Trophy*, as Victors in the former Battle, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons, and *Megarians*, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited near to *Tanagra* by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, (at which time the *Thebanian* Horse-men turned from their Allies, the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threefore days after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they won *Phocis* on the Gulf *Oreum*, and evened the Walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base Conditions; as to beat down the Walls of their City, and give them Hostages for Tribute; the Siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these Victories, they sack'd and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Poloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrow the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the

Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their Forces made War in *Ægypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thebais*, perished thereunto by *Orestes*, but were reſcued by the King *Pharaulis*, who had charged *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They alſo Landed in *Syonia*, and had Victory over thoſe that reſiſted; after which, they made Truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred Ships, but they were again allured by *Amrytus*, one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Woody parts of *Ægypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent fifty of their Ships. The reſt of their Army falling in their enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iſland, encountered a Fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned Victorious into *Greece*; as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Ægypt*.

§. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahaſuerus, the Husband of Queen Heſter.

THEſe *Ægyptian* troubles being ended, the Reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained to twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty ſome allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much Humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſs. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*, as appears by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and aid to that great Work of Building the Temple, it were a needleſs travel; conſidering that all the late Divines have taking very much pain, to ſhew, That thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that Building, in ſuch fort as appears in their Writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſuerus* who Married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needful to give proof, it may ſuffice; That *Ahaſuerus* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in Peace, as appears by the circumſtances of the Hiſtory, and uſed the Council of the ſeven Princes, the Authority of which Princes began under *Darius*, the Son of *Hymphaſis*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambuſis*.

The continual Wars which exerciſed King *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his Marriages with ſundry Wives, from none of whom he was Divorced, but left his fiſt Wife *Aſta*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great Honour, being Mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King; do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*. That at the perſuaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Joaſachim* the High Prieſt, the Son of *Jefſus*, cauſed the Feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Joaſachim* was in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah*: *Jefſus* his Father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of Wars, with other his furious and Tragical Loves, wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from War, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expreſſed by *Ne-*

hemias. Again, it is well known, that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his Reign (wherein this Marriage muſt have been celebrated) came not near to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſuerus*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* Captive, with *Techomis*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived into their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, Reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in Peace, was contemporary with *Joaſachim* the High Prieſt: And further, he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the Rebellious *Ægyptians* in that ſeventh year of his Reign; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royal Feaſt as is deſcribed in the beginning of the Book of *Heſter*. This is the ſum of the Arguments, brought to prove the Age of *Heſter*'s ſtory by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimus*, who adds the Authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo*, giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Jaeſe* the *Patriarch* lived; namely, one hundred fourſcore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away Captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the Troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponneſian War.

BUT it is fit that we now return to the Affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their Civil Wars, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many Ages to reſt in Peace, this *Ægyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the War, called Sacred, recovered the Temple and Iſle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phœnicians*. In the mean while the Banished *Boeotians* re-entred their own Land, and maſtered two of their own Towns poſſeſſed by the *Athenians*, which they ſoon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Boeotians*, *Eubeans*, and *Loceans*, (Nations oppreſſed by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that Fight all ſlain or taken, whereby the *Boeotians* recovered their former Liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their Priſoners. The Iſlanders of *Eubœa* took ſuch Courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertiſed that the *Megarians* (who fiſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their Yoke, had ſlain the *Athenian* Garriſons, and joined themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epilaurians*. Theſe News haſtened *Pericles* home ward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Phylaxmas*, the Son of *Paulonias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose return *Pericles* went on with his fiſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of Peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponneſus*; and this Truce was made for thirty years. After fix of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Mileſians* againſt the *Samiens*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both

both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forced to yield themſelves upon moſt lamentable Conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their Ships, to break down their own Walls, to pay the charge of the War, and to reſtore whatever had been taken by themſelves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel *Peloponneſian* War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following; the ſame conten-

tion taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this War, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the Quarrel, I hold it convenient now at the fiſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Country at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian War.

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian War.

GREECE was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Eſtate, until *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Union and League againſt the *Perſians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any abſolute ſubjection. For every Eſtate held their own, and were Governed by Laws far different, and by their own Magiſtrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield Obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Perſian* War (deemed the General Quarrel of *Greece*) and took the Profit and Honour of the Victory to their own uſe and increaſe of greatneſs. But the Kings which afterwards Reigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo far enlarge their Authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under ſuch Obedience, as differed little from Servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with Arms, and ſometimes with gifts, preſerve their Liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief: which two People deſerved beſt the Plague of Tyranny, having fiſt given occaſion thereunto, by their great Ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetual War. For until theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the Quarrel, on the one or other ſide, and ſo gave beginning to the *Peloponneſian* War (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not, before the time that *Philip* had overmaſtered all, forſomuch as every conſolation of one War afforded henceforth matter to ſome new diſtraction of the whole Country) the Wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All Controverſies were ſoon decided, either by the Authority of the *Amphictyons*, who were the General Council of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Aid was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of Victory.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government, when the *Peloponneſian* War began. Their Education was only to praſtice feats of Arms; wherein they fo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other People. They were poor, and cared not much for Wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common

Field, which ſufficed to maintain him in ſuch manner of life as they uſed. For Bravery they had none, and curious Building or Apparel they regarded not. Their Diet was ſimple, their Feaſts and ordinary Meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They uſed Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, ſave that they uſed no other Occupation than War, placing all their Felicity in the glory of their Valour. Hereby it came to paſs that in all Enterpriſes, whereof they were partakers, the Leading and High Command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their Conduſt. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this: For they fought Wealth, and meaſured the Honours of their Victories by the Profit; they uſed mercenary Souldiers in their Wars, and exacted great Tribute of their Subjects, which were for the moſt part Iſlanders, compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet was great.

As in form of Policy, and in courſe of Life, ſo in Conditions Natural, the difference between theſe two People was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their conſultations, and as haſty in the execution: The *Lacedæmonians* very flow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold Blood perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in ſeize. Whereby it came to paſs that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that fought Honour and not Riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtraight ſubjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until ſuch time as the *Perſian* *Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a Quarrel to *Athens*. For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Men, beſetwom all their Wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Greeks*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by the *Spartans*. After theſe Victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their Obedience; impoſing upon them a hard Tribute, for

maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Perjans*; though indeed they employed their Forces chiefly, to the Conquest of such Islands, and Haven-Towns, of their own Country-men, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousy, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Tekans* would have opposed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* were no paired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other Aid, than this Advice, That they should seek the help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be entangled in a long and tedious War with their Neighbours of *Thetis*. But it proved otherwise; for their Force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to increase their Honour and Puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entered into War.

NEvertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that City grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much incensed, because the People of the Island *Coryra*, their Colony, which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their Fleet by adjoining that of *Coryra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that Revenge which else they would have taken. Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the Conditions of Peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redress by War the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking Religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain Offences committed against the Gods; whereof having for Answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like Offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deal plainly, and required that the People of some Towns, oppressed by the Estate of *Athens*, should be set at Liberty; and that a Decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtain it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making War.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their Reputation without entering into a War, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the War; where, in the *Lacedæmonians* were Superior, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the

Cities in *Greece*; and having the general favour, as men that pretended to set at Liberty such as were oppressed: But the *Athenians* did far exceed them in all Provisions, of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of Command among their Subjects, which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of Friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily Assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

THE first and second years expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted; the Trees cut down; the Country People driven to flee, with their Wives, Children, and Cattel, into the Town; whereby a most furious Pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Myrtenians*, in the life of *Leibos*, and the Siege of *Plataea* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great Forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until Victuals began to fail, waiting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the People to issue into the Field against them; for they knew the Valour of their Enemies; but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilist they were making War in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Plataea*, which wanted refuge; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Myrtene*, which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War, the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such Enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all Necessaries, which came by Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken Field, which was to them a pattern of the Calamities, with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better Ships; and were so skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at Pylus.

AMONG other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very fore loss, that compelled them to sue for Peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* Ships, bound for *Coryra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the Coast of *Laconia*,

Laconia, and all the half Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary Winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, jutting to the Main, by a straight neck of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, for which a Creek, which is a good Harbour for Ships, the force of Weather being born off by the Head-Land and Isle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in half they might; and what was wanting in their Artificial Fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of Ground and Haven, they reasonably expected many advantages against their Enemies. For the Country adjoining was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruel War with *Sparta*; and, though quite subdued, they were held in straight subjection; yet was not the old hatred to extinguished, but by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore, it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off. Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this Haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Coryra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and wait it at their pleasure. The News of these doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entered a few days before with their whole Army: But now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy, to recover this piece, which how bad a Neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-knew, little fearing the grievous loss at hand, which they there in few days received. For when they in vain made a general Assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence; they occupied the Haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Island before mentioned; at each end whereof is a Channel, that leads into the Port, but so narrow, that only two Ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight Ships could enter at once by the further Channel, between the Island and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Town by Sea, they sent part of their Fleet to fetch Wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortify round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season, the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the Haven, did break and sink many of their Enemies Vessels; took five, and enforced the residue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the Town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Island as good as lost: Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the Publick safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their Enemies; they agreed to treat with the *Athenians* about Peace, taking Truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The Conditions of the Truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver up all the Ships which were in the Coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Town, nor the *Athenians* against the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no Ships should pass into the Island secret-

ly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of Peace; and should bring them back, at whose return the Truce should end; which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, the Truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* Ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begun the War, so might they end it when they pleased: Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did sue to them for Peace; advising them to make an end of War, by which with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For in stead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompence for loss sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began; refusing likewise to continue the Treaty of Peace, unless the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendered unto them as Prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the Truce being ended, it was desired of the *Athenian* Captains, that they should, according to their Covenant, restore the Ships, which had been put into their hands. Whereunto answer was made, that the condition of the Truce was, That if any one Article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquainted of our promise to restore the Ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit for far over-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to use many hard means, for conveyance of Victuals into the Isle, which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried Prisoners to *Athens*; where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these Prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or which-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were now so far from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coast, and by those who filled out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a Peace, that was not well kept.

THEREFORE they endeavoured greedily to obtain Peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with the continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicily*, to hold up a Faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilian* Quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or loss; they banished the Captains, as if it had been merely through their default, that the Isle of *Sicily* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self; no whit inferior unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after,

by some disaffers received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a *Battel*, which they lost at *Ambipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brajidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedaemonian* Forces, were both slain; which two had most been Adversaries to the Peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedaemonians*, who not only felt the like Wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylos*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, against such as, through commodity of their good Fleet, had all advantages that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the business, ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the enmity, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the Treaty of Peace to good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their Heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The Estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a Truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong City, which though inferior to *Sparta* in Valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedaemonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little else to do. This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded: For it was then thought that by waiving the Territory of *Athens* with Sword and Fire, the Quarrel should easily, and in short time have been ended; whereby not only the *Athenians* should have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake this War was undertaken, have been so firmly knit to the *Lacedaemonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong Fleet, from any great harm: That the *Peloponnesians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor Peace; their daily Travels, and many Losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedaemonians* were glad to use the occasion, when the inclination of their Enemies did then afford, of making a final Peace; which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easy; but were indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The restitution of Prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and stole the most, they had let at Liberty (as reason required) which had opened their Gates unto them, as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as Enemies. Now, concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in

The War; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned; neither would they by any means yield themselves into the hands of their old Lords, the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their security, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of Conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that retorting only the Prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, until such time as they might receive the full satisfaction according to the Agreement. But before such time as these difficulties broke out into matter of open Quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entered into a more straight Alliance with the *Athenians*; making a League Offensive and Defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have fled for Peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure work; the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deferving in the late War, or found so troublesome, that their Enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) were little more than Friendship. It bred great jealousy in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction between two so powerful Signories; especially one claime threatening every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Country, and taking away what they could lay hold on. For besides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent add new Conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This imprefion wrought so frongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjust Friends; whereby it came to pass, that they who had lately born chief sway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely used the advantage.

§. VI.

*Of the Negotiations, and Practices, held between many
States of Greece, by occasion of the Peace that was
concluded.*

THE admiration wherein all Greece held the
Valour of *Sparta* as unrefutable, and able to
make way through all impediments, had been too
excessive, that when by some sinister accidents
that City was compelled to take and seek Peace,
upon terms not founding very honourable, this
common opinion was not only abated, but (as
happens usually in things extreme) was changed
into much contempt. For it was never thought
that any *Lacedaemonian* would have endured to lay
down his Weapons, and yield himself Prisoner;
nor that any misfortune could have been so great,
as should have drawn that City to relieve it self
otherwise than by force of Arms. But when once
it had appeared that many of their Citizens among
whom

5. VIII

whom were some of the *Caribbees* before *Pylus*, had rather
by Enemies, in the Island before *Pylus*, had rather
chosen to live in Captivity, than to die in Fight;
and that *Pylus* it self, being sick as a Thorn in the
foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that
of *Elfate*, as utterly wearying the accustomed *Span-
ish* remolition, had made it lie down, and seek to
refresh it self by dishonourable ease: Then did
not only the *Comibians* and *Tubamas* begin to con-
ceive bafely of those men which were virtuous,
though unfortunate; but other lesser Cities joyning
with these in the same opinion, did cast their
Eyes upon the rich and great City of *Arger*, of
whose ability, to do much, they conceived a
strong belief, because of long time it had done
nothing. Such is the base condition, which through
foolish error is become almost natural in the greater
part of mankind. We curiously search into their
vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we
should have discerned only the virtues; and com-
paring injuriously our best parts with their worst,
are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good
in strangers which we know to be wanting to our
selves.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta*, were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatness of *Athen's* daily increasing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entered into the present War. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the Peace, alledging as grievances, that some Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of War, had procured some part of the *Archadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fearful of revenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argives*, feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens, a full and absolute Commission to make Alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athen* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular business to the multitude. When the Gates of *Argos* were thus for open to all comers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entered into this new Confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by their close confederence with the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; and therefore the present Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had been hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entered yet into the Alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave Audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassage was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their Oath, could not forsake the Alliance, and that they had long since made with themselves reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the Peace lately made; as Religion enforced them to continue in their ancient Confederacy; forasmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their Associates, that the confederacy of the greater part, (which had yielded up Peace with *Athen*) should bind the lesser number to perform what was concluded, if no Divisions

impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the War wherein they had lost many places, without provision of refection; and that the very clause, alledged by the *Embassadors*, did acquit them from any necessity of subsidizing to the late Peace; forasmuch as they had sworn unto those People whom they perswaded to rebel against *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall again into the Tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in Reason and Religion, to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an Oath was then were Psefidence, Tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things undertaken. As for the Alliance with *Argos*, they said, that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the *Embassadors* with this Answer, they made all haste to join themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also upon the point to have entered into this new Confederacy. But as the affections were divers, which caused this hasty conclusion of sudden Friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to pass, that the friendship it self, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*; as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: where did firmly break themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate; others did only hate the *Spartans*; and these would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians*, who were the Peace: Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knew that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the Society of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, used in *Sparta* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather the *Spartans* than that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joining with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business having ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themselves of their own danger, who had not so much as any Truce with *Athenians*; and yet were unprepared for War. They thought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*; and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one *Ciry*, that shewed against them more from than force; but gave them to understand, that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of their Alliance, which *Athen* had lately made, with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally, they granted unto these *Corinthians* (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) that Truce that they desired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, it being an Article of the League between them and the *Spartans*. That the one should not make Peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seen the great advantage which absolute Liberty have as well in Peace as in War, over such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly find a single Signory, that hath been so constantly follow-

as *Sparta* was, by so many States, and some of their little inferior to it self, being all as free: Whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of Conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Town of *Panactæ*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) unless they would agree to make a private Alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were fain to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the last Agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one Article of the League made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panactæ*, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was fought to have been excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all Prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoped with gentle words to fawn the matter; saying, That from henceforth no Enemy to *Athens* should nestle in *Panactæ*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deal with tame Fools: For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal Conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but used such base collusion as stood not with their Honour; having made private Alliance with the *Thebans*, having destroyed a Town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded Peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the Peace; among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that year, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the War, yet withstood that they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Covenant, especially *Pylus*, that had so lately troubled them. *Alcibiades*, who Nobility, Riches, and Favour with the People, made him desire War, as the means, whereby himself might procure some Honourable Employment, used all means to set the Quarrel on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendered ought to their Prisoners, and presence enough to use that advantage of breaking the Peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereunto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence,

except the delivery of their Citizens which were Prisoners. But *Alcibiades* withstanding a speedy beginning of open War, sent privately to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fully the time served for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them security against all Enemies.

The *Argives* upon the first Confluence of many Effates unto their Society, had embraced great hopes of working Wonders, as if they should have had the Conduct of all Greece against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that Honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old Enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these sudden apprehensions of vain Joy, were suddenly changed into as vain Fear; which ill agreed with the great Opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their Alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought Security from *Athens*; and when a false Rumour was noised abroad, that *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full Agreement upon all Points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their Creeds, and sue for Peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their Gravity, and were not over hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the Message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the Chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their own Embassadors accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a League offensive and defensive, between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this business the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they saw, that such a Combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the Love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done than stood with their Honour or Profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather, by giving full satisfaction to retain the Friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of Greece. This Resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the Peace, who coming to *Athens* with full Commission to make an end of all Controversies, did earnestly labour in the Council-House, to make the truth of things appear; saying, that their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the Recovery of *Panactæ*: concerning which Town, or any other business, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the *Athenians* cause of dish pleasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute Commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored unto them, and especially for the present, that the Negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aside. Favourable Audience was given to this Proposition, the rather, because they which promised a mends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good Agreement was dashed on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, persuaded them well of his Friendship towards their City, and advised them to take all care that their absolute Power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, lest the info-

insolent Multitude should thereupon grow pre-emptory, and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable Conditions. The Embassadors believed him, and fashioned their Tale in the Assembly of the People as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were come to *Athens* for none other purpose, than to hinder the People from strengthening themselves with Friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own Alliance, as (contrary to their Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The People of *Athens*, whom a pleasing Errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good Opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest Meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong persuasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the League with *Argos*. Yet for the present, so far did *Nicias*, an Honorable Citizen, and great Friend to the Peace, prevail with them, that the Business was put off, till he himself with other Embassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seem a great Wonder, how so poor a Trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might have cast the Load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth. But the Gravity which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their Game handsomely against so nimble a Wit; and they might well have been thought untruthful men, had they professed themselves such as would say and unfay for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a fower Message to deliver at *Sparta*, being pre-emptorily to require performance of all Conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the pains to rebuild *Panactæ*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them understand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into Confederacy with the *Argives* and their Adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the *Thebans*, assured Friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the Anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate they would do no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable Friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear anew to keep the Articles of the League between them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embassadors, a new League was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample provision for holding the same common Friends and Enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this Confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (Prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the loss of Reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortune, than in sundry Passages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whole Amity, they had left sundry of their old Friends to shift

for themselves. Contrariwise, the *Athenians*, by the Treaty of Peace, had recovered the most of that which they lost in War; all their Gettings they had retained, and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

S. VII.

How the Peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their Fellows had found Business wherewith to set the *Athenians* on work, and make use of this Conjunction. For presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hostility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did not (as Principals) inflict each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several Friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other People of Greece, began anew to range themselves under the *Lacedæmonians*; and follow their Ensigns. One Victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer Valour in a set Battle near to *Mantineæ*, against the *Argive* side, helped well to repair their decayed Reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissention arising shortly after within *Argos* it self, between the principal Citizens and the Commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new Combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a League with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so far as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in express words, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in short space of time the Multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Besides these Upstarts in Peloponnesus, many Affairs were made to raise up Troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewise in Macedonia, to the *Athenians*; whose Forces and readiness for Execution prevented some things, revenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter for quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet, retaining still that Enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not as yet breaking out into terms of open War.

S. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sack Siracuse, are put to flight and utterly discomfited.

DURING this intermission of open War the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing Sicily, whether they sent a Fleet so mighty as never was yet forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all Necessaries to so great an Expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the Factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that Voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such Judgment, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed People; partly by the Invasion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon Attica.

whilst the Forces of that State were so far from home. Hereinto was added the Aid of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with Money.

Neither was the success of things in Sicily such, as without help from Athens, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they Besieged Syracuse, the chief City of the Island, and one of the fairest Towns which the Greeks Inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong Aid from Peloponnesians, it came to pass that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise, that their Fleet was shut up into the Haven of Syracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian Affairs went very ill in Sicily, so did they at home stand upon hard terms, for that the Lacedaemonians, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly Journeys into Attica, which having pillaged and foraged, they returned home; did now by Counsel of Alcibiades, (who seeking Revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortify the Town of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes give Alarm unto the City itself.

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an Enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet fend forth another Fleet into Sicily, to invade a People no less puissant, which never had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous events make foolish Counsel seem wiser than it was, which came to pass many times among the Athenians, whose vain conceits Pallas was fain to turn unto the best. But where unfound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might have served to convey home the former, that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the Syracusians, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bar'd up into the Haven of Syracuse, whereby the Camp of the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up and flee away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown in such wise, that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deservedly fell upon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into Exile, Sophocles and Phidias, Generals, formerly sent into that Isle, pretending that they had taken money for making Peace in Sicily; whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to pass, that Nicias, who had the chief Command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazard the ruin of his Country, by the loss of that Army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of Athens, than to adventure his own Estate, his Life, and his Honour, upon the Tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his Tryal resolved to condemn him, by retiring from Syracuse, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor will give ear to any that would speak in our behalf; but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us; yea, these our Soldiers, who now are so de-

ferred to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the loud and insolent multitude.

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an Honest and Valiant man, to do what Reason willeth, not what Opinion expecteth; and to measure Honour or Dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed Confidence, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his People; and had well understood that a wicked Sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked Fact, as being held a precedent and pattern, whereby Oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the Camp break up till seven and twenty days were past. His timorousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his Athenians; or might pretend less evil to the foolish, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any Astrologer can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had C. Calfius, the Roman, he, who slew Julius Caesar, imitated this Superstition of Nicias, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of Calfius his Army defeated by the Partisan Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were past the Sign of Scorpio; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of Scorpio, as of Sagittarius. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule.

— *Sapiens dominatum astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by condescension of means, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles wherewith the State of Athens fell, after the great loss of the Fleet and Army in Sicily.

THE loss of this Army was the ruin of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accompanied a very little less calamity to that Estate, than was the subversion of the Walls, when the City about seven years after was taken by Lysander. For now began the Subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebel; of whom, some they reduced under their Obedience, others held out; some for fear of greater inconvenience were set at Liberty, promising only to be their good Friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of liberty offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and per-

fect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principal men of Athens being wearied with the Peoples indolency, took upon them to change the form of that Estate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an Aristocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slain at Athens, the Commonalty were so dismay'd that none durst speak against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not; but every man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should be a member of the League. In this general fear the Majesty of Athens was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the People, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent, for whatsoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the Murder. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Army, which then was at the Isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked Alcibiades out of Banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised unto the Lacedaemonians, were by Tissaphernes his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. Alcibiades had at the first been very well entertained in Sparta, whilst his Service done to that State was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counsel and good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedaemonians, that all their good success was ascribed to his Wit and Valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; especially Agis, one of their Kings, whose Wife had so far yielded her self to the love of this Athenian, that among her inward Friends she could not forbear to call her young Child by his Name. Hereupon order was taken that Alcibiades should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the Spartan Treachery, conveyed himself unto Tissaphernes, whom he so bewitched with his great Beauty, sweet Conversation, and found Wit, that he soon became the Master of that Barbarous Vice-roy's affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise Tissaphernes, not so far forth to assist the Lacedaemonians, that they should quite overthrow the State of Athens, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsel he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his Reputation (as the only Favourite of so great a Potentate) he plaid his own Game, procuring his restitution. At length his Banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Soldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the Tyranny whereof they were partakers; partly because they saw it could not long endure,

and partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions, than flood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain Peace of the Lacedaemonians, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own Authority, and the greatness of their City, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of Peace to the Lacedaemonians, desiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of Sparta was Governed by an Aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the Lacedaemonians, were kept as secret as might be. For the City of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of it self, which in effect (and though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope King Agis did sometimes bring his Forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Navy of Peloponnesians made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better Fortune of the Athenians might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their Wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoining any terror of the War. For the diffidence within the Walls might soon have done more hurt than could be received from the Fleet or Army without; which indeed gave occasion to fit the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their Authority, which they could not now hold, when the People having taken Arms to repel Foreign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the Sovereign Command unto the People, or whole Body of this City, but only to five thousand; which Company the four hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take unto them as Assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that Alcibiades and his Companions should be recalled from Exile; and that the Army at Samos should be requested to undertake the Government; which was forthwith reformed according to the Soldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades won many important Victories for the Athenians, was recalled from Exile, made their General, and again deposed.

THIS establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good success in the Wars.

Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the same time overthrowen at Sea, in a great Batel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*; to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joining such Forces as he could raise, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydos*, his arrival with eighteen Ships gave the Honour of a great Batel to the *Athenians*; he overthrowed and utterly destroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrian* ransom their City, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon Letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to contain the distress of the Army in these few words: *All is lost, Mindarus is slain, the Souldiers want Victuals, we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrowed the *Lacedæmonians* in Fight by Land at *Chaledon*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his Honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven to Banish himself again; only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the express command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the Enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second Banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the loss which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former Exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own City; now, as 'inured to Adversity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak Estate, than fought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his People, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented Batel to *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not so confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himself, bringing Ships more in number (notwithstanding the former loss of fifteen) than his Enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the People was published in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himself to a Town upon *Hellepont*, called *Bizantie*, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The Batel at Arginusæ, and Condemnation of the Victorious Athenian Captains by the People.

AFTER this time the *Athenians*, receiving many losses and discomfures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mystene*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this Siege necessity enforced them to Man all their Vessels, and to put the uttermost of their Forces into the hazard of one Batel. This Batel was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callistratus*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own Reputation by dying valiantly in the Fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had Command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, should for that good days Service, and so happy a Victory, have received great Honour of their

Citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose Ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer; That they, pursuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a Tempest arising about the end of the Fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himself escaping in a Mealtub, had been intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the People revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation, maintained with so slender Evidence, men that had well deserved of their Country, should be overthrowed. But their Enemies had to incense the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wife and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Vessels in the Storm: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the People was over-past, this judgment was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice; but the Divine Justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

The Batel at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian War.

THE *Peloponnesian* Fleet under *Lysander*, the year next following, having scoured the *Ægean* Seas, entered *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and took the Town of *Lampascus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourscore Sail, made thither in haste; but finding *Lampascus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sifos*, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the River, called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goat-brake*, or the River of the *Goats*; being on the Continent, opposite to *Lampascus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole League off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampascus* in the Harbour. The next day after their arrival they presented fight unto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it; whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own Harbour when it drew towards Evening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made use of it. For he had waded Mercenaries, and making War in his own Name upon some People of the *Thracians*, had gathered much Wealth, and obtained much Reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a Road subject to every

Weather,

Weather, neither near enough to any Town where they might furnish themselves with necessities; nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Seftos* was the next Market-Town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seftos*, which was not far off; or at the least, to consider better how near their Enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather from obedience to his General, than from any cowardice. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his Authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians* either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might have done, by transporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his followers, over the Straights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their Ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good Counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how evil it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanor of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they romed up and down the Country, he kept all his men aboard after their departure, and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, That when they perceived the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *Seftos*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen Shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his Enemies aboard their Ships, not many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Inasmuch that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine Ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight unto the Isle of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. This was the War, which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour; and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that the never after shone again in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lysander*, having taken in such Towns as readily did yield up on the first flame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and joining his Forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, Summoned the City, which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong

to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea; and rather by terror than violence, compelling all the Islands, and such Towns of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of Victuals, and other Necessaries, from the City, and enforced the People by meer Famine to yield to these Conditions. That the long Walls leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be free at liberty; That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the Fields adjoining to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the Walls were thrown down with great joycing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the Land about it. Which Advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the People, who recompensed their former infidelity and injustice over their Captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable Slavery.

The only small hope remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now dominating in every quarter) soon effected his sudden Death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* War. After which, the *Lacedæmonians* abusing the Reputation, and great Power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all Greece; and by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their High Authority, even in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foil that they took was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his Education. By these *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the several Estates and Signories of Greece were grown so jealous one of another's greatness, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did to counterpoise the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her Jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had been dependants, and followers, yea, almost meer Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making use of their Factions, to bring them all into Servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a show of Liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that Fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Pisanes*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were depofed. Nevertheless there were fo many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirty in their mifdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be eftablifhed. For Embaffadors were fent to *Sparta*, who craving aid againft *Thrasybulus*, and his followers, had favourable Audience, and a Power fent to their affiftance, both by Land and Sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the Spartan King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities Confederate with the *Lacedaemonians*. And here appeared first the jealoufy, wherein some People held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late Wars had been the moft bitter Enemies to *Athen*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their Oaths, to make War againft that People, who had not hitherto broken any one Article of the League:

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt againft his Brother.

THE matters of Greece now standing upon such terms that no one Estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedaemon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athen*, did fend his Messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedaemonians* gave a suitable answer, commanding their Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all Service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedaemonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his services; or that he perishing in Battel, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the ways, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the Victorious footsteps of their Posterity should measure; and opening unto them the Riches, and with all the Weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he referred to another Generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whole hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryfatus* the Queen-Mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger Son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the People, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers Old Age to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose

but fearing, indeed, lest the *Lacedaemonians* should annex the Territory of *Athen* to their own Domains. It is not to be doubted that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of War, he finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others, as were like to give cause of Tumult, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that Tyrannical Faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleufine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a Law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which Order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder Brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displacing him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Asia* the less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest Neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tifaphernes*, a man compounded of Cowardice, Treachery, Craft, and all Vices which customably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all fair shews of Friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought that Queen *Paryfatus* had obtained the Inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true that *Paryfatus* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former Ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like difcipation with his elder Brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his Father was a private Man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a Crowned King. All which not fufficing; when the moft that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining; then did this *Tifaphernes* discover his Nature, and accuse his Friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous Treason intended against his Person. Upon this Accufation, whether true or false, very easily believed, *Cyrus* was Arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own Province.

§. II.

§. II.

The Preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the War.

THE form of Government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regal. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own Reputation; usually indeed with the Kings Enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own Heads were held only at the Kings pleasure; which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself, the Interest that he had in the Kingdom, the small assurance of his Brothers Love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late Imprisonment, and the means which he had by love of his own People, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himself. Neither was it occasion should present it self; but rather enterprise some what whilst yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tifaphernes*, and seized upon many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simply) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his Brothers hot spirit exercised in private Quarrels. But *Tifaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardly despised, although he durst not adventure to take Arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milefians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preserve his Reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take Arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Souldiers he used great Policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Græcians* Captains with Money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in Arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to Besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being three hundred thousand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he levied before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tifaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not to so late time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Preparing therefore that the *Persians*, a People of *Asia* the less, not Subject to the *Persian*, had in-

vaded his Territory, he raised the Siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tifaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered that to great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Persia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred Horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus took his Journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

THE Tumult which his coming brought was the great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Paryfatus*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasion of the War. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hastened upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repair of his Country-men, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by trial in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him Aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained an hundred thousand men; the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amain, the Victuallers and Baggage forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were professed to the War against their will and dispositions; whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to persuade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocarnus*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great Enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of Reward, he brought them to the *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greeks* considering, that who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might fairly return if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entered the Floods, whereby were all finally persuaded to do as some had begun; and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, whereforever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain Battel. *Abrocarnus*, who with three hundred thousand men had undertaken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong Wall, and other defences of Nature and Art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself towards the King Forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedaemonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to

have transported his Army. I do not find that this Cowardice of *Artaxerxes*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp till five days were past after the Battel, received either punishment or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the Enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disposition of Tide to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superior in Reputation. By such advice the King relied upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully persuaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the Field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped; but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be far distant from his Enemies.

§. IV.

The Battel between *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of civil ways, and scarcity of Victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this Trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, having bestowed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vancourers brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the side of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their Enemies, whom they saw not till it was after noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly, in silence; whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so unequal in distance, being all embattelled in one body and figure, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the Persian manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his Battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*. Then did the Greeks begin to distrust their own Manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self, upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an Army should be so easily chafed. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their Enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their Nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of onsets, made by the Greeks, all that basely ruble of Cowards (as I said) again, without abating the flock, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with Hooks and Scythes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did snail hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, did

away on foot. This base demeanor of his Enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his followers, that such as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Tide had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the Field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the Greeks, and to set upon them in the rear, he advanced with six hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a Squadron of six thousand which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captain thereof, *Artageres*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the Field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man; and presently with a small handful of men about him ran upon his Brother, whom he strake through the Curls, and wounded in the Breast.* Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the Eye with a Dart, thrown by a brave Fellow; whereupon astonished, he fell dead from his Horse, or so hurt, that it was impossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the Head and right Hand of his Brother to be forthwith broken off, and shewed to his People, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings Troops, and utterly dismayed such Persian Captains, as were now, even in their own Eyes, no better than Rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greeks, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tisaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the Greeks, was ready now to join with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tisaphernes* in breaking through the Greeks would have yielded little comfort. For *Tisaphernes* had not slain any one man of the Greeks, but contrariwise, when he gave upon them, they opening their Battel, drove him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the Greeks. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the Greeks, as Masters of the Field, gave chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order; and followed after these Greeks, intending to set upon them in Rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to lack Honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his Brothers death had secured his Estate, whom he would soon have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient

to give Reputation to his Valour; and this Reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, by shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Spear. This Ensign might have encouraged his People, had not some of the Greeks espied it, who not minding that he should abide so near them, with all their Power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the Spur, so that none remained in the place of Battel, save only the Greeks, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an Arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their Quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good Appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to Dine.

§. V.

The hard Estate of the Greeks after the Fight; and how *Artaxerxes* in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark Night with them, found their Camp spoiled, liels or nothing being left, that might serve for Food: so that wanting Victuals to satiate their hunger, they refreshed their weary Bodies with Sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entered by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his People, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the Greeks: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry Tidings Home, it would not be long ere with greater Forces they disturbed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to distraction, and not let one escape to carry Tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave Message the next morning. Charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gate, to wait there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high Courages broken, upon report of his Brothers Death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought: For the Greeks being advertised that morning from *Arius*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to return into *Ienia*, his meaning was to dilodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would join with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arius*, that having beaten the King out of the Field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would join with them, and pursue the Victory. Before they received any reply to this Answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose Errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a Motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the Victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of Friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesy he meant to requite their Kindness. To this question *Phalimus* a Grecian, waiting upon *Tisaphernes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their Throats, for which cause he accounted them his Prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilst they kept their Arms their Valour would be forcible, but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their Bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty Speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his Wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and his Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and employed in a Business of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checked in his Ennobbage by a bookish Discourser. But his Wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known than that he brought an unbonneted Message to his own Countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Lives to the merciless *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were surprised by Treachery of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the Wars before, undertook the Conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their Answer. *Clarus* the General told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I understand you? as choosing Peace if we stay, otherwise War, said *Clarus*. But whether War or Peace? quoth this politike Embassador. To whom *Clarus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him no wiser than he came. All that day the Greeks were fain to feed upon their Horfes, Asles, and other Beasts, which they roasted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets thrown away by their Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks began to return Homewards.

AT night they took their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at mid-night, using torriken by four hundred Foot, and forty Horse, all *Thracians*, who had over to the King, by whom how they were enquired, I use not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces: for had they

they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too base a Temper and Birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make Covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with Victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome March, and tired the Soldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them to show fear or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their Betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former Behaviour; nor strange, that the *Grecians* being weary and hungry, and lying among Enemies in an unknown Country, should be very fearful; but it is almost past belief, that the Noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition imported them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Arms, he should crave Peace of them. The next day very early, came Messengers from *Ariaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadors to entreat of Peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the *Persians*, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among Circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for Battle, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of Truce till their Bellies were full; *Ariaxerxes* dissembling the Indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this Pill, sending them Guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of Victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How *Tissaphernes* under colour of Peace, betrayed all the Captains of the *Greeks*.

Hitherto the *Greeks* relying upon their own Verue, had rather advanced their Affairs, than brought themselves into any frights or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtil Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the chief Commanders by fine slights, did maliciously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them that his Province lying near unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire that their Deliverance might be wrought by his Procurement; knowing well, that in time to come, both they and their Countreimen at home would not be unthankful for such a Benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of Battle shewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and

gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which Suit I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause you have born Arms against him. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that Peace should be granted: the Conditions whereof were; That they should pass freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawful for them to take Victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereunto both parties having sworn, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all business, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they left forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt; the Brethren and Kindred of *Arius* repining daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Soldiers, did work him and them to wish assurance of Pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon Covenants, and sit still whilst the King laid snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those Difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withal their own Wants, and the Kings Means, but especially the Oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the Enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having Power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if Honour may be valued by Greatness and Place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or base respect was like to have drawn it from him. But his Falshood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that Saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich Man a Liar*. A lye may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that Passion hath his originall from weakness. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of Untruth, the Falshood is most abominable; for the Offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure Vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captains, whom he subtilly got into his Power by a Train; making the General *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: having travelled some days together, in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great Familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private Conference with him, he rehearsed the Oath of

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Confederacy, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he meant to keep it; and repeating the benches, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Myrians* or *Phidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Province; or against the *Aegyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all Divine and Humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many ways he could have used to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself, especially by burning the Country, through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by meer Famine. For which cause he said that it had been great folly, to seek by Perjury, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands: But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their Friendship, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captains with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferior Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Soldiers, as it had been to some common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principal Colonels were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horse-men scoured the Field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met; and riding up to the very Camp of the *Grecians*, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping formerly wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haste, thinking that the Enemy would forthwith have assailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principal men in the Army, saying, That they brought a Message from the King, which *Arius* delivered to this effect. That *Clearchus* having broken his Faith, and the League made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Memon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Colonels, for detecting his Treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his Servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation arose upon this Message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had been in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished:

but he willed them to send back *Memon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common Friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any Reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other four were sent to *Ariaxerxes*, by whose commandment their Heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province waisted by the *Greeks*, against whom, receiving from his Master convenient aid of Men and Money, he did so ill manage his Affairs, that neither Subtlety nor Perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning Head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his Shoulders. Such was the recompence of his Treachery, which made him so mistrusted at Home, that the Service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the World being thus against him. But now let us return to the Prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greeks*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

Great was the heaviness of the Soldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their Heads, which they knew not how to avoid. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose Learning supplied his want of Experience, finding the deep sadness of the whole Army to be such, as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-Officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whose familiar Friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some mean, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Soldiers encouraged; setting before their Eyes whatsoever might serve to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yield to the mercy of their Barbarous Enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same Night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set down for disturbing the Army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take Victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them: To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentiful Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to pass them where they were fordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requit for the harm which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who thort at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide Slings, wherewith he over-reached the Enemy; and find-

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ing some Horses fit for service, that were employed among the Carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers, to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point-blank. By these means did he bear off the *Perfians*, who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fifty Horses, which being well back'd, with a firm body of Foot-men, and seconded with Troops of the light-armed-foot and fencers, compelled the Enemy to lie a-loof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with these resolute men, did possess the tops of Mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to pass. But finally, when their Valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the Country. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of Victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the Country, as granted by the Enemy himself to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Perfians* might be affrighted to do that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; but these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, That being near unto the *Carduchi*, a People Enemy to the *Perfians*, they should enter into their Country, passing over some high Mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their Victuals, rather than to seek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek Army found in passing through the Land of the Carduchi.

ENtering upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Perfians*, were no way inferior to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, skillful Archers, and used the Sling well; which Weapons in that Mountainous Country, were of much use against these poor Travellers, afflicting them in seven days, which they spent in that passage, far more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territory of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easy. But the next Morning they saw certain Troops of Horses, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companions having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers the *Carduchi* following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountain, within less than a mile of the Water. But it was their good hap to discover a Ford, by which the greater number of them passing over, did easily chase away the Subjects of the *Perfians*; and then sending back the most expedite men, gave succour to the Rear-ward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly Armed, could not on plain ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*,

which are not far from the Spring of *Tigris*; though *Protemy* place them far more to the East upon the River of *Cyrrus* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a Critick. For *Protemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add small light to this expedition; only of this last, I think it the same which falleth into *Tigris*, not much above *Artasagarta*, springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardava* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks*, having passed *Centrites*, did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribazus, Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned Peace, was disappointed, and shamefully beaten.

THE Army finding in *Armenia* good Provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or three score miles to the heads of the River *Tigris*, and passing over them, travelled as far further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus* at the River *Telobia*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly Water, though small; but *Protemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perfians*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seem to have been a School where the Art of falsehood was taught as wisdom. He desired Peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As soon as he had made this League, he levied an Army, and besetting the Straights of certain Mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendations of being no less craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of success. For a great Snow fell, which caused the *Greeks* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken Prisoner, the whole Plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this Captive with them for a Guide, sought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did so affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the hour which was raised by the Vault-couriers, chased him away. They took his Pavilion, wherein (besides many Slaves, that were Artificers of Volupuousness) very rich Furniture was left by the treacherous Coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went North-ward, and passing *Emprates*, not far below the Springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the Enemy, who durst not approach behind, but did cut off such as they found straggling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, through which they marched, had their Wintering-houses under Ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals and of Cattel, which likewise did Winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable Journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond slaves, and taking

taking a way (besides other Horses and Cattel) some Cols that were bred up for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabisfond, through the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, near whereunto the People called *Phasienses*, *Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of War: but some Companies being sent by Night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the Enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these People to flee, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whole Country the *Greeks* did enter were the *Taochi*, who conveying all their provision of Victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of Cattel were taken; the People, to avoid Captivity, threw themselves head-long down the Rocks, the very Women throwing down first their own Children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing many as they took Prisoners, and cutting off their Heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven days Journey they escaped from those continual Skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good Corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation, called the *Soylini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine-Sea*. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his Enemies, desiring them to waste it with Sword and Fire. After five days march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Molchici*, whence their Guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an Interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good Peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchis*, wherein stands the City of *Trabisfond*, called then *Trapesas*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchians* entertaining them with hostility, were required with the like; for the Army, having now good leisure to repose themselves among their Friends the *Trabisfondians*, did spoil the Country thirty days together, forbearing only the Borders upon *Trabisfond*, at the Citizens request.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabisfond to provide a Fleet; wherewith to return home by Sea: how it came into the Territory of Sinope, and there projected the same purpose to effect.

HAVING now found a Haven-Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take Shipping, and change their tedious Land-journeys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cerisyphus*, a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibium* the *Lacedaemonian* Admiral, who was his Friend, that he would provide Vessels to imbarque them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such Ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Left all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoining to clear the ways, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Country fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophon's* request. Two Ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring Ships into the Port of *Trabisfond*: the other took Merchants and Passengers, whose Goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were faine to increase the Fleet. After long abode, when the Vessels began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchis*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were faine to embark their sick men, with the Women, Children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few Ships which they had already provided. The rest of which they took their way by Land to *Caryssa*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the *Molynaci*, who were divided into Factions. The stronger party, desiring their Friendship, caused them to joyn with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Caryssa*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*, Port-town as *Trapesas* and *Caryssa* were; but the entertainment which they found was very cheerful, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any House. Hereupon the Souldiers entered the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient Lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These measures were unwelcome to the Town, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meer Necessity had enforced the Army to reach those of *Caryssa* good manners in so bad a method; letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once, though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it self; to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this

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this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could then; and commanding the Town of *Coryra* to relieve the Soldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with Shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Helys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good Counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would pass the rest of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to Embark every one man of them, then would they not put from the shoar.

§. XIII.

Of Dissension which arose in the Army; and how it was Embarked.

Hitherto the danger of Enemies, and miseries of Weather and Wants, had kept the Company in firm unity; which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring Air of *Greece*, warming their Heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whil实现 they, who were sent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the Coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puissance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made Sacrifice, according to the superstition of his Time and Country, divining of his Success by the entrails of Beasts. The South-fayer whom he employed, had received a great Reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give Battle in ten days: he therefore having preserved his Money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his Gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of mens Opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this Consultation, were sore afraid, lest the Poverty of the Soldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the Project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient Fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to get the Soldiers Pay, if they would presently set sail for *Greece*. One of these Captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; an other offered to lead them into *Chersonesus*. *Xenophon* who desired only the common Good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Army, before such time as they were arrived at their Journeys end. *Sitaneus* the South-fayer, who had uttered *Xenophon's* purpose, was hereby flayed from outrunning his Fellows, and driven to abide with his Wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived that Ships

were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the Money promised to them, and by them to the Soldiers, came not. For the People of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now resolved for the Voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had persuaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navy whil实现 they were in good readiness to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captains therefore who being disappointed by these Towns, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their hasty orders, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Army, of taking the Ships, and failing to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such place as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These news becoming publick, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captains to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore at assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general Inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*, which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Coryras*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending Presents desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks* weigh now their Fleet in a readiness, did soon heave Anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whether *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the Army Pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great Dissension and Distraction of the Army. How the Mutinies were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THE nearer they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour, as well the Captains as the common Soldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedaemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being conceived by that Fugitive who forsook the Army at *Trebizand*, flying with one of their two Ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails, that threatened ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this Honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedaemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting Pay, did wisely in yielding to such Tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially, knowing how well their desire, which was, by night or by wrong to get Wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cherisophus*

Chap. X.

phus had been General but six or seven days when he was deposed, for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent Presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending Ships for their transportation. Two days they had failed by the Coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their Journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one ridiculous man began to put them in mind of leaving to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that, all their Provision would be spent in three days, and that being now come out of the Enemies Country, Victuals, and other necessities could not be had without Money; for which cause he gave advice to send Messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their Wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of Money, called *Cyzicenes*, which sum amounted to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicenes* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the Action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his Disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent, who in such wise delivered their insolent Message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their Request, brought what they could out of the Fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did notwithstanding man the Walls. When the Soldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians*, and *Acheans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, failed unto the Port of *Calpas*, which is in the mid way between *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom, one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand Foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty Horse, which small Band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over to *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such Shipping as they had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the Confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia* *Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the Mid-land Country to the Propont. The Mutinies who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take Spoils in *Bythia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea: in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered, and so was that part of the Country furnished on the sudden, and lacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escap-

ing, the rest were all put to the Sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped at first out of the Soldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the *Greeks* laden with Booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, or compassing the Hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* and *Acheans*: who wanting the assistance of Horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many Wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave Parly. Whatsoever Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but Pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such People, especially to incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the Inland Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for Guides, them who gave him the Intelligence. His Horse-men he sent before to discover and to scour the ways; the light armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole Country seemed to be on a slight Flame, to the great terror of the Enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, increasing still the number of his Fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The Enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given Battle, found that his advice to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs, that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which Journey he overtook them. They embraced him, and His with great joy, confessing that they themselves had thought the fame which the Enemies did, looking that he should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the Army, should suffer Death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of Service done by Xenophon; and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasion of the War between the Lacedæmonians and the Persian.

THE Haven of *Calpas* lay under a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for Building and Shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which Commodities that might have allured the Soldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them some device to have led them and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home, neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the Love which they bore unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though falling of the Riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signs appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were informed to abide in the place till Victuals failed, neither would the Captains lead them forth to forage the Country, until the Sacrifices should promise good success. *Cerëphus* was dead of an Ague, and his Ships were gone, being returned to the *Horacians*, of whom they were borrowed. His Followers were joynd to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more Provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Colonel into the place of *Cerëphus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Soldiers with the spoil of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which Enterprize he found ill success, the whole Country lying in wait to engraip him, and an Army of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy* of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which Troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking Booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this Overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Camp, upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps du garde, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the Enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessities, caused the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travail, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Assiliants. In this Journey his Demeanour was very Honourable. For having given Burial to the Dead, the Enemy was discovered lying on the tops of the Hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the Way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a Wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the Enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as

many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom, if they could safely retire to the Camp, yet what should they do there, wanting Victuals to sustain them in the place, and Ships to carry them away: wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their Dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the unsafe return, which might serve to stay Cowards from running away, but to with unto the Enemy a fair and easy Way, by which he might fly from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the Field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be conveyed away to the discretion of the *Greeks*, who at good leisure gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighbours Fields. This was the last Fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the Spoil of the Country, but when the Opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour People, to desire Friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Soldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore entering further into *Bythinia*, they took a great Boory, which they carried away to *Cerëphus*, a City near unto *Chelædon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visit his Province, where they might have found great Wealth, and little Power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, entreating him with much instance and large promises to wait them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral confederating, promised to give the Soldiers Pay, as soon as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the entreaty of the *Persian*, who in the height of his Pride, had thought them so fully implored with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Arms into his hands, and so to yield their Lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophon*'s persuasion they forbore to sack, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the general course of things. But this expedition, as in all Ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of *Asia*, and stir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprizes than ever their Forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable Action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionis*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebel, which they thought safer than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedæmonians* to send them aid, whereby to recover

recover their Liberty; and obtained their request.

For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Timbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such

Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, whilst they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians took courage by example of *Xenophon*'s Army, to make War upon *Artaxerxes*.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in *Asia*.

IT seems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophon*'s Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate *Asiatiques*, and rehearsed the many Victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joyned forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long Journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five Furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of *English* Miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one Year and three Months. Nevertheless the Civil distraction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which kindled with *Persian* Gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Estate; leaving it questionable whether *Agesslaus*, having both the fame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two Years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of Magnanimity and fair Behaviour, than of stout Courage, and great, or profitable Achievements. For how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his Friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carry no proportion to *Xenophon*'s own Journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Cunus* the *British* with six thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Tiberius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Agesslaus*, and his Wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

§. II.

Timbro receiving *Xenophon*'s men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholding to the King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Timbro*, was for his Oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercylidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good Man of War, and a wife Commander. For whereas the Rule of the Low-Countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree; *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief Command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercylidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous Nature, and would not be sorry to see his Cornival thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the Jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province, in few days, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the fame time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie space to the attempts of *Dercylidas*. *Zenis*, a *Dardanian*, had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death, his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein the behaved her self so well, that the one only was beloved of the People under her Government, but enlarged her Territory; by the Conquest of certain Towns adjoining; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the *Mysians* and *Pisidians*. For he had in pay some Companies of *Greeks*, whose Valour by her good usage did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercylidas* in those parts, a Son-in-law of hers, called *Misias*, whom the trusted and loved much, being blinded with Ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her Son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her Treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole Estate. Being denied entrance by her Soldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with Presents to *Pharnabazus*.

hazards, desiring him to make him Governor in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul Treason threatened; whereby the wicked Villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercylidas* to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Town stood out four days (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of Liberty) the Governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergebe* and *Seppis*, which the Traytor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercylidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which he filled out of *Seppis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joy in with the *Greeks* upon such Conditions, as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercylidas*, that other Condition there was none, than to let the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Seppis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to live against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind, he quietly went along with *Dercylidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergebe*. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergebe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Soldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercylidas*) I must here likewise do a Sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make denial, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercylidas*, taking possession of the place, tendered pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the Goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was Enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his detested Head. *Dercylidas*, having in eight days taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates, to Winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being re-continued held; in which time, besides the waiting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joining *Chersonese* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth, by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with Provision. After this, *Dercylidas* had command from *Sparta*, to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not unuseful to recover all the Towns of *Ionis*: *Pharnas*, the Admiral of the Fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to join with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having respect to the Kings Service, came to assist his private Enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons in to all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Asia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so

was *Dercylidas* willing to free his Confederates from the spoil and danger of the War, by joining with the *Ionians*; for which cause he paid the River of *Maender*, and not looking to have been so soon encountered, marched carelessly through the Country; when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present Battle. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readiness, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persians* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greek* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open Plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for flame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercylidas* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their Honour, prepared to endure the fight; which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a Victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a Coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Soldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave Parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercylidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, that all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own Liberty and Laws; but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedaemonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by trial of a Battle.

§. III.

How the Lacedaemonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The dissentions of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedaemonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympian Games*, had set a Fine upon the City of *Sparta*: for non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the Solemnity, and publicly whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their Decree. Likewise they hindered *Agas*, King of *Sparta*, from doing Sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a premonitory Message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars; though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns, which they caused

afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vassals to themselves. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found caused this goodly Title of Liberty to work very flowly: but having now to do with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the first year an Earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the City it self was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian Games* was left unto them; which, it was not to be doubted, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this Expedition all the *Greeks* were assiduous to the *Lacedaemonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian War*, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the Victory; which gave to *Sparta* the Command of all *Greece*: to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, only security against *Athens*; but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-wealths to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required: but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of Power and Friends, the other mightily increased in both, it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any Quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by Victory or Composition made some good end with the *Persians*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His War with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death, and the War diverted into another Province, through persuasion and gifts of Tithraustes his Successor. How careless the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

Agesilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the Victory, which, not without cause, he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to join with that of *Dercylidas*, he took his way in great Pomp to *Aulis* in *Boeotia*, a Haven, lying opposite to the Island of *Euboea*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War against *Troy*, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to do Sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit; but finding, that the performance of such Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that finding some Companies of Horse, they threw down his Sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his Country in any new War; therefore,

waiting better opportunity of Revenge, he quietly [f]ollowed the contumely, and followed his main intentment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*; he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of Peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persians* should restore to liberty all the *Greek Towns* in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made; which *Tissaphernes* had sought only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilst *Agesilaus* was busie in settling the Estates of his Confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from War was at the coming down of these Forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent; at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain Message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his word by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word that he was glad to hear that his Enemies had by Perjury deserved vengeance from Heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide Victuals, and other Necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for *Herce*, in which part of his Forces the *Persians* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of Foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horse into the Plains of *Maender*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-Army, not suffering them to pass into that Country which was firest for their Service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoil without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small Skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that trial how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the Field, without a greater strength of Horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his Forces. By which means having enabled himself, whilst Winter lasted, he entered upon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the Plain of *Maender*, without assistance of their Infantry, he gave them Battle, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great Riches. The blame of this loss fell heavy upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon Cowardice had abashed himself from the Battle, or following some other business, was then at *Sardes*. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that Peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the Head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the Government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by Perjury he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much over-weening of his own Wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtil Negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Asia*, he did not seek to finish the War; and, according to his Masters will, bring

all things speedily to quiet; but rather to temporise, till he might find some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with the Kings Honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his Princes Disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet he would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain Peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tisbrautes* took at his first possession of the Low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agesslaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the Man who had been Author of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own Laws and Liberty, upon condition, that they should pay him the Tribute accustomed, and the Army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this Proposition, was by *Agesslaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean season he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tisbrautes*, who bought his Departure with thirty Talents.

This was a strange manner of War, both on the Offensive and on the Defensive part. For *Agesslaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his several Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Estates against all Enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their Heads might easily be taken from their Shoulders) were little offended at any Loss that fell on their next Neighbour-Provinces, which were subject likewise to the same Crown of *Persia*, so long as their own Government could be preserved free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deviously, as to the corrupted Estate of the Court, wherein *Eumuchs*, *Concubines*, and *Ministers* of pleasure, were able by partial Construction to countenance or disgrace the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so usual that it might be called a Rule) to reward or punish the Provincial Governors, according to the Benefit or Loss, which the Country given in charge unto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to pass, that as every one was desirous to make his own Territory yield a large Increase to the Kings Treasure; so no man was careful to assist his Borderers, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but sat still as an idle Beholder, when perhaps by joining their Forces, it had not been unequal to recompence the spoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Agesslaus and Pharnabazus.

Agesslaus having thus compounded with *Tisbrautes*, entered *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drove him out of his Camp. These actions, together with his honourable Behaviour, which ad-

ded much to their Lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might have increased his Power, and given assurance to the rest of his Proceedings: but purchased Fame and high Reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad terms with the great King, whom he lost again as easily, by means of some slight Injury done to them by his under Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himself in any Town for fear of being besieged, but kept the Field, lying as near as he could safely to the Enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to do. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining Parly) did set before their eyes his Bounty towards them, and his Love (which had been such, that besides many other hazards of his Person, he had for the rescue of their Fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at *Abydos*, adventured to ride into the Sea as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horseback against the *Albionians*) together with his Faith, which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to execute their Ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were informed, against their Will, to offend him. *Agesslaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make War against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their Enemy; if the Charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their Alliance. The Issue of this Parly was, That the Army should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesslaus*, and the withdrawing of his Forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his Country would yield great Booty; and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards required their unthankfulness with full revenge.

§. V I.

The great Commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with Gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while *Tisbrautes* perceiving that *Agesslaus* meant nothing less than to return into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, took a wife course, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late Victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He sent into Greece fifty Talents of Silver, to be employed in raising War against the *Lacedæmonians*; which Treasure, was by the subtil practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such

wife dispersed, among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates having formerly born secret hate to that of *Sparta*; were now desirous of nothing so much as of open War. And left this great heat of the incensed Maledice, should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint, and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themselves might seem Authors of the Quarrel. Some Land there was in the Tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians*, either Favour, had it adjudged unto them, the greater yearly Money for it. This Money the *Locrians* were either hired or persuaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning to lose their Rent, made a distress by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which they *Thebans* (as in protection of their own Tenants) requited with an Invasion made upon *Phocia*, wasting that Country in the manner of open War. Such were the beginnings of professed Hostility between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close Enmity, that had long time, though hardly been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the Violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very favourable Audience, and ready consent to their Suit; it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to defer the acknowledgment of Injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, and then to discover their Indignation in cold Blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own Wills, having no other War to disturb them in Greece, and hearing out of *Asia* no news, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about *Phocia*, and with such Forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Paulanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Paulanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused to assist him in that Enterprize) meaning to joyn with *Lysander*, and make a speedy end of the War. The consideration of so great a danger approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seek what help they could abroad, forasmuch as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in Countenance; but the good Wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Esteem that might presently declare it self on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their Party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by public allowance, or done in time of the general War, and recomposed with Friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting *Paulanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants, against the good

Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honours sake, they requested them of aid in the present War, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former Estate and Dignity. *Thucydides* and his Friends, who persecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large request of the courtesy which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it self in their Cause. Whilst *Paulanias* lay still, waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Paulanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was slain in Fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this Victory did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Paulanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with presentation of extrem danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late Battle, *Paulanias* durst not hazard a new Fight with them, but receiving the Bodies of those that were slain, by composition, departed out of their Territory, for which, either Cowardice or Indifference, he was at his return to *Sparta*, condemned as a Traitor, and driven to fly into *Tegæa*, where he ended his days in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agesslaus was called out of Asia to help his Country. A Victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the Mastery of the Seas; and rebuilds the Walls of Athens.

THIS good Success, and the Confederacy made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanians*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to give Battle to the *Lacedæmonians*, as near as they might to their own doors; considering that the Force of *Sparta* it self was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesslaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his Friends in *Asia* to return speedily to their assistance, passed the Straights of *Hellaspont* into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new League had given Battle to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Associates, but with ill success. For when the right Wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the Chafe in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left Wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the Victory of that day entirely their own. The report of this Battle meeting *Agesslaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over unto *Asia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his Friend, who had since his departure seen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athensians* into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with Money, and all manner of Supplies, was now the occasion that

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the power of *Athens* grew third in Sea, when the City was depopulated of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her own defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such Factions, as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seek Peace by treaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked had fold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight Ships, who had escaped, when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Ægospotami*; giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he required the loss received at *Ægospotami*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this Victory *Conon* sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his Victory, so strong a Navy, and so much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to re-build their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small Victories gotten on each part. The *Lacedæmonians* lose all in *Asia*: The *Athenians* recover some part of their old Dominion.

NEvertheless the *Lacedæmonians*, by many Victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. For *Agessilaus* obtained the better with his Horse-men, from the *Thebans*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*: He wasted *Bœotia*, and fought a great Battle at *Coronea* against the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshal *Gylis* foraged the Country of *Lerna*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these Victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the Battles of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agessilaus* charged them in their return from the pursuit. Like-wise *Gylis* was slain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal damage received in the parts adjoining; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which inter-fests was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn, by the loss of the Haven of *Corinth*, to sue for Peace, but could not get Audience, till such time as the news came of a great Victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* Forces at *Lachæm*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willing to do their Message, required only in scorn, to have a safe Conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Athenians*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt most loss; their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary side, until *Agessilaus* repayed these invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanians*, that they were driven to sue for Peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most

consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only entangled in an hard War at home, but almost disabled to pass the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own Laws, if they would expel the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydos* did stand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about *Hellepont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thrasibulus* took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Isle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The base Conditions offered unto the Persian by the *Lacedæmonians*. Of sundry Fights and other passages in the War. Of the Peace of *Antalcidas*.

ABOUT this time the *Spartans* began to perceive, how uneasy a thing it would be, to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, afflicted with the Treasures of *Persia*; wherefore they craved Peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the Kings disposition; but withal to set the Islanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principal Estates of their Country would be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken, and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive War, nor made any good defence against him, but would have left it easy for him in continuance of time, to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himself Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with Envy, that perceiving how the Dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joynted together against the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their several Embassadors oppose themselves unto it; and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring Friends and Foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Strutarchus*, whom *Artaxerxes* did send as his Lieutenant into the Low-Countries, did seek to repay the harm done by *Agessilaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the Peace being thereby cut off, *Timbro* was sent into *Asia* to make War upon *Strutarchus*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War, being scattered about, all the Isles and Towns on the firm Land grew almost to the manner of Piracy and Robberies; affording many Skirmishes, but few great Actions worthy of Remembrance. *Timbro* was slain by *Strutarchus*, and in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydos*, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enter-

enterprises about *Hellepont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprized and slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasibulus*, departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slain by the way at *Apollonia*; the City of *Rhodes* having long before joynted with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocracy*; or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Sovereignty into the hands of the People, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the Towns of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The People of *Ægina* moved upon the Coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and besiege their Town; but this Siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Islanders began anew to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their Ships again, that returned beaten, having lost four of thirteen. The loss of these Ships was soon recompensed by a Victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*; whereupon the Islanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raised her Walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battle secured her Estate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause, would send a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Island lying in the Eye of *Persia*; had ability to vex the Coast of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the infidelity and shameless injustice of the People, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a desire to keep themselves far out of sight, and to seek employments at such distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from public judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did pass away much part of his time in the Isle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Taracta*, and *Chabrias* did now carry away into *Cyprus* a greater Force than his Country well could have spared; with which he returned not when the business in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new Adventures in *Ægypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Telesitas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten Ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in Harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he failed by Night unto the Mouth of the Port, which entering at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance; by which means he took many Ships laden with Merchandizes, many Fisher-men, Passengers, and other Vessels; also three or four Gallies, having sunk or broken, and made unseizable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time, *Pharnabazus*, the Lieut-

nant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in Marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance, the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the Peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the Conditions wherof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many several States as there were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own Peace with money, did likewise by his Money become Arbitrator and Decider of Controversies between the *Greeks*, disposing of their business in such wise as stood left with his own good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Isles of *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Serres* be subject to *Athens*; all other Greek Towns, as well the little as the great, be free at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this Peace, upon them the approvers of it should make War, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with Men, and Ships, and Treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted Money; and other States, for the miseries of the War, wherof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the Peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had always held the Government: the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of *Bœotians*, but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages; alleging that they had formerly been accustomed to do so, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By these courses the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small Towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their Wars, as Authors of their Liberty; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

§. X.

The War which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Olynthus*. They take *Thebes* by Treason, and *Olynthus* by Famine.

WHilst these Wars, which ended without either Victory or Profit, consumed the Riches and Power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her Neighbour-Towns, but was become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it self. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the usual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acambus* and of *Apollonia*, being nearest unto the danger of these incroaching Neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians*.

ced Lacedæmonians with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if some continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted; wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did sound of compulsion; protesting that either they must war upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the War, as agreed with their small number; the body of the Army following them surprized the Citadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hands of *Phæbidas*, the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their Faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the Peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phæbidas* were more worthy of Reward or of Punishment: In conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into Banishment, and the Traytors rewarded with the Government of the City; by whose Authority, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater Forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the loss of one great Battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by Famine to render it fall to their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their Liberty, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found means to shake off their Yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the Tyranny wherewith his Country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a Plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men took *Athens* privately, and entered by Night into the Fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the Evening to the Gates like Husband-men returned from Work, and so passed undiscovered unto the House of *Chæron*, whom *Phylidas* the Scribe had drawn into the Conspiracy. The day following, a Solemn Fast being then hold in the City, *Phylidas*

promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that Night the most beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers; because the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a Chamber, would not endure, that any of the Servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their Garments. Then presently casting off their Disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon business, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* Faction. By the like device they brake into the Prison, slew the *Gælor*, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed Liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Cattle hearing the Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such, as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the People took Arms and besieged the Cattle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoining, whence a few broken Troups coming to the relief, were defeated on the way by the Horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side, the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Countrymen, but procured some *Athenians* to join with them, and thereby came so strong into the City, that the Cattle was yielded more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which composition the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the success arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that City, as if some part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition; who having wearied his followers with a toilsome Winter-journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Thebes*, to infect the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*, which falling to take, he wasted the Country adjoining, and drove away Cattel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to withdraw themselves.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, from the Battel of Leuctra to the Battel of Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens joined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made Peace for themselves and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The Battel of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban Greatness.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings, but one dishonorable rule they held, That all respects withholding the Commixity of *Spartans* was to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it befel them in these enterprises of *Phæbidas*, upon the Cattle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For howsoever *Agefilas* did spoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to look abroad, failing to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some Fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* War, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Navy; afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans*, by their insolvency wearied their Friends, and caused them to seek for Peace, it had been very likely that the course of this War should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless, being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a War, unable to relieve their complaining Friends, resolved to settle the Affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of Peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of Peace, which came to pass, being so wrought by the courageous Wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to swear to the Articles in the name of the *Beotians*, *Agefilas* required them to swear in their own Name, and to leave the *Beotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their Obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes*, by setting the *Lacæmonians* free; for that the Signory of *Beotia* did by as good right appertain to the *The-*

bans, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agefilas* bearing a vehement hatred unto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the Glory which he had hoped to achieve by the *Persian* War, did now very passionately urge that Point of setting the *Beotians* at liberty, and finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the Name of the *Thebans* out of the League. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocia*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his Power, which he did, and was there slain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra* being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not so notable for any Circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the Fight it self, as for the Death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this Battel (between which and the conclusion of the general Peace, there passed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the Strength and Reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest Ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little Region of *Beotia*, did now begin to undertake the Leading and Command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Army of three score and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the Afflictions of an hard War valiantly endured, advance the Affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which Wealth and Ease had through Luxury, Recklessness, and many other Vices or Vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the Peace of Greece. New Troubles hence arising. *Epaminondas* invadeth and wasteth the Territory of *Lacedæmon*.

THE *Athenians* refusing to take advantage of this Overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did nevertheless finally give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their Pride might well be laid away. For, taking upon themselves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Agefilas* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of Quarrels that might arise) had

left unperforated, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at Athens; where the general Liberty of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified, under the Seals of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon began forth Garbolls. The *Marineans* claiming power by this Decree to order their Affairs at their own Pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, readjust it, and ally themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with Factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not give Impeachment to the *Marineans*; nor take upon them to correct their Ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the Factions broke out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the People of *Tegæa*, against the *Marineans*, but it indeed against them both. *Agesslaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrisians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the Power of which Countreys, they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving Battel to *Agesslaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaninondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost six hundred years were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the Posterity of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*, in all which time, the found of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country: Ten years were not fully past since all *Greece* was at the Devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty Forces of *Athenians*, and other Enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light Fire, the very Smoak whereof the Women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not stir out of *Sparta* to fight, but fought how to preserve the Town, sitting at liberty as many of their *Hillites* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them succour. From *Corinth* and some Towns of *Peloponnesus* they received speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaninondas* returned without Battel, having rebuilded the City of *Messene*, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countreys, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition between Athens and Sparta for common Misfortune, considering that, without their Aid, the Success of all Enterprizes proved to ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Thebans*, and Moderators of the great Quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the Differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them

His Journey therefore utterly defaced the Reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the Conduct of the Army which was to be raised, nor any manner of Precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*,

and from all the Cities which held League with it, unto *Athenians*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a Composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those Companies of Horses and Foot whereof the Land-Army was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athenians*, were to have served under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have Command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vain Ambition was more regarded than the common Profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where Consultation, Resolution, and Performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second Invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their Enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from *Sparta* to *Sea*, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their Strength by *Epaninondas*, who foraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this League between *Athenians* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the Conduct in such manner, disable the Society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the Enemies Heads with the like Vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the Field, and having found by many trials that their People were not inferior to others in strength of body, in Courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government with their Friends the *Thebans*; and not always continue Followers of others, by encroaching upon their Greatness, they should strengthen their own Yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a morion of general Peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their Friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own Worth, were overthrown in a great Battel, their Calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great Growth of the Theban Estate. Embassadors of the Greeks to the Persians; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassadors.

The *Thebans* especially rejoiced at the *Arcadians* Misfortune, considering that, without their Aid, the Success of all Enterprizes proved to ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Thebans*, and Moderators of the great Quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the Differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them

them best, they carried *Philip* the Son of *Antimachus*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*, having therefore obtained such reputation that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of Alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassadors the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose Reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two special points were, That *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their Ships of War to *Sea*; only the later of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure Party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their Greatness should be on that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown, and, having turned the Profit of their Victories upon the *Persians*, to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous Misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with Treasure and all sorts of Aid by *Darius* *Nabzus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their own indifferency brought them on their Knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athenians*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the Conquest of *Asia*, from which, though by the Commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* Gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their Power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same Enterprize, had not they been impeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his Invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athenians*; and finally, having offered much contumely to *Agesslaus* when he put to *Sea*, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to look abroad, whereunto if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good Haven Towns, which they could not seize upon without open breach of that Peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and thereby means he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great Rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the Affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one City might without impeachment of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Satrapes*, or Viceroy of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruins, which

the Divine Council had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conspiracy of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm Body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space diffused and vanished like a Mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatics* wearied quickly with the Travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common Cause, and each man striving to be the first that by Treason to his Company should both redeem the former Treason to his Prince, and purchase with all his own promotion with increase of Riches. Of this Commotion, which in course of time followed some actions, not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having little reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole Reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus*, to the Invasion of *Ægyptus*, I find nothing (this Infurrection, and a fruitless Journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the Pleasures which an Empire to great and wealthy could afford unto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The Troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parjais* the Queen-Mother bare unto his Wife *Staira*, and to such as had been the greatest Enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his Death: upon whom, when by poison and mischievous practices she had fastened her feminine Appetite of Revenge, thenceforth the wholly applied her self to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the Persuasion, which Princess not ended with an especial grace do readily entertain, That his own Will was the supreme Law of his Subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured that they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same Felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory World, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from Heaven, or made vain and unprofitable ere the Frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of Tongues among the Builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common Peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy, the Kings Letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadors, drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an Oath was required for observance of the term of Peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said that they were sent to hear the Articles; not to swear unto them. Hereby the

the *Thebans* were driven to fend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disapproving the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this Negotiation with *Arceades* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to rely upon their own Swords.

§. V.

How all Greece was divided, between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great Tumults rising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness, drawn all her followers into a cruel intestine War, by which the whole Country, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their Forces against the *Thebans*, who fought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Acadians*, followed the party of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received; or in dislike of those who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which Authority they could not suddenly ascribe without some injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men whom necessity had made Warrilike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great spirits, and being for mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the Continent of Greece without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Asia*, and very little part beside excepted) under such acknowledgments, as wanted not much of meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobility Superior; but were far under them in Valour, having been often beaten out of the Field by them, and put in danger of losing all; which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*; taking Truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joining with her Enemies whenever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure Friends of *Thebes*, so the *Acadians*, transported with a great opinion of their own Worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering Friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or which was to be feared, open Enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made Peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm League with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Acadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing

the old, because they found that, howsoever these *Acadians* were Enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their Alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Army. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Acadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Army, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great Tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated Money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegæ*, to take Prisoners many of their Country-men, as People desirous of innovation. This was done: but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the Prisoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Acadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them who had made the Peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their Fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Acadians*; who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before fought means to settle the Affairs of their Country, by drawing things to some good conclusion of Peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for help; and which dispatched some of the principal among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew that all their Forces, and best Provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about Privileges, they (who had been accustomed unto such a Supremacy, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their own Estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Acadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, should be given, for the time, to that City, in whose Territory it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Certain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm consent, and uniform care of the common safety. For beside the great Forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the *Argives* and *Messenians*, prepared with all their strength to join with *Epaminondas*; who having lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received there intelligence, that the Army coming

coming from *Athens* would pass by Sea; whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegæ*, which City, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon such of the *Acadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortify *Mantineæ* with all diligence, and to send for *Agelæus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Town, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas*; but *Epaminondas* held so good opinion upon these Enemies, that had not an unknown Fellow brought hasty advertisement of his purpose to *Agelæus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantineæ*, the City of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speed and secrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the City, notwithstanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it; but that *Agelæus* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantineæ*. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely that the *Mantineans*, finding the War to be carried from their Walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into their Fields, whilst no Enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineæ*, sending his Horse-men before him, to seize upon all that might be found within the City. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the Country; far more intent upon their Harvest-busines, than upon the War, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a desperate case; and the Town it self in no great likelihood of holding out, when the Enemy should have taken all their Provision of Victuals with so many of the People, as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to Society with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantineæ*, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their Goods, and People, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous Adventure to deliver those who otherwife were given as lost. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the Greeks; and the commendation of good Horse-man-ship had always been given to the *Thebians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of Honour so wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the Reputation of their City, which had entred into this War, upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed Friends, they issued forth of *Mantineæ*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their Horses with meat; and giving a lusty charge upon the Enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot Fight, they remained Masters of the Field, giving by this Victory a safe and easy retreat to all that were without the Walls. The whole power of the *Boetians* arrived in the place soon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Assistants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Epaminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantineæ* having failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leave some memorable Character of his Expedition; resolved to give them Battel, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtful affections of his own Associates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and ability as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, where in Victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the Enemy, and intrenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their Valour, and afterwards strike their Senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This Opinion deceived him not: For with very much tumult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the Enemy ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that days service urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army consisted of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; the *Lacedæmonians* and their Friends were short of this number, both in Horse and in Foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the War was in their Country) stood in the right Wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left Wing, the *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and others of less account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* stood in the left Wing of their own Battel, opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Acadians*; the *Eubæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thebians* with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right Wing, the Horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a Troup of the *Eleans* were in rear. Before the foot-men could joyn, the encounter of the Horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the Enemy either in courage or skill, were over-laid with numbers, and so beaten upon by *Thebians* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their Infantry naked. But this retreat was the less disgraceful, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own foot-men; but finding the *Theban* Horse to have given them over, and which discovering some Companies of Foot, which had been sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their Battel in the Rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horse-men, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient Honour;

Honour; so that equal courage and equal loss on both sides made the hope & appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful; unless perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevail, as having both the first brunt and fury of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit so sure and general.

But *Epinomondas* perceiving the obstinate stiffness of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad success of their own Horse, nor all the Force of the *Boeotian* Army, could abate so far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice Company of the most able men, whom he cast into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their Ranks, and cleave the whole Battle in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the Victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the Battle was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead Bodies; it was a Ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the Fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request.

But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of Battle; none daring to abide them in the Field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and prowess. This was the last work of the incomparable virtue of *Epinomondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike Troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* Squadron, and forced it to give back in difarray, was furiously charged on the sudden by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless with a singular courage maintained the Fight, using against the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own Body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the Iron and a piece of the tranchion in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the Fight by his Friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who vain would have got his Body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heavy mischance, did with great slaughter compel their disordered Enemies to leave the Field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadness of this disaster, than with all the travel of the day. *Epinomondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his Body, he must needs die. Hearing this, he called for his Shield, which to have lost was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. He had them tell him which part had the Victory; answer was made, that the *Boeotians* had won the Field. Then said he, it is fair time for me to die; and wishal sent for *Isidrus* and *Dio-*

phanes, two principal Men of War, that were both slain; which being told him, he advised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whil实现 with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the Office of a General. Herewithal he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his Body; comforting his Friends that lamented his death, and want of life, by telling them that the Victories of *Leidas* and *Mantineas* were two fair Daughters, in whom his memory should live.

So did *Epinomondas*, the worthiest Man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the several virtues, which in each of them were singular. His Justice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Military Virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a *Warrior*, a *Valiant*, a *Politick*, a *Bountiful* or an *Industrious*, and a *Provident* Captain; all these Titles, and many other, being due unto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroick General. Neither was his private Conversation unamiable to those high parts, which gave him praise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in Publick business, but in his own particular ease, and of much mildness; a lover of his People, bearing with mens Infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, Master of his own Affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these Graces were added great ability of Body, much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all People adjoining, and the highest Command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in *Greece* after the Battle of *Mantineas*. The Voyage of *Agessilaus* into *Egypt*. His death and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and *Pompey* the Roman.

THE Battle of *Mantineas* was the greatest that ever had been fought in that Country between the Neutrals; and the last. For at *Mareton* and *Plataea*, the populous Armies of the Barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Græcians* Valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* War, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against foreign Enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last Fight all *Greece* was interested, which never had more able Soldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the success, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath been related, it was found best for every particular Estate, that a general Peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new League,

League, which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to show that anger in Ceremonies, which had no power that it could in execution. This Peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seek after Wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agessilaus* was sent with some small Forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to serve under *Tachis* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acis* King of *Egypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with such Forces as he could raise by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amphicrates* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* Notus, having retained the Country notwithstanding all intestine Diffentions, and foreign Invasions, during three Generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the Valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (easily procured with Gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persians*. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by Domestical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is that the Rebellion it self had soon come to nothing, if *Agessilaus* had not proved a false Traytor, joyning with *Neëanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachis* had waged. This falsehood *Agessilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country; though it seem rather, that he grudged because the King took upon himself the Conduct of the Army, using his service only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howsoever it came to pass, *Tachis* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Persians*, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and *Neëanebus* (who seems to have been the Nephew of *Tachis*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set up another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agessilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Neëanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treason to the former King *Tachis*, and good Service done to himself, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of Silver, with which booty sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate and valiant, and a good Leader in War; free from

Covetousness, and not reproached with any blame of Lust; which qualities are the less admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endure every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief, of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vain glorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meer necessity to grow Warlike, and able, to the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good Friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the balance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionate. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of Employments all that were before him; so *Agessilaus* had at one time or other some Quarrel with every Town in *Greece*; had made a War in *Asia*, and meddled in the business of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large Wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they are very like; each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of Liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; The resemblance was nearer than the equality. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government only being changed: But the Liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it self, was not forced into a victorious War; yet the Signory, and ancient Renown of *Sparta* was presently lost: and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* War, and after much Blood lost, ill healed by the Peace ensuing, did very soon upon the death of *Agessilaus* give up the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii.



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

The FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



THE Greeks, of whom we have already made large Discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wife by their vain Contention for Superiority, do still, as in former times, continue the Invasion and Vastation of each other.

Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their Liberty

with as happy success as ever Nation had, and with no less Honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a tryal, and experience, more than fortunate, against those Nations they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the Reputation of their Forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellispon*, as sufficient to entertain and buse them withal.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the World, that they under-fall and perish by the hands and harms which they least fear; so fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon* (of whom we are now to speak) they

they had to little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their own safety, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their Persian Victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the Power and Purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the Grecians perfwaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any Wonders against their Borders. And indeed it was not in their Philosophy to consider, That all great alterations are storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken Banks, when great Rivers are once swollen, fast running, and iraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themselves, in breaking down those Defences which stood between them and this Inundation, than seek to rampare and re-nforce their own Fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lain under it. It was therefore well concluded by Orosius: *Greciae Civitates dum imperio singula capunt, imperium omnes perdidit*; The Cities of Greece lost their Commons, by striving each of them to command all.

The Kingdom of Macedon, is called of Macedon, the Son of Ophi, or, as other Authors affirm, of Jupiter and Astraea, is the next Region towards the North, which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Aegean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-west, by Thessaly and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the Family of Temenus, of the Race of Hercules, and by Nation Argives; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the Transilation of the Assyrian Empire, Arbaces then governing Media; Caranus of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colony into Macedon, departed thence with many People; and as he was marching through that Country, the Weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great Heard of Goats, which fled the Storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon Caranus calling to mind, that he had also by an other Oracle been directed to follow the first Troop of those Beasts, that should either lead him or fly before him; he pursued these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the Air, he entered their City without resistance, and possessed it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of Cisseus, Caranus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twenty years. Carus succeeded Caranus; and reigned twelve years. Tyrmas followed Carus, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdiccas the first, the son of Tyrmas, governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great Valour, and many other Vertues, much renowned. Soliman, Pliny, Justin, Eusebius, Theophrastus, Antiochus, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of Burial for himself, and; for all the Kings of Macedon his Successors, at Aegae; assuring them that the Kingdom should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their Bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because Alexander the Great failed, therefore the Polarity of the Temenidae failed in him: a thing

rather deviated after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by Perdiccas.

Argus succeeded unto Perdiccas, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his Successor, reigned eight and twenty years.

Eurydice followed Philip, and governed six and twenty years: in whose Infancy the Illyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great Victory, they purified the fame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians gathering new Forces, and resolving either to recover their former Loss, or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the Field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King present) or rather they perfwaded themselves that there was no man so void of Honour and Compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his Servants) able to defend himself from destruction.

The like is reported by Aiminus, of Cleotarus the Son of Fredigunda.

Aleetas succeeded Eurydice, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first succeeded Aleetas, and reigned fifty years; he lived at such time as Darius Hyaspes, after his unprosperous return out of Scythia, sent Megabazus with an Army into Europe, who in Xerxes name required Amyntas to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent Behaviour towards the Macedonian Ladies, slain by the direction of Alexander, who was the Son of Amyntas, and his Successor.

Alexander, furnished the Rich, the Son of Amyntas, governed Macedon three and forty years. He did not only appease the Wrath of Megabazus, for the slaughter of the Persian Embassadors, by giving Gyges his Sister, to Babarus of the Blood of Persia, but by that Match he grew so great in Xerxes Grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Hemus, to be united to the Kingdom of Macedon. Yet could not these Benefits buy his Affection from the Greeks. For Xerxes being returned into Asia, and Mardonius made General of the Persian Army; he, Alexander, acquainted the Greeks with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three Sons, Perdiccas, Aleetas, and Philip.

Perdiccas the second, the Son of Alexander, lived in the time of the Peloponnesian War, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The Wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces, in Theophrastus his first six Books. He left behind him two Sons; Perdiccas, who was very young, and Archelaus, who was bafe born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of Archelaus, was at seven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Grandmother, who executing this Rage to Cleopatra the Mother of the young King, said, That the Child in following a Goose had lost, fell thereby by misadventure.

But Archelaus, being not here: for having thus dispatched his Brother, he flew both his Uncle Aleetas, the Son of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the Son of Aleetas, his Cousin German, and enjoyed the Kingdom of Macedon himself four and twenty years.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plato and Aristotle make mention, though he made himself King by wicked Murder, yet he performed many things greatly

greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw Socrates unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured Euripides the Tragedian. He had two Sons, Archelaus and Orestes.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by Crataeus.

Orestes his younger Son was committed to the Education of Eropus, of the Royal Blood of Macedon, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Pupil; for Eropus murdered him and usurped the Kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to Agislaus King of Sparta, who desired after his return from the Asian Expedition, to pass by the way of Macedon into Greece.

This Uliurper left three Sons, Pausanias, Argaeus, and Alexander. Pausanias succeeded his Father Eropus, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by Amyntas the Son of Philip, the Son of the first Perdiccas, the Son of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preserved, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his Brother Perdiccas, his Uncle Aleetas and his Son Alexander. This Amyntas reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infested by Pausanias, assisted by the Thracians; and by his Brother Argaeus; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said Argaeus, for two years dispossessed of Macedon: but also on the other side, the Olympians, his Neighbours near the Aegean Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of Pella, the chief City of Macedon.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife Eurydice the Illyrian, three Sons; Alexander the second, Perdiccas the third, and Philip the second, Father of Alexander the Great; and one Daughter called Eurydice or Exione: he had also by his second Wife Gyges, three Sons; Archelaus, Argaeus, and Menelaus, afterward slain by their Brother Philip. He had more by a Concubine, Ptolemy, surnamed Alerteis, of the City Alos, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by Pausanias, the Son of Eropus, but defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of Money) to leave his youngest Brother Philip in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his Father Amyntas to the Payment of Tribute. After this, Alexander being injured by the Aleoade against Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres in Thessaly, having redeemed his Brother Philip; to draw the Thebans to his assistance entered into Confederacy with Pelopidas, being at that time in the same Country, with whom he also left Philip, with divers other principal persons for the Gage of his Promises to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his Mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her Daughter Eurydice or Exione, practiced the Death of Alexander her Son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which Ptolemy Alerteis did put in execution: by means whereof he held Macedon for three years, but was soon after slain by Perdiccas the Brother of Alexander. Diodorus hath it otherwise of Philip being made Pledge; and faith, That Amyntas his Father delivered him for Hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that Philip (while his Father was yet living) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and delivered for Hostage a second time by Alexander his Brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain Alerteis his bafe Brother, governed Macedon five years, and was then slain in a Battle against the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; but Justin affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of Eurydice his Mother, as Alexander did.

The beginning of Philips Reign, and how he delivered Macedon from the Troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Philip the second, the youngest Son of Amyntas by Eurydice, having been instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent Education which he had under Epaminondas, making an escape from Diod. l. 16. Thebes, returned into Macedon, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourcore and thirteen years: and finding the many Enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as King (for Perdiccas left a Son, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the Men of War. Yet his fruitless Ambition soon overgrew his Modesty, and he was easily perfwaded by the People to accept both the Title of King, and withal the absolute Rule of the Kingdom.

And to say the truth, The necessity of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did set up in opposition Pausanias; the Athenians, Argaeus; Sons of the late Uliurper Eropus: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their own Election. These heavy Burthens when Philip could not well bear, he bought of the weightiest by Money, and by fair Promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his Brother Perdiccas had his Death accompanied with four thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken Prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mentias, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: Yet after he had practiced the Men of War of Pannonia; and corrupted them with Gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Pausanias, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest Enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of Amphipolis, a City on the Frontier of Macedon: and did then pursue Argaeus the Son of Eropus, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heels in his Retreat from Aegae, that he forced him to abide the Battle: which Argaeus lost, having the greater part of his Army slain in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of Ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present Fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquishers Life and Liberty to return into Attica. Whereupon a Peace was concluded between him and the Athenians for that present, and for this Clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greeks.

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The good Success which Philip had in many Enterprises.

NOW had Philip leisure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Peonians*, his irreconcilable Enemies and Borderers: both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he flew *Euridias*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withal, upon the Death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him Tribute. This was no sooner done, than (with-out staying to take longer breath) he hasten'd speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of which Town he soon made himself Master; and thereby he got good footing in that Country; whereof he made use in time following. Now although he resolv'd either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his own against all others, because the Horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thessaly* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or overrun *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, situate on the famous River of *Strymon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometimes *Datus*) and called it after his own Name *Philippi*: to the People whereof *St. Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epistles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in Mines of Gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philippi* Affairs, he drew yearly a thousand Talents, which make fix hundred thousand *French Crowns*.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* Shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into League with his Fathers malicious Enemies the *Olympians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the Tyranny of *Lycophron* and *Isipponus*. Who, after they had conspired with *Ibabe* the Wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the Liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former Liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his Service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian War, which first drew Philip into Greece.

ABOUT this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the Battle of *Mantineæ*, and about the eighth year of *Antioxerus Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal Providence, and of every great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discern'd; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the Sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves beating down their own Defences, to give him an easy passage, and beating themselves, to give him Victory without peril, left nothing unperformed towards their own Slavery, saving the Title and Impiety. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the Inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctyones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they swayed most, they caus'd both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemn'd in greater Sums of Money than they could well bear; the one for surpassing the Cattle of *Cadmea* in the time of Peace, the other for plunging up a piece of Ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolv'd not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*; and for refusal were exposted as *Sacrilegious*, and accus'd to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perfwaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, call the same Dicta of Hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same Chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the Enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious Quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolv'd to sack the Temple of *Apollis* Ground; they had so much offended of *Apollis* Ground; and their Neighbour-Nations, as would could not befall them than already was intended; they resolv'd to take the Gold with the Ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had communion to call them to account. The Treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War was ten thousand Talents, which in those days serv'd them to wage a great many men, and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great Battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* call himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Cheroneia*, both to defend themselves against their bad Neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their Quarrel, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepar'd to get them into his hands, and at the Siege of *Metone* lost one of his Eyes. It is said, That he that shot him did purposely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the Shaft thereof: *After plan. Vlt. Philippo, After to Philip; for so he was called. an. Strab. that gave him the Wound. This City he even'd 1. 2. with the Soil.*

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The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engag'd in the Holy War, entred *Thessaly* with new Forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hop'd so to entertain the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time call'd into *Thessaly*; but both the *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessaly*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Boeotia*, and with the same victorious Army brake the Forces of the *Boeotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforc'd his Army, returned with all speed into *Thessaly*, there to find again the Honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the Field twenty thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. All this great preparation suffic'd not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* furore, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overrun, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken; of which number, himself being one, was among others hang'd by *Philip*. Those that fled were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sail'd along the Coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devour'd as they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Thessaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian War. The ambitious practices of Philip.

FROM hence *Philip* resolv'd to invade *Phocia* itself, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians* they retrench his passage at the Streights of *Thermopylae*. Whereupon he return'd into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micytherne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrell'd with the *Olympians*, whom not long before he had woo'd to his Alliance, and bought his Peace of them. For the *Olympians* were very strong, and had evermore both brav'd and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archeblaus* his half-brother (for *Amintas* had three Sons by *Euridice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other Sons by *Gygæa*: but *Philip*'s elder Brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determin'd to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olympians* was the cause of the War, *Justin* affirmeth. But just Quarrels are balanced by just Princes; for to this King all things were lawful that might any way serve his turn; all his affections and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereto converted. For he neither forbore the murder of his own Brothers, the breach of Faith, the buying of other mens Fidelity; he esteem'd no place strong where his A's loaden with Gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incho'd all the power they had within their own Walls, he entred their Territory, and by the

advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrowes as he fate down before the City it self: which done, he bought *Eubæricates* and *Laphetes* from their People, and from the service of their Country and Common-weal; by whose Treason he entred the Town, flew his Brothers therein, sackt it, and fold the Inhabitants for Slaves by the Drum. By the spoil of this place he greatly enrich'd himself, and had Treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advis'd by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his affairs with Silver Spears*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

— Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit emulos
Reges mænebris.

Hæ. Caton
3. Od. 15.

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates afunder,
And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*.) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Justice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave Sentence for himself, and made the Kingdom his own.

§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian War.

THE War still continuing between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the Holy War, the *Boeotians* finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men as were neither sufficient to matter their Enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Antioxerus Ochus* for supply of Treasure, who lent them thirty Talents, which makes an hundred and fourscore thousand *Crowns*; but when with these supplies they had fill'd the world in all their attempts against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of their strongest Cities within *Boeotia* it self; they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in that War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both; and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he march'd with a speedy pace towards *Boeotia*; where being arriv'd, *Phalætes*, who commanded the *Phocian* Army, hearing to flock with this Victorious King, made his own Peace, and with-drew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Soldiers into *Felsopomene*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conqueror; and for conclusion, he had the glory of that War, called *Sacred*, which the *Greeks* with so many mutual slaughter had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he possid'd himself of *Orchomenus*, *Coronea*, and *Corissa*, in the County of the *Boeotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He

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brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, relieving to himself the yearly Tribute of threecore Talents, which make fix and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of Piety for service of the Gods) obtained the fame double voice in the Council of the *Amphictyons*, which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendency of the *Pythian Games*, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian Sacrilege*.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip after his Triumphant return into Macedonia, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parnonius*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardaniens*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their Revenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* raised his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, seated upon *Propontis* in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a People resolved to defend their Liberty against Philip, where the *Asiatics* encouraged and assisted them. Philip laid down before it with a puissant Army, made many fair Breaches, gave many furious Assaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continual Assaults to weary them, and waste both their Men and Munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Perseus* which they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their Neighbourhood, and the easy passage by Water, gave them often and ready help, Philip removed with the one half of his Army and Besieged it, leaving fifteen thousand Foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; but to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprises at one time) and returned into Macedonia with no less dishonour than loss: whereupon he made an Overture of Peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it; to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, yet *Demophilus* with his Eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, Philip having digested his late Affront, and supplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threecore and ten Merchants Ships, he gathered new Forces, and being accompanied with his Son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was also unprosperous in this enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a People of *Mesias*, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip, overthrowing the Greeks in the Battle of Cheronea, was chosen Captain-General of Greece. The death of Philip.

Among these Northern Nations (part of which he suppressed, and part quieted) he spent some

eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the Holy War, he was to his great advantage invited again by the *Gracians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissia* having disobeyed the Decree of the *Amphictyons*, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphissians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that Philip was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other dissuasion than a marring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the fame being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with such expedition as could be made, he entered *Phocia*, won *Plataea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demophilus* from accepting such reasonable Conditions of Peace as Philip offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to join with them) to leave the enjoying of their Estates and their Freedom to the chance of one Battle, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of Philip. But this their Orators Eloquence cost them dear. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the virtue of their Ancestors, than make them to be such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perseus*, nor draw from the dead, a *Milvades*, an *Arifides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great virtues they had paid with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary Faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed: in so much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates encountered, although some thousand of the *Athenians* abid the killing, and the like number well near of the *Thebans* died with them, yet the want of worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing Fortune, as it gave to Philip so shining a Victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) into *Perseus*, *India*, and *Aegypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Gracian* glory: Yea, their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Sovereignty over all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the *Perseians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this Battle of *Cheronea*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the virtue of *Eparinondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this Sovereignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, filled The first Commander of all the *Gracians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he com-

pounded an Army of great strength, and under the commandment of *Attalus* and *Parnonius*, transported the same over the *Hellefont* into *Asia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against *Perseus* he fought the success he received such another convertible from whence he received such another convertible Riddle, as *Ctesias* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the expofition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our own appetites, so did Philip's ambitious desire to invade *Perseus*, abuse his judgment for that the death, wherewith himself was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his Enemy, when he intended presently to invade. Before whom he departed into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which Feast and Pastimes thereof appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principal persons of the *Gracian* Cities, from whom he received much Honour and many rich Presents; but this was indeed the Feast of his Funeral. For having refused to do justice to one *Paulonius*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by Philip) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, this *Paulonius* grew into to great detestation of the Kings partiality in so foul a fact, as when Philip was passing towards the *Theatre*, he drew a Sword from under his long Garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived fix and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Paulonius* to Murder the King her Husband, which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto *Paulonius*, in crowning his dead Body, in consecrating his Sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

§. IX.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities, and Issues.

NOW although he were then taken from the World, when he had matted all opposition on that side the Sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards his hopes and perfection, yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his Son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an Eye-witness of his resolution, and singular Valour in this last Battle.

The foundation of whose future greatness he laid lost so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easy to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were unto Philip, though less famous. For besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self, in competition between him and the Sons of *Aegyptus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possessed by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olympus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom, and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them: He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgment in the War,

were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that were a Crown: For it was said of *Parnonius* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to so great virtue, impiously murdered) That *Parnonius* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parnonius*, never did any thing worthy of Renown; as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexander's* death endure to acknowledge any man Superior to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more Virtues, than Nature, and his excellent Education had enriched him with Virtues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of all his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfy those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arceon* and *Nicomar*; whom, when for their evil speech of Philip, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; He answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself: Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after Philip had relieved their necessities, there was none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Physician for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his Son are remembered by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Crisostom* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyenus* and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as his own right, all the time of his Reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof: For *Amyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his Infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, which was married to Philip's base Son *Aridaus*, her Uncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, Philip's first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridaus* by extreme torments: *Eurydice* the strangler.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians*, (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander's* death slain at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Autaea*, an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicostris*, the Sister of *Jafon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thestalonica*, whom *Cleander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterwards by her Father-in-law, *Antipater*, put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the Niece of *Attalus*, he had *Cassander*, whom others call Philip: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be roasted to death in a Copper Pan. Other lay this Murder on *Alexander* himself. By the fame *Cleopatra* he had likewise a Daughter, called *Eurydice*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no Issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Asmode*, whom, after he had gotten with Child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Phology*, King of *Aegypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but

esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philomena*, his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridemus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

§. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's doings, before he invaded Asia.

ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education; well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his Reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* built, and after his own Birth twenty years. The strange Dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the Gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a Work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his Birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former Liberty, and to adventure it by force of Arms. *Alexander*'s young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling Humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he flew upon his Tomb; and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perwaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present Journey unto *Peloponessus*, and so well exercised his Spirits among them, as by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-General against the *Perians*, upon which *War* *Philip* his Father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same Title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Pericles* and *Aralius*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Perians* occupied all *Alexander*'s affections: those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now then at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But

a contrary wind arising; for he receiveth advertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedaemonians*, had united themselves against him, and by assistance from the *Perians*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were perwaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereunto perwaded by the Gold of *Persia*; the device he used was more subtil than profitable, for he caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slain in a Battle against the *Triballes*, and brought into the Assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirm, That himself was present and wounded in the Battle. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now adays defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, that common People are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perillous, fumed to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the venters of such trumpery, and for them fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth itself. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his Sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Perians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Graecians*; of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the Wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revoltors, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, for they were the first that faintest, seeking by their Embassadors to pacify the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in relolving; for the *Perians* perwaded him to pardon the *Graecians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off; neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he relolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other savage People, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which after divers overthrows given them, he made Peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than Liberty; the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadel a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* halted to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand Foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to relolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling indeed he was to draw blood of the *Graecians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phenix* and *Prigites*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then laid in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailing, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, the City taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for Slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did, to the terror of the other *Graecian* Cities.

Many Arguments were used by *Cleodas*, one of the Prisoners, to perwade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather misled by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perwaded of *Alexander*'s death, they rebelled but against his Successor. He also besought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his Education in that City; yea, that his Ancestor *Hercules* was born therein: but all perwases were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed, do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to Learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timocles*, the Sister of *Theogenes*, who died in defence of the Liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble Woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life, unless she would confess her Treasure; she led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it; and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now, because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them Peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perwaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Ora-

tors should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains, wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his Fortune, or rather the Providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Graecians* betook themselves to the service of the *Perians*, whom after a few days he invadeth.

§. II.

How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the *Perians* upon the River of Granicus.

WHEN all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did pass the *Hellefont*, and being ready to disembark, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territory, or to burn or deface those Buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Army, consisting of two and thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a Solemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Ancestor.

But before he left his own Coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his Tributary Princes, of whose Fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust Cruelty to assure all things both in the present and future. Yet the end of all tell contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Justice of God; for all that he had planned, was soon after withered, and rooted up; those whom he most trusted, were the most traitorous; his Mother, Friends, and Children, fell by such another merciless Sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead Body to the Grave; and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander*'s landing on *Asiatick* was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having filled him his Servant on a Letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* entituled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the Gods) he gave order wishal to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with Rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his Ships, and send the *Macedons* taken Prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike unto *Aethiopia*, or some other unhealthy part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the Field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his Enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail against those of less courage than themselves; men that took more care how to embroider with Gold and Silver their upper Garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the Sun-Beams, than they did to Arm them-

themselves with Iron and Steel against the sharp Pikes, Swords, and Darts of the hardy Macedonians; I say besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every of them with the care of their own safety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own Breath, and that of their Horses, in running away. The Macedonians as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the Gold and Jewels of Persia, both which they needed, so the Persians who expected nothing in that War but Blows and Wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his Service; but their own Fears and Cowardice, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeyed, when their Rebellion against to serve a Passion did justly and violently require it. For faith Vegetius: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles pressum caput, ita formidat indoluit; nam celandum est in pugna utiam amplius proficere quam vires; At the well-practised Soldier desires to come to battle, for the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in Fight is more avails to have been accustomed unto the like, than only to have rude strength.* What manner of men the Persians were, Alexander discovered in the first Encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his Story, That it was too hard to judge, whether his Daring to undertake the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handful of men, or the success he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territory of Troy from Prioponia, the Persians fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend upon, and scale from the Level of the water; great resistance (faith Curtius) was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it seems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twenty thousand Persian Foot-men said to be slain, were rather kill'd in the back in running away, than hurt in the bosoms by resisting. For had those twenty thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse-men, or, after Plutarch, two thousand and five hundred Horse-men, died with their Faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their Lives at so small a rate, as with the loss of four and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encountered two of the Persian Commanders, Spithridates and Rhoebates, and that the Persian Horse-men fought with great fury, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those Grecians in Darius his Pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after Mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having been made, yet of Alexander's Army there fell but twelve Foot-men, and two and twenty Horse-men.

§. III.

A Digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the Battle of Granick.

THE winning of this Passage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought such terror upon all those of the lesser Asia, as he obtain-

ed all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, some one or two Towns escaped. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights and Mountains, they will soon have perfwaded themselves, that such an Enemy, upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be refused. It was therefore Machibevols Counsel, that he which resolveth to defend a Passage, should with his ablest Force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such Force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarr'd all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the ways. One Passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the Forces of the Country be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the Alpes given way to Armies breaking into Italy? Yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they such, as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travel over them; but they give no security to those that lie behind them: for they are of two large extent. The Towns of Lombardy perfwaded themselves that they might enjoy their Quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Switzers; had undertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Duchy of Milan: but whilst these Patrons of Milan, whom their own dwelling in those Mountains had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the Alpes, Francis had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in such fort, as they leave but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Thermopylae, have seldom been attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? Xerxes, and long after him, the Romans forced the entrance of Thermopylae, Cyrus the younger, and after him Alexander found the Gates of Cilicia wide open; how strongly soever they had been locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a Fleet that should enter on the backside. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all Histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many Floods; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his own Bank, hath also enough to beat his Enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the Passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an Opinion, that they are in an ill case, having their means of safe-guard taken from them, by the Skill or Valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly if a River were sufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of Mona, now called Angley, which is divided from North-Wales by an Arm of the Sea, had been safe enough against the Romans, invading it under conduct of Julius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making Vessels to transport his Forces, did assay the Floods; Whereby he so amazed the Enemies attending for Ships and such like Provision by Sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came to mind to War, they humbly intreated for Peace, and yielded the Island.

Island. Yet the Britains were men stout enough; the Persians were Dairds.

It was therefore wisely done of Alexander, to pass the River of Granick in face of the Enemy; not reaching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some far means. For having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their Reputation than of their Strength, leaving no hope of honour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered Sardis, Ephesus, the Cities of the Trallians and Magnesium, which were rendered unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the People of the Country, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he observed it well; *Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementia fons: it is commodious unto such as lay the Foundation of a new Sovereignty to have the Fame of being merciful.* He then by Parmenio won Miletus, and by force malted Halicarnassus, which, because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From thence he entered into Caria, where Ada the Queen, who had been cast out of all that she held (except the City of Alinda) by Darius his Lieutenant, presented her self unto him, and adopted him her Son and Successor; which Alexander accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her disposing. He then entered into Lycia and Pamphilia, and obtained all the Sea Coasts, and subjecting unto him Pisidia, he directed himself towards Darius (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of Phrygia: For all the Province of Asia the Less, bordering upon the Sea, his first Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the Government and setting of Lycia, and Pamphilia, he sent Cleander to raise some new Companies in Peloponnese; and marching towards the North, he entered Celenas, seated on the River Meander, which was abandoned unto him, the Castle only holding out; which also after forty days was given up: for long time he gave them to attend Succour from Darius. From Celenas he pass'd on through Phrygia towards the Euxine Sea, till he came to a City called Gordium, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King Midas. In this City it was that he found the Gordian Knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it asunder with his Sword: For there was an ancient Prophecie did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all Asia; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself the fulfilling of the Prophecie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of Asia the Less towards the East, he took care to clear the Sea-Coast on his back, and to thrust the Persians out of the Islands of Lesbos, Scio, and Cos, the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that Service; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the Charge; and wialch, out of his first spoil gotten, he sent threethree Talents more to Antipater his Lieutenant in Greece, and Macedon. From Celenas he removed to Ancira, now called Anguiri, standing on the same River of Sangarius, which runneth through Gorgium: there he mustred his Army, and then entered Paphlagonia, whose People submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of Tribute: where he left Carus Governor, with one Regiment of Macedonians lately arrived.

Here he understood of the Death of Memnon, Darius Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him, for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the Multitude by Darius assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For to much hath the Spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Commonwealths, the Erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of Kingdoms and Empires, guided handlings of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived Victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful Passions of his own Followers into magnanimity, and the Valour of his Enemies into Cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the World, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the Universal, piercing, moving, and governing all things hath ordained. Certainly the things, that this King did were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser Asia, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of Indus, as this man did. The swift course of Victory, wherewith he ran over so large a Portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, That he was never encountered by an equal Spirit, concurring with equal Power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by the greater opposition than desert places, and the meer length of tedious Journeys could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes, not so much to be admired for the Workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge Bulk. For certainly the things performed by Xenophon, discover as brave a Spirit as Alexander, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the Forces and Power of Command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as Epaminondas, that encountering worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular Vertue overtopped their valiant Enemies, and fill prevailed over those that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these do seldom live to obtain great Empires; for it is a Work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal Forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a gross unwieldy Empire. Wherefore these Parvo Potentes, men that with little have done much upon Enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring to seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave Roman Caesar.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our Eastern Conqueror, who is travelling hastily towards Cilicia, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before Darius should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into Greece, he sent to those Cities, in which he repos'd most trust, some of the Persian Targets which he had recovered in his first Battle; upon which, by certain Inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for

he that doth not as well impart of the Honour which he gaineth in the Wars, as he doth of the Spoils, shall never be long followed by those of the better fort. For men which are either well born or well bred, and have more of Wealth than of Reputation, do as often faristhe themselves with the purchase of Glory, as the Weak in Fortune, and Strong in Courage, do with the gain of Gold and Silver.

The Governour of Cilicia hearing of Alexander's coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withal, as Carinus noeth, he began over late to prize and put in execution the Council of Memnon: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to wait all the Provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army is best broken by delays, change of Diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in Beds, and more often on the cold Ground. Thence and the like sudden alterations bring many Disasters upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from Meat and Sleep, and refusing to give or take Battel, had wearied them with his light Horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own Life and his Estate: For it was one of the greatest Incouragements given by Alexander to the Macedonians, in the third and last fatal Battel, that they were to fight with all the strength of Persia at once.

Xerxes when he invaded Greece and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his Men; but Darius being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdom; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedaemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a Battel: for the Invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to inform our Understanding by the Examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own Countries to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their Destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Caesar* ground, but when by the impetuosity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the Battel, lost the freedom of Rome, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a Battel with the *French* to his Confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgment, that those Councils which promise fury in all things are honourable enough.

The Constable of France made frustrate the mighty preparation of Charles the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waisting the Country, and forbearing the Fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Army of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a Battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be persuaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. Philip of Valois set upon King Edward at Cressy, and King John (when the English

were well near tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been waisted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poitiers*, to joyn Battel with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two French Kings found. Charles the Fifth of France made an other kind of Fabian Warfare; and though the English burnt and waisted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear Blows, and followed his advice which told him, That the English could never get his Inheritance by smok; and it is reported by *Belay* and *Herrault*, that King Edward was wont to say of this Charles, that he won from him the Duchy of *Guinea* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wife men grow short lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any found advice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must, in all appearance of reason, have brought the Macedonian to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For had *Capadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been waisted whilst Alexander was far off; and the Streights of Cilicia defended by *Arfenes*, Governour of that Province, with the best of his Forces: hunger would not have suffered the Enemy to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might Cilicia at better leisure have been so thoroughly spoiled, that the Heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries with painful travel.

But *Arfenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Army with him, to wait and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by presence of which he might honestly run further away from Alexander. He should rather have adventured his Person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the Fields would have been conveyed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his Horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the Cilicians cause to wish for Alexander's coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the Passage not to hinder it. For Cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arfenes* made all hast to joyn himself with Darius, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumpect, and to think that surely their General, who gave as lost the Country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the Macedonian Swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Country (which Honour they saw that *Arfenes* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their General, gleaming after his Harveit. Thus Alexander without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the Persian side by their indifcretion.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the unwelcome Army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unwelcome courtes, which Darius took in this expedition. He is vanquished at Illus; where his Majesty, Wife, and Children are made Prisoners, of some things following the Battel of Illus.

IN the mean season Darius approached, who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Soldiers, out of divers Nations: Justice musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and an hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a Masker than a Man of War; and like one that took more care to set out his Glory and Riches, than to provide for his own safety, perfwading himself, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. Before the Army there was carried the holy fire which the Persians worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet: then the Chariot of Jupiter, drawn with Scarlet; then their Riders clothed in the white Horles, with Rods of Gold in their hands; and after it, the Horle of the Sun. Next after these followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaid and garnished with Silver and Gold; and then the Vanguard of their Horle, compounded of twelve federal Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others Language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the tail of these Horles the Regiment of Foot marched, with the Persians called immortal, because if any died, the number was presently supplied; and these were armed with Chains of Gold, and their Coats with the same metal embroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with Pearl, baits, either to catch the hungry Macedonians withal, or to persuade them that they were great incivility to cut and to deface such glorious Garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuose nudamine miles, se virtute superiorem alius non existimet, cum in preliis oportet fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis nunciari, quoniam hostes vestibus non debilitantur; Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was per chance from the Roman *Papirius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Saminites* in that fatal Battel, wherein they all swore either to prevail or die, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high Crests and great plumes of Feathers, did the Roman Soldiers to lay aside all fear: *Non enim cristas vinientia facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the Roman pike would bore bores in painted and gilded Shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came Darius himself, the Gentlemen of his Guard rode riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, and cut in pure Gold; these the Macedonians did not serve, but

they served their turns of these, by changing their maffie-bodies into thin porple and curran coat. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metal: The hinder part being railed high whereon Darius sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horle-men, their Lances plated with Silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to embroe in the Macedonian bloud, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his Person two hundred of the blood Royal, bloud too Royal and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy Fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more service) and these were backt with thirty thousand Foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred spare Horles for the King, which if he had meant to have used he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rearward, the same being led by *Sisyambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on Horle-back, with fifteen Waggon of the Kings Children, and the Wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurses and Eunuchs, most sumptuously appalled: By which it should seem that Darius thought that the Macedonians had been *Comedians* or *Tumbler*s; for this Troup was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at Battels. Between these and a company of slight-armed Slaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings Treasure, charged on six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the Macedonians. In this sort came this May-game King into the Field, incumbered with a most unnecessary train of Scrumpers, attended with troops of divers Nations, speaking divers Languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part to effeminate, and so rich in Gold and in Garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the naked Nation of the World against them. We find it in daily experience that all discourses of Magnanimity, of National Verue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage veruous men, hath no force at all with the common Soldier, in comparison of Spoil and Riches. The rich Ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, the rich Towns are furiously assailed, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our English Nations have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards head-long, in hope of their Royals of Plate, and Pistoles, which had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes against their Commanders, confessing that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true, that the War is made willingly, and for the most part with good success, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to thin peril; and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car ex il ny a rien a gagner, que des coup volentiers il ny va pas; No man makes haste to the Market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now, if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Soothsayers, he would have satisfied himself by the out-sides of the

Perfians, and never have looked into the entrails of Beasts for fuccell. For leaving the description of this second Batrel (which is indeed no where well described, neither for the confusion and hasty running away of the *Affians* could it be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For it is to be true that threefcore thousand *Perfian* Foot-men were slain in this Batrel, with ten thousand of their Horse-men: Or (as *Carine* saith) an hundred thousand Foot-men, with the same number of Horse-men, and besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken Prisoners; while of *Alexander's* Army there miscarried but two hundred and four-score of all sorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one half: I do verily believe that this small number rather did with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their Enemies, than by any frosts received from them. And surely if the *Perfian* Nation (at this time degenerate, and the basest of the World) had had any favour remaining of the ancient Valour of their fore-fathers they would never have sold so good cheap, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings Children, had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safety and his Estate at less. *Darius* by this time found it true that *Charidemus*, a banished *Gracian* of *Athen* had told him; when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*; to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the Country, whom in passing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*; whom they meant to assail; who being all old and obedient Soldiers, embattled in grofs Squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with Weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate *Perfians*, loving their ease and their palat, being withal ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of Treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same *Gracians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him over-late, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasant to *Darius* (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praisses, and to nothing so little as to hear truth;) as he commanded that this poor *Gracian* should be presently slain: who while he was affording in the Tormentary hands, used this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good Council, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wife man: *Deperata ejus Principis salus est, cujus gressus ita formata sunt, ut aspera quoque vias, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat; Tot Virces safety is in a desperate call, whose Ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.*

For liberty in Council is the life and essence of Council; Libertas consilii est ejus vita, & essentia, qua crepus consilium evanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Advice given him by the *Gracian* Soldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Straights; but had they been Counsellors and directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good Troup of Horse-men been able to have opposed the fury of

Alexander, without any assistance of the *Perfian* Foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused Rabble, those *Gracians*, under their Captain *Amintas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old Soldiers are not easily dismayed: we read in Histories Ancient and Modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the Batrel of *Roosme*, where the *Imperials* were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Swissards*, old Soldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed, whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entirely by their escape, he was overturned and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers fear them not: That, *Neglectis periculis, immemini mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggressi sunt; They go about the business it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring; and as truly of those that know the Wars but by hearsay. Quod valentes sunt & prevalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis descendent; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; but when perils indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Gracians* also that made the retreat, advised *Darius* to retire his Army into the Plain of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entered into those large Fields and great Champions, he might have envied the *Macedonian* all sides with his multitude; and whilst they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many Batrels, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perfians*, as they persecuted *Darius* to environ the *Gracians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius*, that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a straight piece of ground, near unto the City of *Iffus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parnemo* said there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Gracians* his followers had persuaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken Prisoners, and all their train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander's* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their Birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius's* Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobolus* the Historian, That he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parnemo*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Perfia* in effect, fell into Captivity; at which time also *Darius's* Treasure (not lost at *Iffus*) was seized,

amount-

amounting to six thousand and two hundred Talents of Coin, and of *Bullion* five hundred Talents, with a world of Riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his Brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains (casting the Crown from his Head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phenicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parnemo* was made Governour.

Atracis, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, Maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Serato* was King (but hated of the People) acknowledged *Alexander*.

Good Fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for *Amigonus*, *Alexander's* Lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*; *Yaphlagians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius's* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedaemonians* that warred against *Alexander* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last Batrel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amynas* into *Aegypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander, to honour *Ephesion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor Estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the Royal blood, was commended by the People unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wished that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern, his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a Letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of Peace, but such as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of Peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one revolted well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdaind the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only desired his Letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How *Alexander* besieged and won the City of *Tyre*.

Alexander coming near to the City of *Tyre*, received from them the Present of a golden Crown, with great store of Victuals, and other Presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was defended. But the *Tyrins* like not his company within their Walls, but tell

him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoining, now abandoned and desolate: To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great force of Stone from the old *Tyre*, and Timber sufficient from *Lybannus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of Wind, sometime by the *Tyrins* fired, and sometime torn asunder, yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the Siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties that prevailed, after he had spent seven Months in that attempt. The *Tyrins* in the beginning of the Siege had barbarously drowned the Messengers sent by *Alexander*, persuading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the Sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first fury to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for Slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand: *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more he killed, had not the *Zidonian*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great many of them away by Shipping unto their own City.

Happy it was for *Apelle* that the Town was taken, for one of the *Tyrins* having dreamt, that this God meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden Chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the Channel, that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas*, the Son of *Parnemo*; *Cilicia* he committed to *Socrates* and *Antiochus* Lieutenant under *Parnemo*; *Ephesion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Aegypt*.

§. VI.

How *Darius* offered conditions of Peace to *Alexander*. *Alexander* wins *Gaza*; and deals graciously with the Jews.

In the mean while *Darius* finds again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Batrel to the straightness of the place: he hoped to terrify him, by threatening to encompass him in the plain Countries; he bids him consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for, he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had Arguments enough of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Aly* and the *Hellspont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which Victory and his own Virtue had possessed him of: That he was to give Conditions, and not to receive any; and that he having passed the Sea it self, disdaind to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, that *Parnemo*, who was now old, and full of Honour and Riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius*

Mazens might have done some days before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the *Macedonians* durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their Foot out of fight, and far behind.

§. IX.

*The new provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the
Battel of Arbela.*

Darius, upon *Alexander's* first return out of *Aegypt*, had assembled all the Forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Armenians*, *Syrians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrayed; Nations (saith *Curcius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders, and finds of Foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of Horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curcius*, who multiplies the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand Foot-men, and near fifty thousand Horse, comes in a little nearer to the true number; and yet straggle he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, in as much as he had gathered together, in all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair Parts of *Affrica* to have over-born the numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War.

In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his Army after their victory over *Jugur*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain prelude of their overthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that dethroned *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should fall all perish; For he not only enforc'd them to make War against worlds of Enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a *halt*; and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* *Africologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certain preface of good success; for that it was natural they never imparted to the common People, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, to as a *foley* Almanack-maker had been no small Fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Arriovistus*, and the *Germans*: for they being perfwaded by the casting of Lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the Batle, *Cæsar* forc'd them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Græcians* were under the aspect of the *Sun* , the *Persians* of the *Moon* ; and therefore the *Moon* failing and being darkened, the state of

Perſia was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obſcured. This judgment of the *Aegyptian* Priests being noised through all the Army, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though deviſed ſince, was well obſerved then. *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat*; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight, when it is ſolled with matter of terror.

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the People are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yet we find it in all Stories, and often in our own, that by such Inventions, devised Tales, Dreams, and Prophecies, the People of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous Tumults and Insurrections, and still to their own loss and

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian Army*, certain Letters were surpris'd written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perswading them for great sums of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the advice of *Parmenio* he suppress'd.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, opprest with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first burst suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her, but being satisfied by an *Embus* of his own that attended her, of *Alexander's* kindly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the Immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Perſian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on fo just and content an Enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again, before the last tryal by Barrel, offered these Conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in Marriage he would deliver up and resign all *Africa* the *Leds*, and with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician Sea*, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ransom of his Mother, and his other Daughter thirty thousand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave to *Son Oechim* in hostage: To this they thought to persuade *Alexander* by such Arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be rejoined, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good Father; who perswaded him to accept of the said Conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellespont* was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the Persian Prisoners was a great cumbrance; and that their Persons, for them of far better use, than their Persons, with divers other Arguments, all which *Alexander* rejected. And *Antigonus* is probable that if he had followed the good Advice, and bounded his Ambition within the same limits, he might have lived as famous for his Vertue as for Fortune, and left himself a Successor of able Age to have enjoyed his Estate; which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatening of others than himself: who to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Illness, left not one of them to draw breath in the World within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and being taught new lessons by abundance of Prosperity, became a lover of Wine, of his own Flattery, and of extreme Cruelty. Year, as a young man, he had observed, the taint of one unjust Father, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourish in glory beary of all his great Acts and glorious

Victories obtained. But the *Perſian* Embaſſadors ſay his anſwer, which was to this effect, That whosoever he had beſeigned on the Wife and Children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural Clemency and Magnanimity, without all reſpect to their Maſter; that therefore an Enemy was improper; that he made no Wars againſt his Enemy, but againſt thoſe that reſiſted him; Not againſt Women and Children, but againſt armed Enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius* to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great ſums of Money to perſwade his Friends to attempt upon his Perſon, he had reaſon to doubt that the Peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwiſe and faithful) reſolve to haſte to accept the ſame, ſeeing *Darius* had made the War againſt him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traytor by ſecret and baſe practice: That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could hear him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already paſt, he would then believe that he offered him ſomewhat in his own power: Otherwiſe he propoſed to himſelf for the reward of the War which he had made, all thoſe Kingdoms as yet in *Darius's* poſſeſſion, wherein, whether he were abuſed by his own hopes or no, the Batrel which he meant to fight in the day following ſhould determine. For conſequation, he told them, that he came into *Aſia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perſwaded to give him conditions fit for a ſecond Perſon, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

*The Battel of Arbela: and that it could not be so
strongly fought as report hath made it.*

W^Hith this answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to demand a hostage, which he never yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains, *Parmenio* persuades him to force *Darius* his Camp by Night; so that the multitude of Enemies might not move terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the daylight, to witness his Valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander's* resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in War, *Sic pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnatæ coguntur, consilium ofi nostri tempore belli ferre non temere*. Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he flatters and entrenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of surprise had flood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night; *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of Food, for Reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites valde ieiunantes, si cito potaque refecti fuerint, nam talibus intricatis pugna pugnat, quam ferus exterius: Solitudi: do the better stand it is to fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink, for hunger within fights more eagerly than steel without.*

The numbers which Alexander had, faith Arrianus, were forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse; these belike were of the European Army; for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out

of those Regions. He us'd but a short Speech to his Souldiers to encourage them, and I think that he needd little Rhetorick; for by the two former Batels upon the River of *Granick* and in *Cilicia* the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animamque victoriosus angit, & adversarius adest*: One Victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from such as have been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curius* make large descriptions of this Battle, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined fomerime to the *Persians*, fomerime to the *Macedonians*; That *Permenus* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left Wing; That *Alexander's* Rear-guard was broken, and his Carriages loft; That for the first and valourous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* her self was long unrevolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible days work; saying, That *Ephibius*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name, were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curius*), thirty thousand, according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodor*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the Field by *Darius*, every man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not have fought the Empire of the East at ease; a rare, as fix or seven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed, but fifty or threeore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most part of all had no fit for the use of the Sapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have resisted that River so easily, much less the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whole Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had preferred unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from thole that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. The yielding of Babylon and Susa.

Darius after the rout of his Army recovered *Arbela* the same Night, better followed in his fight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with Treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after Darius his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great mass of Treasure and Princely Ornaments, was rendred unto him.

for the fear which conducted *Darius* took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his Treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abid the coming of his Enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it impossible to drive his Camels laden with Gold from the pursuing Enemy, leaving himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, call the Crown from his Head to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Ergo prætoria magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbela* *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazæus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendered himself, his Children, and the City. Altho the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the Treasure, flew the Streets with Flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of Silver as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. *Mage* (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captain in great Solemnity to entertain their new King; after which came the *Babylonian* Horse-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* Foot-men to march. When he entered the Castle he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of Treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of Silver uncoined. The City it self I have else-where described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates, and the Circuit, with the wonderful place of Pleasure about two miles in circuit, surrounded with a Wall of four-score foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty days, consuming that time in banqueting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War which taught them the sufferances of Hunger and Thirst, of painful Travel, and hard Lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were filled *Chiliarchi*. This new Order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* Companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter Age hath been the cause (altho the *Macedonian* had that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Pique Band* or *Sporn-Cow*; for when the Captains of Foot had a thousand Soldiers under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *France* the first, the Title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the Eighth of *England* never gave the Commandment of any of his good Ships, but to men of known Valour, and of great Estate; nay, sometimes he made two Gentlemen of Quality Commanders in one Ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; out of *Macedon*, of *Thracians* three thousand Foot, and the like number of Horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse; by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon* could hardly be brought again. *De quiete la plume par dormis sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Mineus*, and *Apollodorus*; to supply all wants a thousand Talents: but to grace *Mazæus*, who rendered the City unto him, he gave him the Title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagifines* that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Soldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entered into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the fame which *Ptolemy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the River *Euphrates*, a City sometime governed by *Daniel*, the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governor of this famous City, gave it up to the Conqueror with fifty thousand Talents of Silver in Bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the Treasures of *Darius*. In this fort did those Vassals of *For* Disce more in *Perlon* (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own Peace and Safety with the Kings Treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever Titles he gave to the King, he left all places of Importance in trust with his own Captains; to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) all the Nobility of *Macedonia* but in one Barrel, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned to their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great Enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any Frontier-Town, or Fortress of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their Liberty and Estates lost. Heroic the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Newcorra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fontrabie*, in the Year 1522.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazæus* might have furnished the King from *Babylon*, and while he laid four and thirty days at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have helped him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him, for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and friendly fearful Adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitions, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of Fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonian*, making *Abulites*, who rendered it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazæus* and others, in giving them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Soldiers in Garrison to assure the place, and *Darius*'s Mother and her Children to repose themselves.

It is said, that *Charles* the Fifth having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marsilles*, if he could have forced it, and whereof he made true account, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have

left the Duke (revolved from his Master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How *Alexander* came to *Persepolis*, and burnt it.

FROM *Susa* *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he fought to pass those Mountains which funder *Susana* and *Persepolis*, he was soundly beaten by *Arbaces*, who defended against him those Sreights, called *Pyle Perseide*, or *Sulide*; and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forced to save himself by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Arbaces*, who being enforced to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*, but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, where in he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515. find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanhip had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, faith *Curtius*, (*Justin* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken Prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the Barbarous *Persians* to maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noes, Ears, and other Members, as they could no way have been known to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new Garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tridates, one of *Darius*'s false-hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexander*'s approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the People to spoil the Kings Treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexander*'s arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Council, for all was left to the liberty of the Soldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the World at that time, which, if it had been laid in balance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon*, indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of Money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand Talents. He left the same number of these thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal Honour to the Traitor *Tridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicardetes*, a Creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty days, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain Troups of chosen Foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered, a fruitless and foolish enterprise; but as *Seneca* lays: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare;*

He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still. It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Soldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extrem Frost, and make way, but with extrem difficulty, through the Snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgment I shall rather commend that Captain, that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extrem necessity, than those wretches arrogant Fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Soldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of Victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Calpurnius*, Admiral of *France*; *That ubi so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his Vertues, complain, that the opinion of his Valour, of his Liberality, of his Clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carousing Cups all the reputation of his actions past; and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perwaded, when he was inflamed with Wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis*, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the Arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him: that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perwasures of others, which by his proper virtue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perwasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alienate their hearts: For they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Fere violentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelly doth commonly follow drunkenness.* For so it fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius*'s Death.

ABOUT this time he received a new supply of Soldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander*'s coming on, with whom (trusting to such Companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his Fortune. He thereupon calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Arbaces*, one of his eldest Men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake

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the Ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabarzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Governor of *Bactria*, had confired against their Master, and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to pursue it by some such Person for the present, against whom neither the Gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an Enemy: this preamble *Nabarzanes* used, and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow-Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the Wars ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King, swollen with disdain, pres'd towards *Nabarzanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the mean while *Nabarzanes* withdrew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their Quarter apart from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithful Servant, perswaded him to be advised, and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at last make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King, being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Pavon*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former Battles served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in spite of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his Person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*, but it was not in his destiny to follow their Advice, who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful Counsel; but he inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks* with *Pavon* their Captain were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithful Servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves, are wont to be allure, to wit, Riches, Saicry, and Honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with Passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural Traitors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful Servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his *Eunuchs*; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him. His *Persians* being most base Cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had four thousand *Greeks* to join with them, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himself, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have died in the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to have lien bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great Estate, nor the honours he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it, for incivility hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and to add despiteful and derision to his adversity, they fastened him with Chains of Gold, and to drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their Lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a Prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strangely Villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish, and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with fix thousand other Horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how near he was at hand; for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and flew two poor Servants that attended his Person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* Swords.

Polystratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished pres'd with thirst, as he was refreshing himself with some Water that he had discovered, espousing a Cart with a Team of wounded Beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood. And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this Barbarous Tragedy; *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this Messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own Honour and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also, having nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired Water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the World had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the Gods to reward his Compassion.

§. XIV.

§. XIV.

How *Alexander* pursued *Bessus*, and took into his grace *Darius* his Captains.

It was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their Travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded Earth sufficed not his boundless ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East; but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traitor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hircanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the Fruits of all their former Travels. In conclusion, he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Cranus* with certain Regiments of Foot, and *Ampyrus* with fix thousand Horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hircania*; for the *Mardians*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zoborus*, which taking beginning in *Perthis*, disposes it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthis* and *Hircania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred Furlongs, it then riseth again and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zadracarta*, the same City which *Ptolemy* writes *Hircania*, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting therein.

Phanabazus, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their Places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their Pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joined with *Bessus* to Murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *Thalestris*, Queen of the Amazons; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such Amazons have been, and are.

Here it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the Amazons, came to visit him, and her suit was (which the easily obtained) That she might accompany him till she were made with Child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeed, the Letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his Books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*)

who had followed *Alexander* in all his Voyages, was laugh'd at by the King for inferring such News of the Amazons, as *Lysimachus* himself had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his Acts; which to amplify, He told how the King had fought first with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the Book, and threw it into the River of *Indus*, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inferring such Fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto writers, making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to throw the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these Warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no, there were any such kind of People. *Julius Solinus* sits them in the North parts of *Asia* the Les. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River *Thermodon*; the other, near the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant; Which the People call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the *Cimmerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum* (saith *Vasconius*, who hath Commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximis Amazonibus jussit*. It is certain that the *Cimmerians* were the most Nations to the Amazons. *Ptolemy* sets them farther into the Land Northwards, near the Mountains *Hippici*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us; where they governed a People called the *Pandani*, or *Pandani*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely, perhaps as a Poet) thus.

*Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbaria pars magna jacet.*

*Claud. de
cap. Proje-
pina.*

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabæans*, reigns This Female Sex: and under Arms of Queen, Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diadorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodon*, a River falling into the *Euxine* Sea near *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he tells us that the *Syrians* call *Aorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricides*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the Les, sack'd *Ephejus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manetho* and *Acontinus* report, which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the Siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Paris*.

Ætial. l. 3.

Am. Metellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodon*, speaking confidently of the Wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch in the Life of *Theseus*, out of *Philostratus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope*, Queen of the Amazons, by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*, though some affirm, That *Theseus* himself got her by stealth when she came to visit him aboard his Ship.

But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the Life of *Pompey*, speaks of certain Companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the *Battel*, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he saith farther, That these Women entertain the *Gels* and *Lelages* once a Year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the Navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the River of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the Year 1542. (upon which River, for the divers turnings, he is said to have failed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both saw those Women, and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East Sea.

It is also reported by *Ulcricus Schmidel*, that in the Year 1542. where he failed up the Rivers of *Paragna* and *Paraboli*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Captivum*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Riffere*, a Crown of Silver, which he had gotten in light from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right Breast, and live apart from Men, save at one time of the year, when they Feast and accompany them for one Month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the Line: and that these Women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the East-Indian Portugals know.

I have produced these Authorities, in part, to justify mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Casique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the Spanish discoveries called *Amazons*) that these Women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprofitable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian's Luxury: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his Prosperity had so much over-wrought his Virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his Youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the World could not equal. For he perfwaded himself that he now represented the greatness of the Gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he wore the Robes and Garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobility should do the like; he entertained in his Court, and Camp, the same shameless rabble of *Curtians*, and *Sodomitical Eunuchs*, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and derefted manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is Felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perfwaded that the Gods, whom he

served (derefting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profess'd (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by Ignorance or Education, a more foul and fearful Monster than *Darius*, from whose Tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornful discourse, That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many Travels more impoverished in their Virtues, than enriched by their Victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerours, or the conquered were the baser Slaves. Neither were these opinions so referved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacify the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and making it known to the Army that *Bessus* had assumed the Title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*; and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had Arguments enough to perfwade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their Carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans Fardels to be brought into the Market-place, he together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things, which they had bought with their painful Travels, and with their Blood, than in the Kings Ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he fought him out, but the Rebel hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus* with two thousand Horles. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of Wood on fire with the advantage of a strong Wind, won a passage over a high and unaccessible Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand Foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise Invincible. I saw in the third Civil War of *France* certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any Ladder or Engine, till at last by certain bundles of Straw let down by an Iron Chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered, as they rendered themselves with their Plate, Money, and other Goods therein hidden. There were also, some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horles, by the Country People, who did set the long dry Grass on fire to the Eastward of them, (the Wind in those parts being always East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the fire, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *J. Borlase* also, with an hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the Grass fired behind him, but the smoke being timely discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore

shore with the loss of sixteen of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they always, before they pass into the Land, burn down the Grass and Sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other Enemy than a handful of Straw set on fire, die the death of *Hony-Bess*, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracy against Alexander. The death of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*.

Alexander was, after he parted hence, no where resettled, till he came into *Asia*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artaxana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satibarzanes*, but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thelaly*, and near five hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thelaly*, and other places. His Journey out of *Perfia* into these parts is very confusedly described. For having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northward towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence over the Mountains *Coromus* into *Asia* and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the Treason of *Dimmus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessory, if not principal. This *Dimmus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same Treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by Oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his Friend was like to have slain him for security of his own Life. So constrained by fear, he made shew as if he had been won by perfwasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of Rank; whose Names *Dimmus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner fixed himself from the company of this Traytor *Dimmus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should go to the Court and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole business, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith; which he promised to do, but did not. Two days passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter; but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himself to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forth-with brought him to *Alexander's* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perfwade himself that this concealment of the Treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore when *Dimmus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other question than this: *Wherein* here I offended thee, that thou shouldst think *Philotas* more worthy to be King than I? *Dimmus* perceiving,

when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer than to give his last groan in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his Enemies his Judges: *Craterus* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business; How he perfwaded himself, that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private Enemy, than by pretending Piety and Duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better as it is more general in his *Philotas*.

See how these great men cloath their private hate,
In these fair colours of the publick good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood,
And arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of Treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent;
Yea, Valour, Honour, Bounty, shall be made
As accessories unto ends unjust:
And even the Service of the State must lade
The needfull'th' undertaking with distrust,
So that base vileness, idle Luxury,
Seem fairer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now although it were so that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very Evening of the same Night in which he was Apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the Night *Philotas* was taken in his Lodgings, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the King in these words: O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in Person examine the accusations of Treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the Tide given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoice that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the Gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of Man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perfwasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despite. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perfwade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile Garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused, his two other Brothers, *Hellor* and *Nicanor* having been lost in

in the present War. He was so greatly oppress'd with grief as for a while he could utter nothing but Tears, and sorrow had so wafted his Spirits, as he sunk under those that led him. In the end the King asked him in what Language he would make his Defence; he answered, in the same wherein it had pleas'd the King to accuse him, which he did to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, persuading the Assembly that he did disdain the Language of his own Country, and so withdrawing himself, left him to his merciless Enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For, not his Enemies only were embolden'd thereby against him, but all the rest having discover'd the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceed in hatred towards him; among many other Arguments which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest. That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimmus* what men of mark and power were his Partners in the Conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimmus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicomus*, *Amynias*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the Party, and have incur'd *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimmus*, thereby the better to have heard *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof that he knew nothing of their intents, that practis'd against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by Torments or otherwise that could accuse him, and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burden, is for the most part found fo malicious, as the rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of reitless and unnatural Torments, devised by his profest Enemies, *Craterus*, *Cerues*, *Epephorus*, and others, *Philotas* accus'd his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on Flesh and Blood, he was forc'd to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleas'd their ears, that were far more merciless than death it self.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding *St. Augustin* greatly complaineth as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: & cum quaeritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur; What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own Cause; and tormented whilse yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certainty, not because he is known to have committed the Offence, but because other do not know that he hath not committed it.*

It had been enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemulus*, who afterward conspir'd against him, made the Kings Cruelty and delight in Blood the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore *Seneca* speaking

of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Cruditatis nimine humanum malum est, indignum tam mist animo; ferina ipsa rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus; & abjectio homine, in feroce animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane Vice; it is unworthy of so mild a Spirit. It is even a beastly Rage to delight in Blood and Wounds, and casting away the nature of Man to become a Savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curcius* makes a doubt, whether the Confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the Torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsely, come to one and the same end. Now while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he command'd that *Lyncestes*, Son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in Prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accus'd: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way to direct to win the Kings Favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismiss'd. But *Parmentio* was yet living; *Parmentio*, who had serv'd with great fidelity, as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmentio* that first opened the way into *Asia*: That had deprest *Antalus* the Kings Enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the Men of War, and so by the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the Glory and Fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the Death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonour'd his Fidelity in his eldest Age, having now lived threefold and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possist themselves of his Affection; it was resolv'd that he should be dispatch'd. *Polydamus* was employ'd in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmentio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exi- Lic.*
tus Parmentionis fuit, militia domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magne rei gesserat; This was the end of Parmentio (saith Curcius) who had performed many notable things: without the King, but the King without him, did never effict any thing worthy of praise.

§. XVIII.

How *Alexander* subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other People. How *Bessus* was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.

When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Afrapians* or *Evergiatians*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour; then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Memon* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmentio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he pass'd through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City which he honour'd with his own

own Name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his old *Macedons*, worn with Age, and with travails of the War. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caramus* and *Erigius*; And now he resolv'd to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus* hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus* which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabacrus* is made Governour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; the *Macedonian* Army suff'reth for want of Water, inasmuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one Battel against the *Persians*. And it may well be; for (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought against Women, not against Men, and not against their Persons, but their Shadows. He found on the Banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either Boats, Bridges, or Rafts, but was forc'd to fast together the Hides that cover'd his Carriages, and stuff them with Straw, and on them in six days to pass over his Army; which *Bessus* might easily have distrust, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army stir off. He had formerly complain'd against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the Banks of *Tigris*, and other Passages, and yet now, when this traitorous Slave had filsd himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a Slave. And therefore those that were nearst unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanus*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his Treason and Cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the Chain clos'd about his neck like a Mastiff Dog, and so was dragg'd along to be presented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arriv'd at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he return'd out of *Greece*, whose Issues had well-near forgotten their Country Language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the Sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliver'd him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxartes*, *Darius* his Brother, to be torment'd.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainer assaulted his Camp; in repelling whom, he received a shot in the Leg, the Arrow-head sticking in the Fleth, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lyter, sometime by the Horsemen, sometime by the Foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perodinus* takes to be *Samarchanda*, the Regal City of the great *Turkmen*. It had in compass threefold and ten Furlongs (*Curcius* saith). Here he received the Embassadors of the *Scythians*, (call'd *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stir'd to Rebellion by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanus*, who had lately deliver'd into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were revoltedly defended against him, all which, after Victory, he desaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these he received a Blow on the Neck which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recover'd *Maracanda*, against whom he employ'd *Menedemus* with three thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse.

In the heat of these Tumults, *Alexander* march'd on, (if we may believe *Curcius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanaïs*; upon whose Bank he built another *Alexandria* threefold Furlongs in compass, which he beautified with Houses within seven days after the Walls were built. The building of this City is said to have been occasion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himself, that this new Town was fortified of purpose to keep him under. I do not well understand why the *Scythians*, offering War in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judg'd by his own Souldiers to counterfeite Sicknes for very fear, should nevertheless make fluit for Peace: neither find I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the Conquest of those Northern Deserts, but only the defence of his own Bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter, and a Victory describ'd; in pursuit of which, the *Macedons* ran beyond the Bounds and Monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, that *Curcius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this River which the call *Tanaïs*. For it was the River of *Iaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* pass'd over, while *Menedemus* was employ'd in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanaïs*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* or *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanaïs*, which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discover'd with the Army that followed him, if he had employ'd all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that Travail.

Wherefore it is enough to believe that the *Asthetic* *Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the Erection of this new City, which was like to give some hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Arms, easily chafed some ten or twelve miles, which is the substance of *Curcius* his Report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his Journey; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not very far into that waste Country, where he could find nothing but Trees and Stones, nor other busines than to set up a Monument.

Threefold of the *Macedons* are said to have been slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this Fight, which might easily be, in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* Horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many Prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible to set down the numbers of such as perish in Battel; yet *Cesar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been to inquire into the greatness of their own success, that Writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report: I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in *Curcius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of *Alexander*) and the little Booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulsion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Mulcovites*, without any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While Alexander was assuring himself of those Scythians bordering upon *Iaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Atandemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him killed) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. He therefore, to appease the Rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. Alexander kills, burns, and lays waste all before him; not sparing the innocent Children, and so departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repair this loss, he received a great supply of nineteen thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which and the old Army, he returns towards the South, and passeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South side whereof he built fix Towns near each other for mutual succour. But he finds a new flat-top-Rock, called *Arimatez*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong piece of Ground on the top of a high Hill; whom, when Alexander had fought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten Talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that they could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loss of some two and thirty of their Men, and then made a sign to Alexander, that they had performed his Commandment. Hereupon he sent one *Copbes* to persuade *Arimatez* to yield the Place; who, being shewed by *Copbes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded simply to Alexander's mercy, and was (with all his Kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which Punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keep good Watch in so dangerous a time. For the Place, as seems by the description, might easily have been defended against all the Armies of the World. But what strength cannot do, mans Wit, being the most forcible Engine, hath often effected; of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Island of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnsey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time surprised by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by strong hand, having Cattel and Corn enough upon the Place to feed for many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible that it might be held against the Great *Turk*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the Road with one Ship of small Burden, and pretending the Death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappel of that Isle; offering a Present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any Weapon, no nor so much as with a Knife) the *French* men yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead Carkass, but with Swords, Targets and Harquebusses. The *French* received them at their landing, and searching every of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* Boat and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the Commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred, they were taken and bound.

The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, shut the door to them, and taking their Weapons out of the Coffin set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff and cry to their Company aboard the *Flemings* to come to their Succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themselves and the Place. Thus a Fox Tail doth sometimes help well to peece out the Lyons Skin, that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How Alexander slew his own Friends.

AFTER these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of Alexander's killing of a Lyon, and other frivolous matter, and that he committed the government of *Macedonia*, and the Country about it to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the Virtue of *Philip* the Father before that of Alexander the Son, or rather because he objected to the King the Death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*, for therein he rought him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed had deserved as much at the Kings hands as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his Life, which the King well remembered when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his Insolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay, for the grief whereof, he tore his own Face and forrowed so inordinately, as, but for the persuasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of repentance; but, preceding Mischiefs are not attended by succeeding Bewailings. *Omne vitium ebrietas et cecitas; et deiecit; obstantem malis conatibus verendum removere; nisi possidet animum navis: vitis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facis ebrietas vitis, sed perarbit. Drunkenness both kindles and lays open every Vice; it removes out of the way that stone which groves impediment unto bad attempts; where Wine gets the Mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: Drunkenness indeed rather discovers Vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Belissus*, and had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his Wife, and his Head presented to Alexander. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized upon his Fellow Conspirator *Datisaphernes*, and delivered him up. So Alexander being now freed from all these petty Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he hath over, and went on with his Army into *Gabazae*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cobortanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greedily, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one; which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hages* and *Cleo*, whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the Assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought that Alexander would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; that the Opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometimes follow the Death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the World. He further told him, That neither *Heracles* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing Feast) but that, for the more than many acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbered among the Gods. Alexander stood behind a Partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings Honour, was yet soon after tormented to Death, not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he never would consent to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable Flatterers did. For in a Conspiracy against the King, made by one *Hermolus* and others (which they confess) he caught *Calisthenes* without Confession, Accusation, or Trial, to be torn asunder upon the Rack: This deed, unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censures. *Hec est Alexandri crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quatenus, quia dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa milia: opprobrum; et Calisthenem: Quatenus dictum erit, Occidit Darium: opprobrum; et Calisthenem. Quatenus dictum erit omnia Oceano tenuis vixit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis elapsus, et Imperium ex angulo Thraciae usque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia laetis antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transferat, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnū erit, quam felix Calisthenes; This is the eternal Crime of Alexander, which no Virtue nor Felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians, it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew Calisthenes. When it shall be said, He slew Darius, it shall be replied, and Calisthenes. When it shall be said, He won all as far as to the very Ocean, thereon also he be adorned with unusual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace to the utmost Bounds of the Orient, it shall be said without, but he killed Calisthenes. Let him have outcome all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings, none of all his Acts makes so much to his Glory, as Calisthenes to his Reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexander's Journey into India. The Battle between him and Porus.

WHEN the Army before remembered, of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot and Horse, Alexander did enter the Borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few days was rendered unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate Fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made Feasts for ten days toge-

ther. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dedada*, and thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, Victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolemy* led one part, *Cann* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Masage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleopha* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the Siege of this City he received a Wound in the Leg. After this *Nova* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he won also a Passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his Company, and his Head presented to Alexander. This is the sum of Alexander's doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus* he found there *Ephesius*, who (being sent before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere Alexander's arrival, had persuaded *Ombis*, King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conqueror. Therefore, soon upon Alexander's coming, *Ombis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and fix and fifty Elephants unto him, offering him his Service and Assistance. He made Alexander know that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*, wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this Division to make his own Victory by far the more easy. He presented Alexander with a Crown of Gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withal fourscore Talents of silver Coin, which Alexander not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of Glory, not of Gold, he gave *Ombis* a thousand Talents of his own Treasure, besides other Persian rarities. *Abisares* having heard that Alexander had received his Enemy *Ombis* into his Protection, resolved to make his own Peace also: For knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Ombis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the Chance of War gave, he thought it an ill March when Alexander, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Parry and Head of the Quarrel. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a Commandment, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him Homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer, That he would fain see him in his first Demand, which was to attend him on his Borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other Acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsel of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own Home. *Porus* attends him on the farther Bank with thirty thousand Foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, Alexander had surely staid somewhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The River was four Furlongs broad, which makes half a Mile, and withal deep and swift. It had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with Wood, and of good capacity. Alexander sent *Ptolemy* up the River with a great part of the Army, throwing the rest from the view of *Porus*, who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, fers himself down opposite to *Ptolemy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon* meant to force their Passage there. In the mean while Alexander recovers the farther Shore without resistance. He orders

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his Troups, and advanceth towards *Perna*, who at first rather believes that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of Fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had pass'd it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Heges* with four thousand Horle, and a hundred armed Waggon to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the Fields were so moistened, as the Horles could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vanguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their Reins, and other Furniture, over-turning the Waggon and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave out the *Indian* Horle-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the grofs of his Army, that those of his Vanguard feared might recover his Rear: *Alexander*, being followed with *Ephestion*, *Platamus*, and *Perdiccas*, took him on to charge the *Indian* Horle-men on the left wing, commanding *Cennus* or *Cerus* to invade the right; *Antigenes* and *Leontatus*, he directed to brake upon *Porus* his battel of Foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these Beasts the *Macedonian* Foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head and ran over the Foot that followed them. In the end, and after a long and doubtful Fight, by the advantage of Weapon, and by the courage and skillfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the Victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assisted by his own Confederate and Country People. Yet for his own Person he never gave ground otherwise than with his Sword towards his Enemies, till being weakened with many Wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a Prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom again he received his Estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander finished his Expedition, and returned out of India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these Travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his falling down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The Magnificence and Riches of those Kings we could in no sort be persuaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great Traveller *Mandeville*, who died in the Year 1372. and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accounted the greatest tabor of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covert of the Friars *Guilmins* in *Legge*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence; For

an honourable memory of his Excellency, faith *Guichardin*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Acefines*, and the rest, fall into the main Stream, are now possess'd by the great *Mogor*, the Ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all that tract between *Perfia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Acefion*, a Ship of London, suffered Shipwrack in the Year 1609. and some of the Company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the fame great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Phylastratus in the Life of *Apollonius Tynemus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* fought by all means to out-lame) when they endeavour'd to subdue unto them the *Oxydrace*, a People inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hydaspis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with Thunder and Lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those People had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon, many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander's* time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, inform'd him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River of *Ganges*, was the powerfulst King of all those Regions; and that he was able to bring into the Field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horle, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflam'd than ever to proceed in this Discovery and Conquest, yet all the Art he had could not persuade the Soldiers to wander over those great Deserts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasive Orations, to follow him towards the South to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was near at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, where-with he hoped to beguile Possibility, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater Trenches, greater Cabins for the Soldiers, greater Horle-stalls, and higher Mangers than his Horles could feed in. He caus'd all Furniture of Men and Horles to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armour and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as Reliques, and wonder'd at by the Savages. Proportionable to these, he rais'd up twelve great Altars to be the Monument of his Journeys end. This was a ready way to increase the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspicion that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acefines*, and there determin'd to set up his Fleet where *Acefines* and *Hydaspis* encounter, where to reitiffie by a surer Monument, how far he had pass'd towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities; the one he call'd *Nicea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horle

Bucephalus. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand *Thracian* Horle-men, seven thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armour, garnish'd with Silver and Gold, which he distributed among his Soldiers. About these Rivers he wain many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resist'd: It is then written of him, that assaulting a City of the *Oxydracans*, he leapt from the top of the Wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; he slew like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he pass'd down the River with his Fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a Rebellion in *Babylonia*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who humbled himself unto him. He feasted these Embassadors upon a hundred Bids of Gold, with all the sumptuousity that could be devised, who soon after their dispatch returned again with a Present of three hundred Horle, one hundred and thirty Waggon, and to each four Horles, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their Entertainments ended, he sail'd towards the South, pass'd through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he build'd another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which *Pholomy* (afterward King of *Aegypt*) was wounded, and cured by an Herb which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the Tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden, flustled one upon another by the Flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, where-with the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the Sea, he pass'd out of the Rivers Mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Nephtun*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the Coast towards the Mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus*, in the beginning of his sixth Book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen days march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery for want of Food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horle, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexander's Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

From *Gedrosia* *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Perfia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the Triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish Vice being hateful enough in it self, yet it always inflam'd this King to Cruelty. For (saith *Curcius*) the Hangman followed the Feast, for *Alpaltus*, one of his Provincial Governors, be commanded to be slain; so as neither did the excess of *Volutucry* qualify his Cruelty, nor his Cruelty binder in curb his *Volutucry*.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horle, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was persuaded, that, had they not altogether despair'd of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the virtue of him whom they had slaughtered. The ord was, That *Cleander* and the other Chief, with fix hundred Soldiers by them employed, were deliver'd over to the Hang-man: every one rejoicing that the Ice of the King was at last executed on the Ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the Coast, and made report of an Island rich in Gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commended to make some farther Discovery: which done, that they should enter the Mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylonia*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now call'd *Chiligras*, where he was presented with many rich Gifts by different *Orfmes*, one of the Princes of *Perfia*, of the race descended of *Cyrus*. But because *Babylonia*, an *Emmet* in especial favour with the King, was neglected, he not only practis'd certain loose Fellows to visit against *Orfmes*, that he had robbed *Cyrus's* his Tomb, for which he was condemn'd to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caus'd *Phradatus* to be slain; suspecting his greatness. *Capere* (saith *Curcius*) esse *propter ad reprehendenda supplicia, item ad deterrendo crimina*: He began bind longly to lead bound, and to believe false reports. It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing Cruelty is more fearful than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived three score and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his Country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-thewing *Alexander's* death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he Married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giving her younger Sister to his beloved *Ephestion*, and four younger other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains. There were six thousand Guests invited to the Feast, to each of which he gave a Cup of Gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young Soldiers out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the Monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and six thousand hired Soldiers, but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these Forces and Treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all submitted themselves, (except the *Athenians*) though they relolv'd that it was a manifest preparation towards their Bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had relolv'd to send into *Macedon* all those old

Souldiers which could no longer endure the Travel of War, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. Hufed many Orations to fasciate them, but it was in vain during the Tempest of their Fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine thread, when they have tumbled a while, so are the unconfidant multitude easily conducted when their first Passions are evaporate. With such as were licensed to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his Cup, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to lend him after *Parthia*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant; but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and undaunting, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a Journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephistemon*, whom he favoured most of all men, died. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss; hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand Talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gain-say) *Antipater*, by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Tella*, who waited on *Alexander's* Cup, gave him Poison, *Thesphalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking Feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his Cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few days.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good by making their Ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perfwaded that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and verue of the Prince, and his Liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms twelve years, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgot the Art of Obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traytor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parthia*, *Cyprus*, and *Callisthenes*, having been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great Government in *Asia*: the old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII. Of Alexander's Person and Qualities.

Howsoever it were, *Alexander's* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his Fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he thought do when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than abundant, to buse his brains withal. That he was both learned, and a lover of Learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His Liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his Servants, He, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionate to his Fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept; but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Amintia vox vi-
detur & regia, cum sit fidelissima. Nihil enim per se
quingnam decet. Refert quid, cui; quando; quare;
ubi, &c. sine quibus facti rationum confabrit; habetur
personarum & dignitatum proportio; & item fit ubique
virtutum modus, æque peccat quod excedit; quam quod
deficit; it seems a brave and Royal speech; whereto
indeed it is very foolish: For nothing simply considered by
it self bestems a man: We must regard what, to whom,
when, why, where, and the like; without which con-
siderations no act can be approved. Let *Homer* be pro-
portioned unto the Persons; for whereto virtue is ever
limited by measure, the excess is as fault as the defect.*

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it felt: not much to be admired; For I am told that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that verue with the hardiness of Thieves, Ruffians, and Mastiff Dogges. For certainly it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who have bought their glory with so great destruction, and effusion of Blood, I think him far inferior to *Cæsar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any Warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was ever encountered with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage; both of Weapons and of Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their Necks to the Yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgment of them. *Quod non minus
fuerit periculum quam inundatio, quia planum
omne periculum est, quam conflagratio quia magnus pars
animantium exurit; That they were no less plagues to
mankind, than an overflow of Waters, drowning all
the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great
part of living Creatures is scorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of ARIDÆUS.

§. I.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only Eye. For, that which is reported in Fables of that great Cyclops, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance inefficual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the Divine Ordinance) were, partly the uncertainty of Title to Succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn Pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his Heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own Fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) Governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, not rendering it unto *Amintas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing upon him in Marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himself: *Amintas* never attempting ought against *Philip*, though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his Reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole Issue of his Marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereto, than either *He* or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbid the Reign of Women. But the excellent verue of those two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their Posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had Issue by none of the principal of them. *Bastine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly Married) was left by him great with Child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Bar of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexander's* Children.

Cleopatra, the Sister of *Alexander*, Widdow to the King of *Egyptus*, and *Aridæus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had Married the Lady *Eurydice* before man-

tioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custom had made that Sex incapable of the Sovereignty; *Aridæus* (besides his Bastardy) was neither for Person nor Quality fit to Rule as King; yet upon him the Election fell, but slowly, and (as happened often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing will in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what came next to hand.

Proton (soon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, King *Alexander's* Children, was of opinion, that the Rule of all should be given to the Captains, that going for Law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Proton* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but repud of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Antiochus Proton's* Mother, delivered her in Marriage to *Lagus*, being great with Child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those differences, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to reduce their quiet with subjection to one, deservin regard by his Blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himself; and therefore gave such counsel as fired his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it. For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexander's* empty Chair, as *Proton* had conceived the form of their consultations, or to let in the Chair such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. Alio the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspirers, do often take check by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have failed with *Proton* and the rest, when *Antiochus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the words of *Alexander*; saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his Ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposed of his own purchases; and those tokens of *Alexander's* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of thers might be undined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged

urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the Estate Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal Blood; yet his Birth gave him not much Reputation, as the great Favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially fining the Death of *Ephelion* (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth might well be commended, as a good man of War; and one that had given much proof of his private Valour. But very furly he was: which quality (joined with good Fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true Name *Pride*; and rewarded with Death.

In the present business, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to have the Acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the Sentence of *Aridæus*, he would needs counterfeite Modesty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have envied him, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Melager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute Behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the Souldiers ought to be Heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing flow, to share it. This disturbed all the Constidation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoyl thronged about *Melager*.

§. II.

The election of *Aridæus*, with the Troubles thereabout arising; the first division of the Empire.

DURING this uproar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Melager* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers Name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander's* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this Election, but in vain; for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hor-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontas* his Protectors. But this Child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with six hundred men, and *Pholomy* with the King's Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander's* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Melager*, who carried the new King about whether he lifted, easily brake in upon them, and informed them to accept *Aridæus* for their Sovereign Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leontas who was of the Royal Blood, a goodly

Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the Horfe, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his Guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any Commotion, that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Melager*) commanded or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure Executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honest rather than came; being sorry of their bad Enterprize. Upon the news of this Attempt the Camp was in an uproar, which the King seeking to pacify, wanted Authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesy. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiction made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprize, which he imputed to *Melager*; abandoning the furest of his friends, to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, until the King by offering to resign his Estate unto them, renewed out of their piety that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas having now joyed himself with *Leontas*, kept the Fields, intending to cut off all provision of Victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles; they requiring to have the Authors of Sedition given up into their hands: the King, that *Melager* might be joyned with *Leontas* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the King's desire. *Melager* should have done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his Head, were not like the day following to give him a principal Place among them, without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of Treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protected where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexander's* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the Arteries. False Reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Melager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true Friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such Authors of Discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of Peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a general Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers of lending) in presence of the Army. The Plot was mischievously laid: Had *Melager* given way to sedition Rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a fower of dissention; and thereby with publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redress of these Disorders, he hastened his own ruine, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many Ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horfe-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian Foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at advent-

ture:

ture: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great Barrels of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Melager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horfe and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no lessing paltime nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the Horfe-men: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his Enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before he had fought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Melager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the Foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King who should have defended them, and of their affrighted Companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Melager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first Constidation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial Friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and flew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a *Vizier*, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the Forces remaining with him. Then were the Funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose Body having been seven days neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no sign of poyson appearing, how greatsoever the suspicion might be. The charge of his Burial was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly Shew, making a stately Chariot in which the Corps was laid; many Coarces of his Friends being laid in the ground, before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building in *Egypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Laman War.

WHILE these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noble-men, and inferior to none of *Alexander's* Followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were banished in Greece with a War, which the *Abians* more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander's* Life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his Death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greeks (few excepted) should be restored unto their former Places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, and therefore thought fit to provide, that in every City he would have a sure Party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he won by this proud Intjunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet

not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open Tyranny. The *Abians* greatly decayed in Estate, but retaining more than was needful, of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Abians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justify by Reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the *Abians* gave secret Instructions to *Loebenes* a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own Name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Loebenes* to do: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian War in poor estate, as defrauded of their Pay by the Captains. Of these he gathered up eight thousand, when the certain News were brought of *Alexander's* Death: at which time the City of *Athen* declared it self, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians, for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Loebenes* drew in the *Abians*, and some other Estates, gave Battle to the *Bactrians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing to fall in Reputation, and so strong in Adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to fend into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, thurning or pursuing their desires at off, which deserve all moral wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burdened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into Macedon; which he then feared as Death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his Life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into Macedon to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of Macedon and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published, found much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches justifying his own jealousy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander's* Lieutenants had escaped with Life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian Expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the King's rigor was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having fate Victory ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiors, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the King's Death by poyson, given by his Son *Isolus*, *Alexander's* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of Revenge, which was cruelly performed by his Son *Cassander*: great cause of much fear he had, which I note in this place as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At

At the present *Craterus* was lying near, and all the Captains of Companies being sent for, solicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse; which *Mistur* was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into *Asia*. The *Theffalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best Horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave Troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these Forces did *Antipater* in *Theffaly* try the fortune of a Battle with *Leophanes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his Enemies power and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checked at the first) than presuming on his own strength. For *Leophanes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand Foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of Horse he brought into the Field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Theffalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the Field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country: therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a Siege. Thicker did *Leophanes* follow him, present him Battle again, and upon the refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable Enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athenians*.

§. IV.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

King *Ardenas* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the Marriage of *Cleopatra*, the Sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his designs.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that Name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his Forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Artilla* Sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persians*; but what Fortune took from them at one time, Virtue restored at another, and their faithful Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal period of to great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persian* form. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to

account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdom, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* Conquest, and for his own particular to have one opportune place of free retreat, under the government of a steadfast Friend. Therefore he entered *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the Field thirty thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) won the Victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the Victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* Prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon: and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his Forces he had committed to *Pythion*; rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most afflicted. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greeks*, rebelling in the high Countreys of *Asia*. Above twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were full weary of their unpleasant Habitations, and the rude People, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the present Troubles to seek unto themselves a better Fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his own, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the Sword, giving the spoils of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoined it unto *Pythion's* Captains (his own Creatures) that they should see this Command executed. These Directions for use of the Victory might have proved needful; so uncertain was the Victory itself. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the Fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a Hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Pythion*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their Lives and Liberty, under condition of laying down their Arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Master of these Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own Power: all Power being then valued by strength in Followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thousand Foot, and eight thousand eight hundred Horse, besides these new Companions, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the Field: but in true estimation, all the greatness whereof *Pythion* might think himself assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the Letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business: and by virtue of the Precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselves; leaving *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of Marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himself Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for fear of opposition. How it succeeded will appear, when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

§. V.

§. V.

The process of the *Lamian* War.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself without Succours from his Friends in *Asia*. Those Helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leophanes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of Reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of Victory do seldom limit their Desires. *Leophanes* would him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the Extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of Victuals. In this fighting War, the *Ætolians* (whether weary of lingering still at a Siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and re-they returned into their own Country. Their departure left the Trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fallly out upon his Enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leophanes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved; their Victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open Fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus* who was nearest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, against *Seuthas* their King, who brought into the Field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus* not without loss had gotten one Victory, yet the Enemy abounding in multitude felt not the Blow so much as might abate his Courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater's* Friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the Journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which Letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his Life. *Antipholus*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leophanes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the Siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in Horse, by the odds of two thousand *Theffalians*; in other things he was equal to him; in cause he thought himself superior; in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he won a great Victory (chiefly by virtue of the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly was driven into a marshy piece of ground, where he found his Death, which desperately he had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his Nativity. He was the first of *Alexander's* Captains which died in

Barrel, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day the *Athenians* did never any thing fuitable to their ancient glory. The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the Fight, and too proud to fly. They betook themselves to high grounds, unfit for service on Horse-back, and so abode in fight of the Enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the Enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another Barrel. But full *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage: which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the Enemy to be vanquished. This wretchedness (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the Victories by Land were much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the work.

But now the fatal Captivity of *Greece* came on, of which the never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great Marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Theffaly* joyned himself with *Antipater*. The Forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand Horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in Horse, in Foot eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antipholus* labour to avoid the necessity of a Barrel, until such time as the Towns considerable should return unto the Camp those Bands which had straggled from it. But those Companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the Victory: for the *Theffalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their Barrels (overlaid with multitude) retire unto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the Field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of a hundred and thirty men, they had purchased only the death of some five hundred Enemies. Yet hereof was great use made. For the *Greeks*, as never subject unto the full Command of one General, and being every one desirous to preserve his own Estate, and City, concluded to make a Treaty of Peace with *Antipater*; who being at a subtil Artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but would every City to deal apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greeks* choosing rather to abide the coming of their Assailants, whose unreasonable carelessness betrayed the Cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Theffaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other men unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present Calamity.

§. VI.

Of the Peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his Death.

THE *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed feverally, and sued for Peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this Tumult; and their fear was not great; the Seat of the War being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their Imaginations; who fate still at *Athens*, devoting upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their doors, before their Confultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friends. All that remained was to send Embassadors desiring Peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chief of this Embassy; *Phocion* as the most honourable; *Demades* as a strong Persuader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for Wisdom, Gravity of Manners, and Virtue; but all these Ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the Pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians* that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to de-fray the Charges of the War past, to pay a Fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the Popular Estate, committing the Government of the City to those of most Wealth, depriving of the Right of Suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of Riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the Name and form of a Democracy. But the rascal Multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their Livings out of the common Troubles, being now debarred from hearing Offices and giving their Voices, cried out that this was a mean *Oligarchy*, the violent Usurpation of a few inchoating upon the publick Right. These turbulent Fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That War to them was Peace, and Peace War) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others to be slain. Had the Death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendered their Judgments to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such Grace and Reputation do the learned Arts find in all civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had been Sanctuary in the Temple

of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswade him to leave the place, but not to prevailing he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite as it had been to write somewhat, secretly took Poyson which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last Execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some Valour in him, who was otherwise too much a Coward in Battel, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved Money well, and had great sums given him by the *Persians*, to encourage him in finding Work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (methinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his Country, great rewards, for speaking such things as tended to his Countries Good; which he did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his Death can endure no honourable, though true mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipater*'s purpose to have done him great Honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast Enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief Command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a virtuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the Times; by which Commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this Peace, which (though grievous to Freedmen, yet favourable to the Vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

§. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Ætolian Wars into Asia. The Grounds of the first Civil War between the Macedonian Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their Friendship with a new Alliance, *Craterus* taking *Philis*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose Poverty was not so easily daunted, as the Luxurious Wealth of the more Powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many Places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their Goods as they most esteemed, and of their People as were least fit for War, with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obtrusity did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the Places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their Victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all Passages, and utterly debarred them of Relief; then were they put to a miserable Choice; either to descend from their strong Holds and fight upon equal Ground with unequal Numbers, or to endure the Miseries of Hunger and Cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*: who incited by the loss of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn Enemies in Places

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which might give confidence to Rebellion. In cafes of extremity, much fineness of Wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want Meat; but their Enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their Courage. For such news came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giving them whatsoever Conditions they would ask; yet with purpose to call them to severe account: yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by Captivity, when once they should have settled the Affairs of *Asia*, as they hoped and desired. But of mens Purposes God is the Disposer: in whose holy Council it was ordained that this poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the Proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open Gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the Reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an Introduction to all the Civil Wars ensuing.

The Grounds of the *Asiatick* Expedition, which did set the World in an Up-roar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexander*'s Captains the mightiest in Reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient Precedency, and the present Rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*: The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been, whom the advantage of his Prefecture at the Kings Death did make equal, or superior to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were to have conformed with these two, and to have been with them a third Partner in the Government of all: to which purpose he entertained the Discourse of Marriage with one of *Antipater*'s Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that Gale of Wind which bore him up, he began to take Wing and soar quite another way. *Antipater* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the Title of that Majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the desire to seem terrible being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, as may dazzle the eyes of the Beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the Sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeited *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the Children sold for Slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trual they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their Houses and set fire to the Town on fire, into the Flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the Walls.

These Exploits being performed, the Army had no other Work than to sift the Ashes of the burnt City for Gold and Silver; but *Perdiccas* had busi-

ness of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their several Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his Forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the Seat of his Ancestors, and Head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his *Viceroy* (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding Authority, the March with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good Title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the Power of *Ptolemy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with Love of the People; yet if the business prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolemy* would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonius* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busy headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonius* was as good a Man of War, of as deep a Judgment, as high a Spirit, and as great Undertaking as any of *Alexander*'s Captains. His employments had been less than some of theirs, which made him also less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs; for he valued himself by his own Worth, not by the Opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye eyed into the demeanour of *Antigonius*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, caused him to be charged with such Accusations as might suffice to take away his Life, especially by a Judge that sought his Death. This device *Antigonius* would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himself and his son *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such Tidings as finished the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonius* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their own danger: so his flight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his Intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the Sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at Home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolemy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without content of the chief Citizens; and now in the midst of these Garboils he celebrated the Funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good will and many Partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas His Voyage into Egypt, and his Death.

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main Power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolemy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his use,

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against

against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Euphrate*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Protlomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Protlomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is that he took a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Protlomy by his sweet Behaviour allured many to his Party, without help of any bad Arts. *Pedricas* contrariwise was full of Infolvency, which never failed to be rewarded with Hatred; that is truly defined. An Affection founded upon Opinion of an unjust Contempt. The whole Story of his proceedings in *Aegypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his Followers, and wasted them in hard Enterprizes without success. His most forcible Attempt was upon a little Town called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Protlomy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gave the Foil to *Pedricas*, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement, but vain Assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Pedricas* made an other Journey (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nilus*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his Army into an Island where he meant to incamp. The Current was strong, the Water deep, and hardly fordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the Passage, to break the violence of the Stream, and his Horse-men beneath it; to take up such as were carried away by swiftnels of the Water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further Bank, the Channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former Companies had waded up to the Chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by rising of the Water, or flitting away of the Ground (the Earth being broken with the Feet of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must re-pass again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the Enemy, and could not be relieved by their Fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable Spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim recovered the Camp, many were carried down the Stream, and driven to the contrary Bank, where the fell into the hands of their Enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their General, giving liberty to their Tongues, which long time had concealed the civil thoughts of their Hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Protlomy*, which did fire them in an Up-roar. *Protlomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell in to his hands alive, but performed all Rights of Funeral to the dead Carcasses, which the River had cast upon his side; and finally, sent their Bones and Ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mummy, thinking it unreasonable to make War upon so virtuous and honourable a Person, to fulfil the Pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like Slaves. The Sedition growing strong, wanted on-

ly a Head, which it quickly found. *Pythos* was there, who inwardly hated *Pedricas*, for the Disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement after the Victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Pythos* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governor of *Media*; he had followed *Pedricas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he required. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry, (the Foot-men having declared themselves before) he entered the Tent of *Pedricas*, where, without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and flew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning Authority of *Pedricas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure Master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Protlomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he executed himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the War, and was easily believed: the Favour of the Army being such toward him, that needs they would have made him Proprietor in the room of *Pedricas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one, that would fick to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Protlomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable Charge to *Pythos*, and to *Aridaeus* the Captain, who having had some Companies of Souldiers to furnish with their attendance the Solemnities of *Alexander's* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Pedricas*.

In the midst of these busineses came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three days sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Pedricas*, as had caused both his private Maligners to continue his open Flatterers, and his open Enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

Before we proceed in the relation of things, it is meet that we speak of those busineses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Pedricas* was occupied in the *Aegyptian* Wars. *Alcetas*, the Brother of *Pedricas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Pedricas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made far answer, that he would not; alleging the backwardness of his men to bear Arms against so great a Person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes*, discovering through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that

commonly are lost, when bellowed upon arrogant Creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his Jurisdiction, about six thousand Horse, giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need: For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellepont*) for the invasion of his Provinces, he would *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him Battle. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For though his Foot-men, being all *Macedonian*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Bat-tles: yet were his Horse driven out of the Field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* Foot-men, to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their Oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their Society, who contrariwise offered himself, as a mean of reconciliation, between *Pedricas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withal his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these Negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater* and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which foolish railing they laughed) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won, for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much, as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexander's* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themselves to the Persian fashions of Garments, and Customs, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia* with discontented Eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their Native Country.

So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Pedricas* at bay, and to join with *Protlomy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* retreating (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-advised Enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battle, yea, without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such as much exceeded his own in Foot-men, but was inferior in Horse-men) and thought it more unseemly to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to

him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation (of all courtes else) taught him, and wife managing, prosperously accomplished. He gave our reports that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to join with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be defided and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain Field, whilst they valiantly fought in his Quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the Enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that would have regarded him had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Perfians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Pedricas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should run upon the Enemy, and give him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his Battle, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the Enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long Journeys, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful view of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as Enemies) to discover himself to his old Friends and fellow-souldiers, of whom he could fee none. *Phenias*, a *Tenidian*, and *Arabacatus*, a *Perfian*, had the leading of that side, who mindful of their instructions, began to give upon him with such countenance, as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight and win the day, and take the spoil to themselves. But the Bear whose skin he sells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battle was fought gave most advantage to the Horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts; especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their Bridges, grappled so violently together, that their Horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his Sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal Enemy, whose revilings he required, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous, had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the foot, and seek shelter behind the battels of their Force. They were nothing hotly pursued: For *Eumenes* pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed, but found accompanied with the same Fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in Person. *Craterus* had gallantly bound himself

himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Antipater* and *Phenice*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his Honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or more. Otherwise it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Nectolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he sought to preserve his Reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his Horse, or his falling from his Horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a Treaty of Peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by Night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battle fought within ten days of the former war to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Soldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heaviness. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoil of such Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a guard for defence of his Person. Others were not so easy to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas* hated him for his faithfulness, as greedily, as they thought that he would hate them for their falshood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die; but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queen, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his Office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Python and *Arideus* being chosen Protectors of King *Arideus*, and the Children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Asia* the Less, conducting the Army through *Syria*. Of these two *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, Wife to King *Arideus*, was come to her Husband, a Lady of a Masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which Fortune had laid upon her foolish Husband, being due to her own Title. Her Mother *Cyna*, Sister to *Alexander* by her Father *Philip*, was Married (as hath been shewed) to *Antipater*, who was right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philip's* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a Warlike Woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander's*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria* Queen of the *Phry-*

gians, a *Virago* like unto her self, had slain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the same unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Soldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her Education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so that *Python* had some purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom; (as once he had sought to do) or whether the Queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of Rule caused her to quarrel with him, quarrel she did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Army having shaken off such a rank-ranker as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himself upon his Office, took upon him to give directions in the King's Name, which the Queen did oftentimes controul, using the same name, with more Authority, and better liking of the Soldiers. *Python*, facing this, would needs resign his Office, whether upon weariness of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worsted man in the Camp, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his Authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now she thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Soldiers disappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexander's* Captains then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord save only the King their Sovereign. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seem) by three things: the apparent weakness of her Husband, the growth of *Alexander's* Children, who (though born of outlandish Women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightiness of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand arrived in few days at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices, as *Perdiccas* had done; he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antipater* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Syria*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, wins a Battle of Eumenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

Here begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years overgrowing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alexus* the Brother, and *Aristus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army employed in the Publick Service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business.

business. The first of these which he undertook was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alectus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unfavourably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all ways of corrupting his Soldiers, tempting first the whole Army with Letters; which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains, as he thought most easy to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelessly to himself, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his Enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good Fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his Treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the Treason which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented Battle to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof, *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traitorous practice brought upon him, pursued the Villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the Troups of *Antigonus*, and boast of his Treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that Battle, which disabled him utterly to keep the Field, and left it very hard for him to make safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his Enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory to get possession of the dead Bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass returned to the place where the Battle had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Soldiers apart, raising up heaps of Earth as Mountains over them, and to went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit; so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their Carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable Friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and laden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long Service, all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burthen to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to flee to the Mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom Authority could not have restrained) by this slight, letting them to bait their Horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtship, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their Wealth, and make their Children Slaves, and to ravish their Wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoided those precious Fetters, which would have hindered his speedy flight. He told them true: For *Eumenes* did not only think all Carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more trouble-

some than available, in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred Horse, and two hundred Foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*; where again, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fort in the borders of *Lycania* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable; and so well situated and stored with all Necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his Friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him Pardon, and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipater's* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the Siege, took his Journey into *Pisidia* against *Alectus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alectus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, lo were they too adventurous in fighting at the first fight, upon all disadvantages; and their folly was attended with futable event: *Attalus* with many principal Captains was taken; *Alectus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort was toward him so vehement, that stopping their Ears against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: For the Governors of the Town, having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to fall out; and using the time of advantage, they with their Servants did set upon *Alectus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead Body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without Burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the Carcass with solemn Funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own Town, in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality: but to make an able General, one verue, how great soever, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Protony wins Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Antipater.

Whilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Protony* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phoenicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant thither with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* Prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Soldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonos* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexander's* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous Insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had flired in the Quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon* *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the Youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his Death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Protectorship*. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having always travelled in the great Affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the Successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a fickle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophical behaviour; not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexander's* Mother, whom after the death of her Son she compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermeddling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no Woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this Precept was soon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

Of *Polyperchon* who succeeded unto *Antipater* in the *Protectorship*. The Insurrection of *Cassander* against him.

Polyperchon was very skilful in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that Occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he underwent, either Nature had not given him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally, than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than to Command in Chief. At the first entrance upon the Stage he called to Council all his Friends, wherein, for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexander's* Mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or easy to be retained about the Person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give Authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the bounds of Duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and our of fight, whilst present mischief lay unregarded in their bosoms. *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his Father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the Quality of himself and *Polyperchon*, as was in their Fortune.

He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the Title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-Master, or Lieutenant General to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the Forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal Authority, in those Common-wealths, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains by whom their Faction was upheld; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters performance. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendered him such courtship, as was due only to her Husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open Rebellion, because he saw *Polyperchon* much revered among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him before he could have made head. Therefore he made show of following his pleasures in the Country, and calling many of his Friends about him, under pretence of Hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business were set on foot; and to do this, Opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolemy* had by fine force, without any Commission, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonos* upon the first news of *Antipater's* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a Civil War; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed wisely. That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched Messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellepont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much persuasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonos* coveted nothing more, than to find *Polyperchon* weak by raising some Commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him that *Ptolemy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonos* on the other side repayed him with the same coin; saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means leading to their several ends.

§. XIV.

§. XIV.

The unworthy counsels held by *Polyperchon*, for the keeping down of *Cassander*.

Great necessity there was of timely provision. For *Polyperchon* needed no other Instructions to inform him of *Cassander's* drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonos* and *Ptolemy*, to the strengthening of Rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands *Cassander* had committed the supreme Authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassander's* Friends, and to raise up many Enemies to him in all Quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to dishonour the Father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? or what could be said in their defence, who fought to destroy many worthy men, Friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private Enemy, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans Body, through sinews newly illing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in Bodies politic, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Herby it comes to pass, that contrary Religions are invited to help against neighbour Princes; bordering Enemies drawn in, to take part in Civil Wars; and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious Friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; she hath taught the Art to offer it self unto manifest loss in defence of the Head: they are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The Decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain show of liberty, ran under the King's Name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his Pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such Directions as *Polyperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great Commotions raised in Athens by *Polyperchon's* Decree. The Death of *Phocion*.

Nevertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the Place, and *Menicles* (that was slain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way grateful to the Citizens, who soon after hearing the news of *Antipater's* Death, cried out upon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that Accident, and might by advertising them in due time have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these Exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the Instructions which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some Companies into *Piræus*, and fortify that also, which was the principal Haven, against the high Town. How to accomplish this he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. The day desired him to come unto their Council, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the King's Proclamation; whither upon *Phocion's* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they urged him first of all, to make them Masters of their own, which how to use they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercyllus*, a Captain following *Polyperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* Prisoner. But *Phocion* who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politic dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and entrenched himself therein: to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after, with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias* taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor*

honourable than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the Negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to be well agreed with Antigonus, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the Oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay encamped before *Nova*, liked his Words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the Children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their Adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governours of Provinces, behaving himself according to the Authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his Proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protectorship*, which the old man doing on his Death-bed bequeathed unto him as a Legacy, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the *Luxurianship* of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his Death? To give a fair colour to his Ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three-score thousand Foot-men, ten thousand Horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Governour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and fought to have won *Cyzicus*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Aridæus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent Forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such Companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like Fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and fought the like remedy of his Fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good Words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes, Eumenes having Authority from the Court, raises great War against Antigonus, in defence of the Royal House.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* the less, was able to have entered *Macedon*, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbore to do, it proceeded (as may seem) for some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousy in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polyperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation; It would ask more time than he could spare; and the Envy which followed the *Protectorship* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought

rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make War upon him in defence of the Royal House, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his Course, and with an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had Commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make War upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings Treasure as much as he should need. Other Letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyropides*, or Silver-shielded Bands, Commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old Followers gathered together two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, before this Authority was given him; but now he purposed with all the strength that he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal Blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*, and in the mean time, to give her his advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her, for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his Ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the War to a good issue; which done, he promised that his Faith and Care should not be wanting to the Seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble Men, in whom *Alexanders* Mother, Wives and Children, might repose firm Confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a Stranger to the *Macedonian* Blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His Reputation was no more than his own Verace had made it; his Followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Perfia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the Enemies that pursued his Heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Aridæus and Euridice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

NOW, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new Face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal House of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses which overthrew most of them, and out of their Ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the Faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main controvercie of Title to the Crown, whereupon all other Quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polyperchon

Polyperchon desirous to continue long in Office, for a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly his intent, and meaning nothing less than to order her Husband serve as a Slave, keeping the *Thracians* warm, till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the Memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger which his Family had been through *Alexanders* Malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his Head against a Wall, for desiring one that adored him after the *Perfian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him resolve, both to suppress the Lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wife, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Phlomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pytho and *Seleneus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their Neighbours. Against these, *Peneceus* and some others with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them, who propounded to himself great matters which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with Srep-dames) hated the Children of her Husband by their own Wives. It was thought that she had given Poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his Life, had much impaired both his Body and Wits. Now the considering that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should, and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*; thought it the best way to join with *Polyperchon*, and set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her Kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polyperchon*, who joining with her, entered into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self, by Entreaty, Gifts and Promises, drew to her Party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until the thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her Husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke Stricken, by the Revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious Reigns of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any Weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding herself thus forsaken, fled towards *Zimphopolis*, but was intercepted and made Prisoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without Blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear Arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her,

whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridæus* and his Wife in a close Room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them through a little Hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear left the People should have commiseration of him that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who took away his Life by cruel Torments: to *Eurydice*, she sent a Sword, a Halter, and a Cup of Poyson, willing her to choose the Instrument of her own Death, who praying that the like Pretensions might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her Neck to the Halter, having spent her last Curles not in vain: *Alexander* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his Friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His Brother *Idæus* that was already dead, but buried, the accused of Poysoning to *Alexander*; and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his Bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians*, wondering at this Fury, began to condemn themselves, and the Folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his Death-bed, called this outrageous Woman to the Government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias.

† I.

The great Expedition of Cassander: Olympias sends her self into Pydna, where Cassander besieges her: Aëtiades, King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forsaken, and banished by his own Subjects.

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnese*; whether when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staid to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his Associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return, and so in all haste he took his Journey toward *Macedon*, carried head-long with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Straights of *Thermopylae*, in favour of the Queen and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many Ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his Companies, appointing some under *Callar*, a subtil Captain, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay encamped near to *Perbehis*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her Dignity, took more care now to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn Progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*. Heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grand-mothers designation; who, during his Minority, kept the Sovereign Power in her own hands. But all this Pomp served to little use, against the violence of the Enemy, that soon presented himself before the Walls: only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would

from

from all parts arrive, to rescue Persons of their Quality. And hereof there soon appeared fair likelihood, which as soon vanished, and went away in smoke.

For *Lucius*, King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias* his Cousin, with whom *Dreadamia* his Daughter was also fast up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassander's* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his Authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in Foreign Countries, a banished man; his People joining with the Enemy, against whom he had led them forth to War.

Pydna in the mean time was closed up straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it; but it held out as long as any Food was left, no memorable Service being done there, whilst great Actions were managed abroad.

§. II.

A continuation of Olympias her story. Polyperchon defeated. Extream Famine in Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her Destiny, which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our Narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it, we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirus*. For *Calas*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with Money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other business of War, than a swift retreat. When *Harmis* had so far prevailed in the City, that the Horses were killed as a precious Food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and Sawdust being given to the Elephants for Provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave; (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themselves to the Enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and furnished them to *Cassander*. At length, when the Mortality was so great in the Town, that the living were even poisoned with the noisome scent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had; where, in her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of Refuge, to be unto her as a House of Torment,

and a Gaol, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition; and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having fetch'd her Galley out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as Master of her Body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Arifonius*, to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such Forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the success of some petty services wherein he had prevailed, began to promise himself great unhappiness. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassander's* favour, very earnestly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so; and presently after was killed by his private Enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek innovation.

§. III.

The death of Olympias, and her Condition.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her Friends, she her self was called into question, and accused in an Assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the Murders (they were styled in her Affliction, which in time of Prosperity she called Justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The Suit was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slain. But it was at *Cassander's* instigation; who (to hasten the Execution) sent her word that he would furnish her with a Ship and other Necessaries, to save her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was Daughter and Sister unto two Kings of *Epirus*, Wife and Mother unto two the mightiest Kings of that or many other Ages, a stout Lady, and of unrepentable Chastity; but her Ambition was boundless, her Hatred unappeasable, and her Fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse Conditions made her Husband seek other Wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two Children in her arms, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper Balon. For these things, her son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfill the rest of her wickedness; (which was his Justice upon the Adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own Head.

§. IV.

§. I.

Cassander celebrates the Funeral of Arifonius and Eurydice; and seeks to make himself King of Macedonia.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gave honourable Burial to *Arifonius* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking far into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Theffalonia*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip* by one of his Wives; that by her he might have some Title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane* and her young Son, to close

Prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And the better to increase his Fame, and purchase Love, he built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restoration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew to strong, that few remained Enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia* for less Titles, but larger Provinces, with greater Forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONUS got in Asia.

§. I.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joyned with him.

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Argraephides*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his Commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his Journey through *Cappadocia* and *Phenicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, usurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his halfe of passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readiness of the People to return to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The Captains of the *Argraephides* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might have more easily dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his Authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him in a Dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich Pavilion, wherein an empty Throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain Pride; but of their Faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings Warrant, which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but excepting against the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that

he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in such wise, that *Seleucus*, having in vain assailed to hinder him, by opening the Sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucester* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them; every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one Pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving Advice, and best able to Reward, by means of the Authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings Treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those who had most power to do good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, coming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with loss.

Antigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings Treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the

Enemies, with intent to give them Battle. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persepolis*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good: *Antigonus* kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it self, he was to pass over *Copates*, a great River, and not fordable, which he sought to do by small Vessels, whereof he had no great Force. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a Bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, to see their demeanour : and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drove them headlong back into *Copates*, wherein most of them were drowned ; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves Prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made *Antigonus* glad to fall off ; and the heat of that Country in the Dog-days, breeding Diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Pythion* with him ; (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the nearest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his Troops that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of *Eumenes* his cunning. A Battle between him and *Antigonus*.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his Associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him ; to which also the Captains of the *Argyrasides* or Silver-shields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw nearer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it ; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the Soldiers love to himself. *Eumenes*, perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good cheer, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orestes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himself : The purport whereof was ; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polyperchon*, to join with *Eumenes*. These news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey *Eumenes* ; by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment ; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter ; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take Battle in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to pro-

mise great rewards to the Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes* ; which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a Battle. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus* ; otherwise, he was inferior in number both of Horse and Foot by a third part. The Battle was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the Victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men, to fly far from their Carriages ; by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies ; which was accounted the sign of Victory ; for by he buried his own, and gave leave to his Enemies, craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of Victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Country round about ; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having carried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV.

Of divers Stratagems practised by *Antigonus*, and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

Thus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout Soldiers, and skillful Generals : but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equal Authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to repair himself, he could find no way fairer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his Enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if, he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passable. Another way fairer, and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forsook, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them defrised afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their ways end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming ; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they becook themselves to fight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him ; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some Companies of the readiest men, where-with he occupied certain tops of Mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus* : there he chose a convenient ground to incamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Army had been present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himself pre-

vented of his purpose ; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he began to turn aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no Enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him ; of whom he learned, that they had seen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the Hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these Troops with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business, and long time. All the Army was come, save only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, besides those Beasts, had no more than four hundred Horse-men in his Company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his Enemies, sent above two thousand Horse, and all his light-armed Foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his Carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could ; for his Horse-men being overlaid with multitudes were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who fare upon the Elephants, which way to turn them ; for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to require them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of Horse and Foot, that came unexpected to the rescue ; and charging the assailants upon the back, drove them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes* ; who though he knew not what his Adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to do : and therefore playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

§. V.

The Conspiracy of *Peucestes* and others, against *Eumenes* his Life.

By these means *Eumenes* won great Honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert General, and well worthy of the chief Command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much insufficiency, were so transported with envy, that they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief, contrived against worthy men, to their own pride, or some other ill deserving : For, should it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great virtues ; (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting, than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom to find good reason of the evil, done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than their virtue it self. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesy, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and

careful by all gentle means to win their love, that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his meek virtue that overthrew him, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain, before the Battle were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his directions. Of this Treason, he was quickly adverted by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discounting with himself of the Villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret : which done, he resolved many things in his mind ; being doubtful what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill-affected to the Royal Blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more fit number, than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore, either to lose the Battle willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common Enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last Battle between *Antigonus* and *Eumenes*.

The Soldiers, especially those old Bands of the Silver-shields, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the Victory, but only to bring them into the Field, and set them in array ; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Soldiers faces ; but the chief Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think upon being beholding to him for the Victory. Yet he ordered the Battle to well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joining, a Horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*. That their wickedness, in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain. For the Silver-shields were men of threescore or seventy years old, strengthened more by continual exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that Fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute Warriors, the most ancient and best regarded of all *Alexander's* Soldiers) grew very panish, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in Horse, which gave him cause of great hope ; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled Field. Placing therefore himself and

his Son Demetrius in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pyrrhus*, he did set forward courageously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Ptolemy*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his Battle, in the face of *Antigonius*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden, and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Pyrrhus*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the Fight, and make a leisureable retreat, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonius*, labouring to make himself Master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a Victory upon his open Enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false Friends.

The Foot-men of *Antigonius*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their own, not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonius*, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until such time as *Ptolemy*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himself out of the Battle, leaving his Companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonius* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so bear upon them, which came in his way, that the Victory hung a long time in suspense, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of Horses, Men, and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonius* finding this advantage, dispatched away some Companies of Horse, that passed undiscovers beyond *Eumenes* his Battels, and came to his Carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of Fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Ptolemy* retired himself no further than unto the Carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have surprized those which came to surprize them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonius* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way over-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his Companies in good order, to the other side of the Battle, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were

well contented to let him depart quietly, and withed not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the Carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went; whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Ptolemy* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the Fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own Goods, but to enrich themselves with the Spoils of the Enemies. *Ptolemy* not only refused to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonius* conceived hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking half his Horse-men, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Pyrrhus*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the Battle ended; wherein *Antigonius* had not so much the better in Horse, as the word in Foot: but the spoil which he got, by surprizing his Enemies Carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonius, and slain.

Eumenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the Enemy, that he had no power left wherewith to abide them in open Field, and was much less able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderness, over the high Mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing. *Ptolemy* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high-Countreys; and the Souldiers had no desire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their Goods. Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented unto traitorous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigonius*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those Bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonius*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their Goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their Services in the Wars of *Philip*, and *Alexander*.

Antigonius, as a subtil man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreaty perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the Messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make War against him. This Answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another Fight; in the midst of this goodly talk they leapt upon him, caught hold

of his Sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their ears against all persuasions, would not yield so far, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many Victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their Enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonius* was fain to send a guard of Horse-men and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered, whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few were they that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonius* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in great reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, *Antigonius* concluded, that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by Famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power to reverse the Sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to have him live his Friend) halfe of other business made him do it by the Sword.

To this end came all the Travels of the worthy General, *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain, to uphold the Family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable Examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his government of himself in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor Prosperity his circumspection. But all his Virtue, Industry, and Wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill, answered by *Galpar de Coligny*, Admiral of France, in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the Massacre of *Paris*; That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonius himself gave to the Body of *Eumenes* honourable Funeral; and rewarded the Traitor, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed to worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carry them into far Countreys, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his Friends and Kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beat upon the shoars of Greece and Macedonia.

§. VIII.

How Antigonius slew Python, and occupied Media. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himself Lord of Persia, carrying away Ptolemies.

The two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principal men intently bent unto the business ensuing. *Pyrrhus* began to consider his own deservings; for that the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonius*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easy to be purchased with gifts,

and therefore feared not to atlay them with great liberality. But in following this course, he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unfeared, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonius*, who (nothing like to *Pyrrhus*) dissembled his Indignation, and rebuked the Informers, as breeders of Diffusion between him, and his honourable Friend, unto whom he meant to commit the government of all those Countreys: his own business calling him into the lower Asia. These Reports, coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Pyrrhus*. By his greatness with *Alexander*, his Authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive War. But what need had he to use the Sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonius*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonius*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient Friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old Acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governour in Media, to order the Province; and a Captain, to suppress all Commotions: thinking belike, that the Power and Authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this, he marched into Persia, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to show how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Governours in all Provinces; leaving none in Office, that were not his own Creatures, excepting such as lay too far off to be dilogged easily.

Ptolemy, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived; having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and treated with goodly words of promise, that never took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his Friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his Enemy; after which he lived a contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon, by Antigonius. The great Riches of Antigonius.

Seleucus was the next in this Visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonius*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that strong Piece, and all the Treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonius* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the Place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear of good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the Treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the Persian Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up twenty five

thousand Talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if Riches were sufficient to Happiness. But large Dominion was the Mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Sovereign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of Love, and honoured with Presents, becoming the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great Gravity, as being due to him, and began to require an account of the Revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, that it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province which was given unto him, in respect of his many good Services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a Reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of Money, nor any other Necessity moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue as *Pytho* and *Peneustes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty Horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into

Protemius Dominions, desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his Masters, or at least his Equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his Flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without Batrel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence, and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many Benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Caldeans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in Batrel. Easy believers may give credit to this Tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Caldeans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent Pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his Journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings Treasures, and casting his Accounts, found his yearly Income to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Civil War between Alexanders Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.

§. I.

The Combination of Ptolemy, Cassander, and others, against Antigonus. Their Demands, and his Answer.

THIS great Riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus* had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their Practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their Love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold Answers which they made occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolemy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair Message. Therefore, as soon as the Season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoice at his Victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common Enemy, and the Honour that he had thereby gotten. In which War, so far as for as they being his Confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary Faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that Voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making

between them all an equal division of the Treasures that were in his hands (a thing easy to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the Rate of his new Purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellestons*, to *Lysimachus*; for whereas his own Dominions were to much extended Eastward by his late Victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolemy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common Friend, and Partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven to injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly Consent unto their Demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad Friends, for fear only, left it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them Work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no

part

part of his meaning to communicate with other men. Profits of that Victory, which he alone, without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their Governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the Council of Estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a Fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meer Bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those days command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equal share of my Treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his Enemies; which I did, by lending him an Army and Fleet, on confidence whereof, he now pretends to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complain of Wrong, that durst not stay to plead his Right? I did use him well; but his Conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justify. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolemy's* Proceedings; and after him, to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The Preparations and beginnings of the Wars.

WHEN the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he were entered into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolemy* to guard the Seacoasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also in charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurnished of Money, to draw Friends to his side, and raise up Troubles to his Enemies. Especially he laboured to make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than forewore his Journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent Commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid Post-Houses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any Power sufficient to maintain the Field.

Ptolemy lay in *Aegypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of all the People as their natural Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the People within obedience, than to confront a foreign Enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making Ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Teppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by Famine, to render it self upon composition, that *Protemius* Soldiers might depart with their Arms, which was permitted.

Ptolemy was not asleep whilst these things were

in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Aegypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His Forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain Field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his Enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all Quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred Sail along the Coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords, of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolemy*; the rest were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with Gold, but now redeemed by the *Aegyptian* with sharp Steel.

The same Commodity of Aid by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*), but not the Son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and learned Writer *Reimerus Reineccius*, he is by some over-sight counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolemy* and his Confederates, and busily employ in their Quarrel all his Forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous War, choosing rather to undergo trouble at home, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each Party sought to win the Assistance of Greece. Antigonus his Declaration against Cassander. Alexander the Son of Polyperchon revolveth from Antigonus, who had set him up.

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the People of *Greece*, whose Aid, which way soever it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the first *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his Treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himself again, and taking upon her Body the Title of Captain of *Peloponnesians*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, That *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close Prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* Wife, and his Son begotten on her Body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thestsalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a Match unfit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to join with him in Marriage. That in meer despite of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own Name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great Treason of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the Ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them

them to make a Decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute Liberty the Lady *Roxane* and her Son, and should yield Obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which Name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be restored into Freedom; this he did, not because he was careful of their Good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was persuaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardless of nothing but his own Benefit, would correct their Opinion, and think him the most faithful of all others to the Royal Blood. But concerning his Loyalty to the young Prince, the World was too wise to be deceived with vain flows. His undertaking for the Liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got easie belief, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Prology* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like Decree, in hope to win to himself that Valiant Nation, which afforded him far more serviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* five hundred Talents, willing him to fight the War on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appear, that on his side was meant nothing else than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassander's* men had, with much Blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary Faction; and he himself perceiving that they were more easily spoiled as Enemies, than retained as Friends, thought it the best way, to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of Gold, wherewith he was able, not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured: he thought it a good part of Wisdom, to surrender upon fair Conditions, that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he sent one to deal with *Alexander*, about the matters in controversy; letting him know that *Antigonus* was very skillful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were to wife, as to keep in his Purse the five hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*: provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all Confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithful League with *Prology*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, he might well periwade himself, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, to fill him; but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these Wars; among whose Followers it was not hard to discover the intent

(which he did not carry very secret) of making himself absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soon entreated to accept to good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that League, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject unto no mans Controul.

Howbeit this his Honour continued not long ere he lost both it and his Life together, by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in Battle by *Cratespolis*, *Alexander's* Wife, a discreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands Death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in Fight; and having by severity taught them Obedience, did afterwards contain her Army in good order, and governed those places that she held with the Love and Commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Ætolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Prology's Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time. Antigonus draws near to Greece.

Antigonus, when he found that with so much money he had only bought an Enemy, began to raise Troubles to *Cassander* and his other Adversaries in *Greece*, by stirring up the *Ætolians* against them; likewise he laboured to win to his Party the Islands in the *Greek Seas*, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with *Prology*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these Attempts had the success which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and always envying the greatness of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their Gains equalled not their Losses. *Cassander* was some of their own Countries; forsook the *Acarnanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Epirians*, whom he vanquished in Battle, to forsake their side, and bind himself to bear no Arms against *Cassander's* Friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*: to the Fleet of the *Rhodians* under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the Coast of *Asia* toward *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus*, marching on the Shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by *Prology's* Navy. *Polyclitus*, who in *Prologies* behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigoni*ans held, whom he very cunningly surprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the Enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Perilaus* falling, was taken Prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haste to help his Fellows that were on Land; but whilst he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that business, *Polyclitus* appeared at their backs, who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill Tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Prology* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in Person. But *Antigonus*

would not yield unto the Demands of *Prology*, to the Parly was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the War, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good success of his Affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make amends to *Prology* for his Losses in *Syria*. Likewise the Revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the Confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as also those petty Skirmishes, that had been in *Asia* the less, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him; and by the Troubles brought upon his Estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the loss of his Men, Money, and Ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his Nails that were left long enough, and would easily grow again; but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed upon a Limb of *Prology* his Enemy, and strengthened the Body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoise the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them that want no Money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his Enemies upon *Asia* the less; wherein, though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the People, being tied unto him by no Bond of Allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable Reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in Person, where his Affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his Absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains as Assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to Winter.

§. V.

How Lyfimachus and Cassander vanquished some Enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Asia and Greece: with the Rebellion of many Cities against Cassander.

The coming of *Antigonus* into those parts wrought a great alteration in the Process of his business thereabouts. For his Enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*; they themselves were held over-hardly to their own Work on Europe side. *Scutber*, a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with some Towns that rebelled against *Lyfimachus*, brought also the bordering *Sythians* into the Quarrel. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with Money and other Aid. The *Ætolians* likewise took Courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Assistant. But *Lyfimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return to their Duty.

He fought a Battle with the *Sythians*, and wild *Thracians*, and drove them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Scutber*; and following the heat of his Victory, slew *Pasarnias* in Battle; whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to Ranfome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like success had *Philip*, *Cassander's* Lieutenant against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes* that came to help them; and after the Victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Æacides*, that unfortunate King. Finally, he drove the *Ætolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as Prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authors of the Kings Restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful Travail; after which, they remained only Savers. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure won all *Caria* the whilst, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing Liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassander's* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land were by these means won to be his in true and vehement Affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness to give them the liberty indeed, which others promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good Will; but they were kept in by *Cassander's* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forraign Succour appeared. The Aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassander's* Departure, entred the Country; drove his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into League with their Lord; won the Cittadel of *Thebes*, and set the People at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old Ruines by the meer Power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some heinous Crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the Love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their Good; and rather to look forward upon those Hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable Nullity, that held them incapable of being any thing.

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great Battel at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus won, against Demetrius the Son of Antigonus.

As the preference or nearness of *Antigonus* gave life to his Affairs, so the lower *Alexa*, and *Greece*; to the designs of his Enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those Kingdoms. Whereas in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had over-topped them. The life of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavred between contrary Affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their Covenant with *Ptolemy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolemy*, in his own person, easily reduced them to a more failed order, putting some to death, carrying others away Prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran alongst the Sea-coasts, waiting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the Miseries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foot with him, because the busyness required expedition. But in vain did he see himself and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by launching out into the deep could in a short space delude the labour of so many days, if need had to be required. Answerable to the necessity of this Expedition was the fortune of the contrary of this certain, whether *Demetrius* or *Ptolemy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his Ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime Countreys; or make reward *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deserting a royal Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to choise out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his Companies, which were fitter for Service in the open Field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had scarce retired his Men and Horses in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolemy's* coming with a puissant Army, to give him Battel. Hereupon he called to counsel his principal Friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generals *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave life, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For *Demetrius* considering himself to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Father's Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in balance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Besides, he found he much insufficient. His men were better exercised than the Enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore persuading himself, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn his Victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Soldiers with hope of spoil and re-

wards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome Journey over the Defarts of Arabia.

Phrolomy and Seleucus issuing out of so rich a Province, as *Egypt*, came to well provided of all Necessaries, that their Army felt not any great Grievance of the evil way, when *Bartel* was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with those Beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Pallisado, lashed together with chains, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not seek to break up on it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their Forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate Services, by them performed that year, whilst the Enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain Journeys, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattled. The Fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part striving more to win honour, than to satisfy any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessity would needs fight a Battle with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this Fight she was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loss of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those Beasts were in that kind of War hardly to be refitted on plain ground, and perforce at the first they made great break amongst *Phrolomy's* men. Afterward seeking to spoil through the Pallisado, they were forely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lie upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own Places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strove so long in vain to make his merit abide, that he himself was likely to be lost; he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as *Acetes*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battle. A great part of his Carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his Company turned aside, hoping to save such Goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the Town. For whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the Streets with lumber Horses, and cloyed up the Gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others, to carry out what they had already loaded, *Phrolomy's* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their Goods and the City altogether.

This Victory reftored unto *Prodomy* the best part of *Syria*, a Province more caſſe in theſe Times to keep, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no Place offered reſiſtance. In *Calydny* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Towns held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Prodomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrry* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrry* by the *Garrifon*, falling to mutiny againſt their Captain; who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great

vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolemy*, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

*How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made him-
self Lord of many Countreys in the bigger Asia.
The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks, which
began with this Dominion of Seleucus.*

While *Ptolomy* followed his business with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length Master of the better part of *Alexander's* Purchases.

This Expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His Train consisted of no more than a number too small, to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needful, to make way into strong Places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the Walls. The Name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, withing them ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countreys, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by ease compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in space, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily Enemies, in his own Lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the Field, and try the matter by Fight. But the Treason of one principal man, who revolted to the Enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong Place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those Quarters. This Castle, be-like, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Macedonia* and *Babylon*.

Zenigum had bestowed in *Media* and *Perſia*, Forces convenient for defence of thoſe Provinces, that were the utmoſt of his Dominion. In theſe Countreys about *Euphrate* he had not done that like: for his own great Army lay between them and all Enemies. Thereſore when the Victory at *Gaza*, had opened unto *Sелеucus* the way into thoſe Parts, he found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſs. Having now gotten what he fought for, it behoved him to look how he might keep his gettings: for his own Forces were too ſmall, and his Friends weſſible able to lend him any more. That which his Friends could not do for him, his Enemies did. *Nicator*, to whom *Zenigum* had committed his Army in *Media*, joining unto himſelf ſome of *Perſia* and other Countreys, all needfull help came with ten thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, able to fave all from being loſt, or to drive *Sелеucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this Power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large

conquest of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Soldiers. Therefore when his Enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the Place where his Resistance was expected, into certain Marishes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nemour* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In return for this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival: the *Savages*, or Lieutenant of *Perfia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain, he himself was driven to flee for his life into the Defarts; and the whole Army yielded unto *Selencus*: whose gentle demourner, after the Victory, drew all *Media*, *Sylsiana*, and the neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord, without any further stroke of Armes.

This Victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new style, of *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an account much used by the *Jews, Chaldeans, Syrians*, and other Nations in those Parts. I will not make any long dissertation about the first year of this *Æra*. The Authority of that great *Astrologer Ptolemy*, from which, there is no appeal, makes it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth year of Nabonassar, was the first year of this *Æra*.

bannular, was the fourscore and two year of *Nabonassar*,
comp. Other Inference hereupon is needless, than *L. Gauricius*
that Note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of
these years was reckoned complete at Babylon, together
with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years
after Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Sa-*
turn, recorded by *Ptolemy*, agrees (as it ought)
the calculation of *Bursing*; finding the same Planet
to have been to placed in the Sign of *Virgo*, as the
Chaldeans had observed it, in the same year;
which was from *Nabonnassar* the five hundred and
nineteenth; from *Sileucum* the fourscore and two
year; and the last of the hundred thirty and se-
venth Olympiad. These Observations of the cele-
stial Bodies, are the surest marks of Time: from
which he that wilfully varies, is execrable. As
for such occurrences in History, and the years of
succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambigu-
ous, by reason of unremembered fractions) if they
seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material.
Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years
of the *Greeks*, were not reckoned in all Countreys
from one beginning; as plainly appears in the dif-
ference of one year, that is found between ac-
tions, related by the several Authors of the two
Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers ac-
counts. He that shall adhere to the time defined
by *Ptolemy*, may apply the other supputations
thereto, as being no farther from it, than a years
distance.

§. VIII.

How Ptolemy lost all that he had won in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had been subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty Enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill success.

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure, to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his Friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Proomy* could have spared him none at all, *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, having lost the Battel at *Gaza*, received from *Proomy* all his own Goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous message,

message, to this effect: That no person hated was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of Honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of *Protemius*, did kindle in *Demetrius*, an earnest desire of requiring him with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken Troops; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabout; and advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to lend a new supply, where-with he might redeem his Honour lost. *Antigonus*, upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, That the Victory, which *Protemius* was upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his Son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own Reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Protemius* hearing of *Demetrius* his Preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Cylogria*; thinking it enough, to send part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when their Forces were entire. This peradventure would have been sufficient, had not *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were already Master of the Field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless March, he took the lightest of his Army, and made his Journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any Battle, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Soldiers, and their Carriages all at once.

This Exploit served not only to repair the Credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined; but further it enabled him, to recompense the Bounty of *Protemius*, with equal Favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his Friends, accompanied with rich Presents. But neither was *Protemius* so weakened by this loss, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Protemius*; and therefore he fortified himself in Places of advantage: *Protemius* on the other side was loath to engage himself in an Enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole Estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing lost in his way towards *Syria*; whether he made all haste, not so much to relieve his Son, as to embrace him. For he rejoiced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquired himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late Victory, he brought such Forces, as might serve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred unto the good foundation, laid by his Son; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Protemius had now less reason, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have afflicted the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of Confolitation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains advised him to retire into *Egypt*; alleging many good Arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good success against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his Honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his Treasures along with him, but staying to dismember some principal Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easy was it in those Times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the Victory of *Alexander* had over-run, with so hasty a course, as gave him little leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himself, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot Contentions for superiority between the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus* between *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nineve*; the *Perfians*, and many Countreys; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in those people; which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered, by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their own Heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more strange; if we shall consider, how the several States of *Greece* (many of which had never possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather Friends than Servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countreys, had always been subject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords; whom the *Babylonians* and *Perfians* long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perfian* Empire: so that wanting within themselves all sovereign power, or high authority (the life and spirit of every Estate) they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perfian* *Satrapae*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many Ages been subject unto them, and scarce four years in quiet possession of their Enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible Name of that great Conqueror did cease to afflict them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new Purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may find no less reason to suspect the History, than Authority to confirm it. For we seldom read, that any small King,

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dom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made so entire a Conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion hath ensued, by the furor of Civil War among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Perfian* Empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are subject unto the like form of Government: the sum whereof is this. Wheresoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves; there is the conquest easy, and soon assured: Where an Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the *Turkish* Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader should prevail for upon *Turky*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: the whole Empire would quickly be won, and easily kept, without any danger of Rebellion. For the *Baishas*, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of private gain, should not countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a Conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children, though he further got the better part of the Countrey, and were by far the strongest in the Field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal Blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their several Countreys, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War, in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always fit them up and inflame them, so that until every one piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility, brought under or destroyed, the Victory were not complete, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth oftentimes make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such Affiliants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turks*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a Battle: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flee to the Enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold, or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not striven by desperate valour, against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joining themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subject unto them, by virtue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so

will it weaken both their power and their courage, in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* *Baishas*, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper Inheritance, and it is the proper Inheritance of the Subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the Picture of Slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Perfian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon the favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal Blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joined with *Darius*; these were men of Reputation in *Perfia*; but their Reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Perfian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did style themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves; it is easy to be discerned, in that example of Crusty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own Brother *Majestes*, which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapae*, or Governors of the Provinces, it is needless to cite Examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their Heads were taken from them at the King's will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Perfia*, may be added the general want of Liberty convenient among the people: a matter no less available, in making easy and sure the Conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Aepus* his Ass, did not care to run from the Enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes, are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke; nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gallois* bear such faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* Jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of tyrannous Oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexander*'s followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of these tameness, which we find in those that had been Subjects of the *Perfian* Kings, the Reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Perfians*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antiochus*

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gens sent part of his Army, thinking therewith to bring them under; or rather to get a rich booty. The Captain that he sent fell upon the Nabatheans at such time as they were busied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrrh, Frankincense, and other such Commodities. All, or most of these rich Wares, together with five hundred Talents of Silver, and many Prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold upon: for their coming was sudden, and unexpected. But ere they could recover Syria, the Nabatheans overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, only fifty Horse escaped. To revenge this loss, Demetrius was sent out with a greater power: yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of Water, and of all things Necessary. Therefore he was glad to make Peace with them, wherein he lost not much Honour; for they craved it, and gave him Presents. Returning from the Nabatheans, he viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphur. With this good Husbandry of his Son, Antigonus was well pleased, and appointed men to the work; but they were slain by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprizes, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against Ptolemy: when the news of Seleucus his Victories in the High Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it safe to transport the War into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the lower Asia should have been exposed to the danger of ill affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrius, with fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, was sent against Seleucus. These Forces being sent away, Antigonus did nothing, and his Son did less. For Seleucus was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare; neither did he get much, and therefore was fain to let out the bravery of his expedition by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his Enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the first brute; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of Necessaries should frustrate the Valour, that by length of time was like to become less terrible to the Enemy. Demetrius therefore, leaving behind him five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, rather to make shew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himself, with greater Forces, could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprize, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How ill the Hopes of Alexander was destroyed.

These ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual Travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold, were contented at length to come to an agreement; wherein it was concluded, That each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but mere desire of Empire had moved them to enter into the War, so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dullness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, Of retaining the Provinces which every one held, there were two Articles of the Peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour to the business: That the Son of Alexander by Roxane, should be made King, when he came to full Age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The advancement of young Alexander to his Fathers Kingdom, seems to have been a matter, forcibly extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose to make himself Lord of all. But this, indeed, more nearly touched Cassander. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother; neither did he keep them in so inalienable to their degree, but as close Prisoners, taken in that War, wherein they had seen the old Queen Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to have put them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of Peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander, who saw the Macedonians turn their favourable expectation towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned Antigonus, or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of Macedon; whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poor Office, of Captain over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under Antidoteus; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He in the mean time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greeks to their Liberty. This Liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse; but it never took effect. Antigonus held scarce any Town of theirs; Cassander occupied most of the Country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a Disturber of the common Peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between Euphrates and the Greek Seas, together with a great Army, and Money enough to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the Credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them in all puissance, Cassander's Friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not do with all: for where every one

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mans help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections, which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man; much less to the Son of an Asiatick Woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slain: raising thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to Age. Roxane was a Lady of singular Beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdiccas desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of Alexander, he had used the favour (if it were not love) of Perdiccas, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon Statera, the Daughter of King Darius, whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit Letter, in Alexander's name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, he did, by assistance of Perdiccas, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with Earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her Son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of Cassander, was not so much deterred in outward shew, as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their Estates, than such as might arise by chance of War; wherein every one perwaded himself of success, rather better than work. Hereupon all of them (except Lyfmachus and Seleucus, that had work enough at home) began to route themselves; as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own force. Antigonus his Lieutenants were busied in Peloponnesus, and about Hellepont, while their Master was careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the Liberty of Greece; yet did the same Argument minister unto Ptolemy matter of Quarrel, against both him and Cassander. Ptolemy complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into Cilicia, where he won four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his Enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the Coast of Asia, winning many places: and in that Voyage allured unto him a Nephew of Antigonus, (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his Services) whom finding shortly, as false to himself, as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greeks at liberty, appeared not so plain, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting Antigonus in Asia. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Prince, he made at the last an Expedition into Greece itself; where having set free some little Islands, and landed in Peloponnesus, he raised to great expectation of finishing the long desired work, that Cratesipolis, the Widow of Alexander, Polyperchon's

Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of Cicyen and Corinth.

Ptolemy had conceived a vain belief, that the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise up in Arms, whereby, with little labour, their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient Valour of that Nation: and their ill Fortune, in many likely attempts to recover Freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but far tidly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The Lacedemonians, about these times, began to fortify their Town with Walls; trusting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a Wall to their Town and Territory.

The Athenians were become as humble Servants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters; erecting as many Statues in honour of Demetrius Phalerus as there were days in their year. This Demetrius was now their Governour, and he governed them with much moderation; but in spite of other hearts, as being let over them by Cassander. By this base temper of the principal Cities, it is easy to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. Ptolemy could not get them to let their helping hands to their own good and to furnish him with the promised supplies, of Money and Victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thralldom; as judging the Commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the loss that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once Antigonus took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business, he changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with Cassander, he retained Syria and Corinth in his own possession.

Before the coming of Ptolemy into Greece, Cassander had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himself the Lieutenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponnesus, and about Hellepont; making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skillful practice, he freed himself from a greater danger; and made those Murders which he had committed from the less odious, by teaching his Enemies to do the like. Old Polyperchon, that had made so great a stir in the Reign of Antidoteus, did after the death of Roxane and her Child, enter again upon the Stage, leading in his hand another Son of the great Alexander, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was Hercules: he was begotten on Barsine, the Daughter of Artabazus, a Persian; but had been less esteemed than the Son of Roxane; either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which Perdiccas, and after him Olympias, did bear unto Roxane. At this time, the death of his Brother, had moved such compassion, and regard of his being Alexander's only living Child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which Polyperchon made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joined with this young Prince; yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him, that least ought, had not been most false. Cassander had raised an Army to withstand his entry into Macedon: but little trust could he repose

in that Army, whose Wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assayed *Polyperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherever at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murder his Pupil, choosing rather with many curses, and fowl dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army, than to purchase a Noble Fame with dangerous Travel, in maintaining his Faith unto both his dead and living Sovereigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep, though his losses were hitherto the chief witness of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retain his own; and therefore took order for the recovery of those places, which *Proton* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Callander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those Murders, of which the profit was like to redound unto him, that was the most powerful: or to see *Polyperchon* and *Proton* swear in a huff War against *Callander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perfwaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune, whereon their own should have depended.

Against this envy of his own men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly Title to the whole Empire. *Cleopatra*, Sister unto *Sardis*, whom he had a great desire to take to Wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever the disordered much willingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means; either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her; by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, after whose death, she came to her Brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her Marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty Widow, suffered her Blood so far to prevail against her Honour, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest; saying, that she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, void, and the Portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been; then did many seek to obtain her, while the her self desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leontius* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, he had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Proton*,

Lysimachus, and *Callander*, being all her earliest woors. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Proton* had many Wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suit, peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her Journey from *Sardis* towards him, when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Matters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the Ears; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keep her Prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the comic taken by *Callander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexander*'s own Sister) did well testify. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a Title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardis*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain Women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his own opinion: but the World was less foolish, than to be so deluded. How the Murder was detected, we need not ask; for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed; and never so ill smothered, as when great Persons are the Authors.

This was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of Gods Justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but merciless Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent Blood, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their Children with the Ruins, as the sequel will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, the Son of Antigonus, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Callander out of those parts. The immoderate Honours decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

None being left alive, that had any Title to the Kingdom; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill befitted the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgment of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a Title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul Murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own Head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of Greece: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such Honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty; whereof in seeming modesty, he was not covetous. To this purpose, he delivered a strong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty Sail, and five thousand Talents

Talents of Silver, unto *Demetrius* his Son; willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected; so that without resistance he entered the Haven, it being thought that a Fleet of *Proton*, *Callander*'s good Friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming, the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalerus* forsook the Town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes*, under safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the Siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Callander*, and so reformed the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents as may seem no better than meer trifles, for even by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly train themselves to the observance of general commended Rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Cratippa* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that he might by his means better her Estate, and recover her Towns of *Syrac* and *Corinth*, detained by *Proton* (to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of Greece, offered Money for the surrender of them) yet the only business pretended was Love. He being advertised hereof, left his Forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a Company of his lightest armed, for guard of his Person, made a long journey to meet with her. This Troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his Enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear Son Prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift than to muffle himself in an old Cloak, and creep away disguised, leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of Conditions; especially an extreme diffidulness in wanton Pleasures, and a painful industry in matter of War. He was of a most amiable Countenance, a gentle Nature, and a good Wit; excellent in devising Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own Hands. He knew better how to reform his bad Fortune, than how to rule his good. For Adversity made his Valour more active, Prosperity stupified him with an over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His Fortune was as changeable, as were his Qualities: turning often round, like the Picture of her Wheel, till she had wound up the Thread of his Life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he returned, no longer to attend the issue of a Siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the Liberty of *Athens*; which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the Assault, the Multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the Walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it,

and won the place in two days. The Walls and all the Defences of that Piece against the City, were levelled with the Ground; and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom will it was given their Liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The Fame of this Action was louder than of any other Victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater Skill and Industry. For the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their Tongues: conversing to safe Flattery that Eloquence of theirs, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more many Arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the Name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their City, and built there an Altar, calling it by the Name of *Demetrius the saviour*; they called them by the Names of the Gods their Saviours, ordaining that every year there should be chosen a Priest of these Gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the Gods*; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their Flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince, but made that Acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handily take upon him the Name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their Vanity, in loading him with more than humane Honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn, and Timber to build Ships, he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of Wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle, or rather, so weak is great Power in resisting the Assaults of Flattery.

§. XI.

The great Victory of Demetrius against Proton in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the Style of Kings; wherein others followed their Example.

From this glorious Work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius* unto a business of greater difficulty: meaning to employ his service against *Proton* in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willing to establish a general Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their Liberty entire into the Peoples hands: whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the Greeks, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his Reputation high among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his Forces to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately happened in Cyprus, through the inconsideration of *Aeneas*, *Proton*'s Brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so far that he thought

himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps, the more easily deterred. To cut off this Negotiation and the false-hearted King of Paphos at one Blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither, who surrounding *Nicoles* his House with Soldiers, required in *Ptolemies* Name, to have him yielded to the Death. *Nicoles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that die he must, and bid him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of Life: and his Death struck such an impression into his Wife, that she not only flew her self, but perfwaded the Wives of her Husbands Brethren to do the like. Also those Brethren of *Nicoles*, unto whom *Ptolemy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this Calamity, did shut up the Palace, and fettering it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Wherefore the Crime objected was, *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his Answer. Of this false Accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought that much dislike fell also upon *Ptolemy*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection, even upon those that gave the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a Power sufficient against any Opposition that *Ptolemy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the Rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the Walls of *Salamis*; where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong Succour, he had no likelihood to make good the Place, much less to retain Possession of the whole Island. His greatest help at the present, was the Fidelity of his Soldiers; whom no Rewards could win from him, nor good Usage (when any of them were taken Prisoners, and inrolled in the Enemies Bands) keep from returning to him, with this first opportunity. Most of them were Mercenaries; but all their Goods were in *Ægypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their Resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of Battery, if *Ptolemy* had not halted to the Rescue.

Ptolemy brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred Ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible show, when it was descried afar; though more than half of it, was unfit for service in Fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the Opinion of his Forces the more dreadful, *Ptolemy* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatening Message, willing him to be gone, unless he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a Throng. But this young Gallant repaid him with Words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape, upon condition that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Siegon* and *Corimb*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolemy*; better stored with Weapons fit for that Service; and very well furnished with Engines in the Prowes to beat upon the Enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threecore Gallies that lay in the Haven

of *Salamis*, left *Menelaus* with them should set upon his Back: in which case, it was likely that should go very ill with him. Against this mischief, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the Mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his Horse-men on the Shore, to give what assistance they could, he, with the rest of his Fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolemy*.

The Fight began early in the morning, and continued long with doubtful success. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left Wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed against the Squadron wherewith he encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his Victory in one part was such as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drove all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Ptolemy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the Enemy in one part of the Fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his Loss over great, to be repaired, by contending any longer against the Fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to save himself, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this Battle no unusual accident; yet was the Victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-services, which the *Greeks* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, above those which followed *Ptolemy*: partly the good Furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no less, than in the Quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred Ships of Burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolemies* Army, did not more encourage his own men and terrify his Enemies the day before the Fight; than bried in each part the contrary Affections, when in the beginning of the Fight, they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it were fitting that they should do so, yet a Multitude prepossessed with vain Conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his Fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the Enemies in Stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten Ships appointed to bear up the Mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the Courage of Men in Fight; especially of the Assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that find some part of their Fears vain, do easily gather hopeful Spirits, and conceive an Opinion of their own Ability, to do more than they had thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whoever the causes of this Victory were, the Fruit was very great. For *Ptolemy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his Fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of Fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand Foot, and a thousand and two hundred Horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of Spirit was found in the common Soldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Ægyptians* by Land: none of them repaying any more confidence in *Ptolemy*; but willingly becoming

ing Followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this Fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonos*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with Cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the Issue. In this mood *Antigonos* found him, a notable Flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good News. *Antigonos* had bethought himself of a Trick, whereby to double the Welcome of his joyful Errand: he caused his Ships to ride at Anchor a good distance from the Shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the Ship, and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his Tidings might appear in his Countenance. Report of his Arrival (for it was known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonos*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any Answer, nor so much of a Look, as might intimate the purport of his Errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward, with a great Throng at his Heels (that ferved well to set out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonos*; who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gare, and hear the News. Then did *Antigonos*, upon the suddain, with a high Voice, salute *Antigonos* by the Name of King; uttering the greatness of the Victory (with as much Pomp as before he had covered it with

Silence) in the hearing of all the People; who with loud Acclamations, gave that Name of King both to *Antigonos* and to his Son *Demetrius*. *Antigonos*, in requital of the long Sufpence, wherein *Antigonos* had held him, said that it should also be long ere he received his Reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diadem, which his Friends did set on his Head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his Son.

When it was once noised abroad that *Antigonos* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their Fellows were ready to follow the good Example. *Ptolemy* his Friends would by no means endure that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a Fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace*, had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own Head. *Selenus* had, before this time, among the barbarous People, taken upon him as King; but now he used the title indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own Name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his Pride, he no way lessened the Fame of his Cruelty against his Masters House. But the Name which he forbore, his Sons after him, were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear, when they shall enter upon the Stage; whereon these old Tragedians, under new Habits, as no longer now the same Persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger Looks, and more boistrous Actions, not with greater Grace and Judgment than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Ægypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others, until all Alexanders Princes were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonos against Ægypt, with ill success.

ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that Name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonos* himself, as befitting his Greatness; which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new Titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolemy*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Army of eighteen thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a Fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred Ships of Burden. The Land-forces he commanded in Person: of the Navy, *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the Journey, the Seamen advised him to stay yet eight days longer,

and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolemy* should make, rejected this Counsel, imputing it rather to their Fear than Skill. Wherefore he departed from *Antigonos* (a Town which he had built in *Cyria*, and called af his own Name, that was soon changed into *Selenia*, by his mortal Enemy) and came to *Gaza*; where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Ægypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great Power. He caused his Soldiers to carry ready Provision of Victuals, and had many Camels laden with all necessaries for passing the Deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Callis*, which is near adjoining to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the Shore, in ill

case, and many Ships wanting. It had been forely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such Creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himself, with the best and strongest Vessels, did so long beat it up against the Wind, that all his fresh Water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his miff had perished, had not the Tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty, and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief; after these painful Travels there followed a War, no less painful than to little purpose, for *Ptolemy* had so fortified all the Passages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the War there, or if his Guards should happen to be forc'd, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakening of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* fought, was to come to Blows speedily, *Ptolemy* on the contrary to beat *Antigonus* by the Belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him Water enough, but Wood he had none to warm it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised upon the River in vain, *Ptolemy* assid the Faith of his Souldiers with good success for with great Gifts, and greater Promises, he carried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments upon the Passages next the Enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Ptolemy* had turned him out of *Aegypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extrem Torments, but in all likelihood with the same ill success that *Perdicus* had formerly done when he invaded *Aegypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off from the noise of their Entertainment that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore, as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc'd Retreat, he secretly practis'd the advice of his Council, upon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Aegypt*.

It is indeed less prejudicial in such like cases, that Errors, Dishonours, and Losses, be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings, on the Directed than on the Director, for the Honour and Reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vassal; *Charles* the Fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the Loss and Dishonour he received in the Invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antoine de Lema*, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever all the Historians of that time agree, that the Sorrow thereof cost that brave Captain his Life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful Enterprises, is rather a Testimony of Love, than of Wisdom in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the Council, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have some time known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only been dissuaded, but held in a kind by strong hand, from hazarding their own Persons, and yet have those kind of Mutinies never been called to a Marshalls Court.

§. II.

How the City of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

His departure of *Antigonus* left behind it many dead Carcasses, and a great deal of Joy in *Aegypt*. *Ptolemy* held a solemn Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad News, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this late Felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the Joys of his Enemies for Witnesses of his own Greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his Enemies being but bare Savers by the last Bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his Honour in the late Retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his Affairs henceforth in a another fashion, for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the Branches first, to fell the Tree itself with the more facility. To effect which he resolv'd (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be forc'd, either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the Field, where the advantage of Power, and of all other Warlike Provisions, promised him Victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality, it drew the better part of all the Trade of those parts, and thereby a great deal of Riches to it self, to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which, it not only beat off all Pirates and petty Thieves, but the Reputation of their Strength was thereby so much increased, as all the Neighbour Princes fought their Alliance and Confederacy.

In this dangerous time (in which they must either refuse all that fought them, and so stand friendless and apart, or joyn themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the Peace, by which their Greatness had grown) their Affections carried them to the *Aegyptians*, both because the greatest part of their Trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his Disposition, Greatness, and Neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This Affection of theirs, with some other Passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty Injuries, of taking some of their Ships, with such other Grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatness of the Enterprise, he employed his Son *Demetrius* against them in their own Island, who brought such terror upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of Friendship and Honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this Charge came, and that the alteration was perfwaded by fear, and not by Love, raised his Demands to an intolerable height, requiring an hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many Ships of War as himself pleas'd: these Conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a Scare already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a contraind assistance,

assistance, reftored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their Liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able Bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow Citizens, than to make themselves fellow Slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions offered, and the *Rhodians* the fearful ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long Siege, and finding no appearance to carry the Place in fury, he set in hand with his Engines of Battery; in the invention and use of which, he never thought himself a greater Artist, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the Assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave Sallies out of the Town, and the Famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extreme, if *Ptolemy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Græcian* Embassadors, gave over the Siege; a hundred Hostages they gave him for performance of the Peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the City.

Hæreunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usual Policy of War and State: for while, with the Flower of all his Fathers Forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by Practice and Surprise, but by a strong and well compounded Army, which he himself led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athens* it self. On the other side (though with less success) did *Polyperchon* invade *Poloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the Enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great Honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in Honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolemy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hæmon*, gave the same fair answer for *Ptolemy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, so was *Ptolemy* at this time Lord of the Soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly Creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by Decree of the People. A mad Age it was, when so many of *Alexander*'s Captains could not content themselves with the Stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called Gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece, Cassander desires Peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great Preparations of War against Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drove *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his Fortune, chased him beyond the Straits of *Thermopyla*. Herein his Reputation did much avail him, which was so great,

that six thousand of his Enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So partly by the greatness of his Name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those Straights, and giving liberty unto the People, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those Peeces which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went he into *Poloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easy success: for he suddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old Seat into an other place: and called it after his own Name *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his Pleasure: At the *Isthmian* Games he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of Jest, that any, save himself or his Father, should usurp the Name of King. But in his Behaviour, he was so far unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other Name than of a drunken *Pollard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new Honours for him; among which they made one Decree, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the Gods, and just with Men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the Wars should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*, which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make Peace with his Enemy betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors, but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole Estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his Friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common Danger, for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joyn't Forces they should all together set upon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice, but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a Flock of Birds are driven away with a Stone. With these concepts he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceeding of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a Name that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately Game and Pageants, in ostentation of his Glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous News of *Lysimachus* his Victories about *Hælespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his Forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hælespont*, began to make hot War upon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts to joyn with him by fair means; winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty Journeys, and came soon enough to recover his Losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compel him to come to Barrel.

Lysimachus waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilst from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his Preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his Journey: which informed them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the Quarrel in open Field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield unto any peaceable Conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great Aid from *Ptolemy*, that was joined with his Forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers Letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of Greece, he made Peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: so the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his Journey might be without any such blemish of Reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the Peace was, That all the Cities of Greece should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this League have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all Incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himself to the tryal of the main Controversie in *Asia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus was slain in a great Battel at Ipfus, near unto Ephesus; wherein his whole Estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the Enemy. In greatness of Name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable, than equal to their Adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great Services of all kinds, and enriched the Art of War with many inventions, which even his Enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully flollen away from him to save his life; with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this Journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild *Thracians*; wanted much in Reputation, of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old

Companies, the long space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their Affections; the Followers of *Seleucus* were easily perverted; that in this Battel they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about threethree and ten thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and threethree and fifteen Elephants. His Enemies were six thousand short of him in number of their Foot; in Horse they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War; which Helps, though they little had availed the *Perfians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himself, either troubled with the unexpected greatness of his Enemies Forces, or preferring little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, communing much in private with his Son, whom he commended to the Army as his Successor: whereas in former times he had never been so joyous, as towards the hour of Battel, nor had been accustomed to make his Son, or any other, privy to his counsel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the Fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needless to recount: *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt near to the place of Battel, a buxie Goddess in many great Fights, and therefore likely to have been thrust into the Fable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to believe that these two so gallant Armies, containing well near all the strength of *Alexander's* whole Empire, performed a notable Fight, being led by such worthy Commanders and whom the issue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the Particulars recorded: an easie loss in regard of the much variety, wherewith every Story aboundeth in this kind. The most memorable things in the Battel, were these. *Demetrius* with his best force of Horse, charged valiantly, upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and left thereby both him, and the Victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interposed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the *Palians* of *Antigonus*: and with many Troops of Horse offering to break upon the Enemies Battel, whereforever it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so dangerous an impression. This Cowardize, or rather Treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their General to the last end of his Destinies. *Antigonus* was then fourscore years old, very far and unwieldy, so that he was unfit for fight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty Followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great Troop making towards his Person, told him, *Sir King, your Company means to charge you*; he answered, *Will any then, for who defends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve us*. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his Son should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his Body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful Hopes, together with his troublesome Life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his insatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his Actions. He was more feared by his Enemies, than loved by his Friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but used Violence towards all alike, as if it had been some Verue nearest representing a Kingly Majesty. This was the cause that so many of his Followers revolted to his Enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forsook him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the careful endeavors of their Vassals, only Duty and Debt; and are more apt to punish the least Offences, than to reward the greatest Services: shall find themselves upon the first change of Fortune, (seeing it is Love only that stays by Adversity) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

§. V.

How Demetrius forsaken by the Athenians after his Overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolemy, beginning a new Fortune, and shortly entering into new Quarrels.

For *Demetrius*, at his return, from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, by a speedy retreat unto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste towards *Athens*, as to the Place, that for his sake would suffer any Extremity. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Ambassadors met him with a Decree of the People, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Ambassadors, not Theoroi, or Consultors with the Oracle. It was a shameful Ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a Decree: neither did any part of his Calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his Adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his Ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need, and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old Language, and speak unto them in another Time. When he had gotten to his Ships, he failed to the *Islands*, where he found nothing but manner of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having taken themselves to his Enemies Pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means, wherewith to sustain him and his Followers, any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part, of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and those few Places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve. For to put himself into the Field, on the side of *Asia*, he had no power; and to include himself in any Town, how strong soever, were but to imprison his Fortune, and his Hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his Estate. He therefore creeping thorough those Bushes, that had fewest Briars, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil, that was gotten, to his Souldiers: his own losses having been

too great, to be repayed again by small Prizes. In the mean while, the Confederate Princes had wherewithal to buse themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late Victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage, by being present and Master of the Field. For neither *Ptolemy*, nor *Cassander*, were at the Overthrow given, having only sent certain Troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led: who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory: as which, nevertheless others did repine, and though they neither could, nor durst, accuse him of ill dealing, for the present, yet seeing the over-greatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same Reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined: for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forgot Friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable Passion: the hatred of each to other, and their Loves being laid on the one side, against their Profits on the other were found to far too light, as *Seleucus* who had to day slain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow, how to match himself with *Stratonice*, *Demetrius* his Daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turn against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonice*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus*, fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him, and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this Alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolemy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*; though for the present it brought one of them again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the Marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter Times: namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragomians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those older Times been found more faithful, than those of the same later Times have been; as in the Stories of *Charles* the eighth of France, and of *Charles* the Emperor, of Francis the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Milan, and others, the Reader may observe: between whom from the year of our Lord, One thousand, four hundred, ninety, and five, when *Charles* the eighth undertook the Conquest of Naples, to the year, One thousand, five hundred, fifty, and eight, when *Henry* the second died, the Histories of those Times tell us, that all the Bonds, either by the Bed or by the Book, either by Weddings, or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithful purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit, by giving his Daughter to his Enemy *Seleucus*; that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Plisarchus*, the Brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his share in the division of *Antigonus* his Possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper Forces, from him, that entered upon it as a lawful Heir: neither would *Seleucus* lend him any Help,

as by the Rule of Confederacy he should have done, against the common Enemy. So *Philarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Selenus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their Sister, followed him thither, to pacify them both, and keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her Husband, that was not strong enough to deal with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make use of that bond of Alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Prology* (plurality of Wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eastern Conquests) and so was he by two Marriages, rather freed from two Enemies, than strengthened with two Friends: for neither of them withheld him any good, otherwise than might serve to advance their own ambitious desires.

Selenus and *Prology*, could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their Countenance, should seek his Fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his Estate under their Noses. Particularly *Selenus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himself; and *Prology* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so that *Selenus* would fain have for his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyfmacus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late Purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand Talents of his Fathers Treasure, that should serve him to make sport a while. This refusal to displeased *Selenus*, that in angry terms he demanded the City of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be surrendered unto him; which were the only Places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great *Bartel*. Instead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took present order to have them better manned; and spake it stoutly, that were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Selenus* to become his Son-in-law. In this Quarrel *Selenus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would break Friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed it self in words, which had it fastned upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found Friends, out of envy to the stronger.

S. VI.

How Demetrius won the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of Troubles in Macedon following the death of Cassander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by Sedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their disaffected City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late Ingratitude. This advantage fastned him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to prevent himself unto them, in the habit of a revenging Fury. He brought against them all the Force that he could well spare from other Employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful Eastern Friends, were

unwilling to give impediment to any Business that might entangle him in Greece. His first Enterprise in *Athens* had ill success; a great part of his Fleet perishing in a Tempest. But he soon repaired the loss; and (after some Victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he won divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the Enterprise, wasted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all Relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren Soil, and wanted now the command of those Islands, and Places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with Victuals; being all destitute of means to keep such a Navy, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of Succour from *Prology*, who (trusting thereby to win the Love of Greece) had laden a hundred and fifty Ships with Corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting Ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so near, that they might be defrayed. This brake the heart of the People; among whom the Famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped down between them from the House top. Wherefore they sent Ambassadors to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capital offence, to propose any motion of Peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this Decree: rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the Lives of these unthankful men; which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the People. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in Times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering Acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispole of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a fire Garrison within their Walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedaemonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair possibility to take their City: when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of *Lyfmacus* and *Prology*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himself did upon his Enemies in Greece. *Lyfmacus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Prology* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were faithfully besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himself which way to turn his Forces, a notable piece of business offered it self, which thrust all other Cares out of his Head.

Cassander was lately dead in Macedon, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest Son, whole two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdom. In this Quarrel, *Theffalonia* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own Mother. The odiousness of this Fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexander's* Cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked Parricide *Antipater*. Anti-

Antipater was so strongly backed, by *Lyfmacus*, whose Daughter he had married, that *Alexander* could not hope to make his Party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appear, in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man fought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Soldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his Head against a Wall, upon some opinion of Contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary Quarrel, derived from his Father, whom the could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that she used against his Friends, both alive and dead, as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royal Blood; wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of Murder. His carefulness to destroy those Women and Children, whose Lives hindered his purpose, argues him to have been rather skillful in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true mark of cowardice, which fears afar off the dangers that may quietly pass away: and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked means, as never thinking it self safe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Reuane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which overtook them; yet ill befitted it *Cassander* to do the office of a Hangman. But *Alexander's* Children had by no Law of men deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his Bed, yet the divine Justice brought Swords upon his Wife and Children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole House, as he had done his Masters.

S. VII.

Of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The death of Cassander's Children. Demetrius gets the Kingdom of Macedon; prevails in War against the Greeks; loses reputation in his War against Pyrrhus, and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus and Lyfmacus invade him; his Army yields to Pyrrhus, who shares the Kingdom of Macedon with Lyfmacus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Scander*, which perished in War against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a sucking Infant, from the fury of his Fathers Enemies. When his Fosterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Thyria*, the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his Life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heir. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of Age. Within the compass of six years, either the indifferences of his Youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drove him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the World anew. Then went he to *Demetrius*, (who married his Sister) became his Page; followed him a while in his Wars; was with him in the great Bartel of *Issus*, whence he fled with him

to *Ephesus*; and was content to be Hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Prology*. In *Aegypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Prology's* principal Wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with Money and Men, unto *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Prology*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that Business between the Children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassander's* Sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty Agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the Aid of *Pyrrhus* to trouble him, that he was more willing to fend him away, than to call in such another Helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Acroacia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the Brethren to Composition: but their Composition would not satisfy *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a Fool, to come so far with an Army, and find no work for it. This was a fivefold Complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to do as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this over-diligent Friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the Story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was seized and slain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the Murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lyfmacus* was busied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seek Peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill Bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; until his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome Life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the Children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slain his own Masters Children, in a wife course of policy, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own House, that fell down upon his Grave, ere the Earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his Inimicity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King listed. He gave himself over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with Supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing Justice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdom than in ruling it: War being his Recreation, and Luxury his Nature. By long rest (as six years

Raign is long to him, that knows not how to raign one year) he discovered so much of his worst condition, as made both the People weary of his Idleness; and the Souldiers, of his Vaniry. He was freed from care of Matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially, by hearing that *Prology* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would have done somewhat (the Peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another Expedition he took in hand against *Pyrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made Excursions into *Thessaly*; but there needed not any handon presence of Quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his Enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices as extraordinary. *Pyrhus* was a Captain, whom later Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexander's* followers. At this time, he mist that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good Conduct, than of his private Valour, shewed in single Combat against *Pantiaichus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of Body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battle did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexander's* Graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely Vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrhus*, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to dislike, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Infolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His Apparell seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and now fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly, to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers lives he was reckless: and suffered unwisely this un-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of Popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor sufferers after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into the River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrhus* ga-

thered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his Bed: who recovering health, and taking the Field; had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear: that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia*, with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battle might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made Peace with *Pyrhus*; that he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse: with a Navy of five hundred Sails, wherein were many Ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful wital, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these Preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* suspect their own Forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrhus*, to join against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*; that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no security for his Friends in *Europe*; what League sooner were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that Quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrhus* had won *Berecha*. The matter was not over-great: were it not, that minds prepared with little discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own Houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own Countreyman, against *Pyrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by Victory against the *Epirots*, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spoke of his Valour; some enquired, others answered, of his Person, his Armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats Horns, that he wore on his Crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into *Pyrhus's* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome, than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrhus*, they would all salute him King. To try this, *Pyrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bareheaded in view of the Camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to see eye on him. His Face was not so well known as his Helmet; there-

therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their Service; neither were there any that spake for *Demetrius*: only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for himself. So *Demetrius* threw aside his Maskers Habit, and attiring himself poorly, did fearfully steal away out of his own Camp: deserving well this calamity, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his Friends, or whether, his behaviour deprived him of such Friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant found of necessary truth.

Whilst *Pyrhus* was making this Triumphant Entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*, *Lysimachus* came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half; saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrhus* in the War, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gains. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon; each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all upon better opportunity.

S. VIII.

How Demetrius gathering Forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yield himself. His Imprisonment and Death.

THE *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his Adversity, as they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his Friendship, and called *Pyrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his Forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soon gotten an Army; though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wife and virtuous Lady) did Poison her self, upon desperate grief of his misfortune. The first upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians*, that had well deserved it. He began to lay Siege to their Town; but was pacified by *Craley* the Philosopher, whom they made their Spokesman; and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia* with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to try his Fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts Fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captains, that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their Companies and Treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles*, the Son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*; who pursued him close, and cut off all his Provisions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome Enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titular King with extreme Famine. At length, in passing the River *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance;

but were driven to travel with such speed, as might well be called a plain flight. So that with Famine, Pestilence, Diseases following Famine, and other accidents of War, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captain, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call him to mind their Alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters, at the first, wrought the well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the Battle at *Issus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many Treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousy of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man; and his fury got him some Victories, though of small importance. At length, sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the Enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by fugitives, that gave the Alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him, with a few of his Friends, to shift for himself: he was compelled, by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own Humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts, and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence; though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any Prisoner could with. He was kept under free Guard in a Demi-Island, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for Hunting. He had all that he asked Royally, and Friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his Liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, out of the High Countries. In this sort he spent three years, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happiness, which with so much Travel and Blood-shed, he had fought in vain) and then died, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the same which his Father had left unto himself; his Friends and Hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his Qualities have appeared in his Actions, and the Fortune of his House will shew it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

S. IX.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lysimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexander's Captains: with other occurrences.

ABOUT the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*; a virtuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountiful, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many Children: out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolemy*

Ceramus (for all of that House assumed the name of *Prolem*) was grievously afflicted: but no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving Entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexander's* Captains left: *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their Quarrel was, their near equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the Murders which *Lyfimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest Son; whose Wife and Children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after seven Months pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken to well to *Lyfimachus*, their natural Country-man, that they forsook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before; but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gave him. *Lyfimachus* had raised about five years alone, when the City of *Lyfimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an Earthquake, appeared, by events, to have foretold the fall of his House. His own jealousy, and the indignation of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poison his Son *Agathocles*, which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loss of all his fifteen Children, that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himself.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lyfimachus* on *Asia* side, where one Battle concluded the War, with *Lyfimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the Victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himself, as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he passed over into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within seven Months followed *Lyfimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloody death; being treacherously slain by *Prolem* *Ceramus*, whole Friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and seven years old he was, when he fought with *Lyfimachus*, and *Lyfimachus* was seventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had seen the days, as it were of another World under the *Perfian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War; even *Pyrrhus* the *Epiror*, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into War with the *Romans*, a more Warlike People, than *Alexander* himself ever did encounter. Of which War, and of which People, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms, that were held by *Alexander's* Successors, with less (and still decreasing) virtue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome; and settling of the Eastern Kingdoms.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullius Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.

HOW Rome was founded by *Romulus*, settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small Victories, it gathered strength; unto such time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the Conquest of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullius Hostilius*, it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatness beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it self out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have been delivered in the Ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullius Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his House by Lightning) *Anous*

Martius, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of Rome. He walled the City about, enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he enclosed; built a Bridge over *Tyber*, and the City of *Ofis* upon the Sea, sixteen miles distant from Rome. Finally, having reigned four and twenty years, he died, and by his last Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the Son of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his Tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquini*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to Rome, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his Wife *Tarvaquil* Prophecie, he grew a Favourite of *Anous Martius*; by his *Gracian* wit humouring the Factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the Children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged

the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he less eminent in War than in Peace: for he prevailed often against the *Tuicans*, and from his Victories, the chiefest Ornaments of Triumph took their Original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty years, he was slain by the Sons of *Anous Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tarvaquil* his Wife, perceiving what was done, informed the People from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sick, but not dangerously: And withal signified unto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth she always Prophecie to be born to great hopes, (the Son of *P. Corniculamus* and *Cerisia*, a well defended, but Captive Woman) brought up in her House, and Husband unto her Daughter, should supply her Husbands place, in Governing the State, until his recovery: which Government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and Valuations of the Peoples Wealth; among whom, at that time, fourcore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole Corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private Household. At length, having two Daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two Sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed to his Tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his Daughters; he (willing to add Water, not Oyl, to Fire) gave the mild Daughter to *Sextus*, the hot-headed Son; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in Marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it happened; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joynd in Marriage: who soon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this Tumult, *Servius Tullius* hasting to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Infolency) was thrown down the stairs, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty and four years. Then *Tullia* his Daughter, first proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to drive his Chariot over her Father's Corps; whereupon the Street had the denomination of *Wicked-street*. This *Tarquine*, exercising Cruelty without Justice, and Tyranny without Mercy, upon the People and Senators; having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage of Treachery upon his Borders. He took *Ceriacum*, *Succia Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The illue of besieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen miles distant from Rome, was of bad success. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently ravished that chaste Lady *Lueretia*, his Kind-man *Collatine's* Wife: who in way of expiation for so unchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own Blood; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her Father *Sp. Lueretius Tricipitinus*, her Husband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) she killed her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his Wife and Children, was depopled and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City; in which space Rome had scarce gotten full possession of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus, by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his Country from that heavy yolk of Bondage, enforced the People by solemn Oath, never to admit any Government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ranfacked their Kings Goods, confiscated their Fields to *Mari*, and conferred the Government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their Ears, they changed the manner of their Government, from perpetual to annual, and from a single Governour to a double; left perpetual or sole Dominion might be some motive to Usurpation: and instead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*; that their Titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard feeling of troubled Waters, that the People, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resign up his Authority, fearing that Tyranny would be Hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the House of *Tarquinius*, favoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the Peoples Eyes, gave liberty, in matters of Controverfie, to appeal from the *Consuls* to the People: and that he might as well in Goods as in Person, avoid occasion of suspicion, caused his own House to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a Citadel. Neither was *Brutus* any ways deficient in matter of greater moment, which concerned as well the Peoples safety, as his favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first rank his own Sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; he caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unparalelled to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemished integrity of *Brutus*, well appealed all inbred Quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their Military designments against Foreigners; first, for their Liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their Possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuicans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her Minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her Neighbours; until by main opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, she used them as instruments, whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first War, in the first year of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*; who being overpowered by *Tarquinius's* lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished King, and with great Forces, to fear him again in his Kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his Enemies, on the Bridge over *Tyber*; at length, feeling himself too thin to stand against so many, caused the Bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his Armour, leaping into the River, like a hunted Stag, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the Hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance unto the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, assuredly his own: yet admiring their Valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mucius Scaevola* (who having by error slain *Porfenna* his Secretary, instead of the King him-

self, did in scorn of torments threatened, burn off his own Hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial, either to his safety, or credit, to enter League with them at the world hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Arvus* his Son, and *Brutus* his Enemy, in single Combat, had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the Field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their Chastity, not for Beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole year. Into his place, for the residue of his year, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, Father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquinius, upon his overthrow, feeling the Fates diffract, thought it no boot to strive against the firebrand; and spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law, *Mammius Tusculanum*, stomaching asreth at those old repulses, because *Porcena* had made Peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour, unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up the *Latines*, and gave Battel to the *Romans* at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, until *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this War, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Soldiers courage, threw their own Ensigns amidst the Enemy; and *Collus*, or *Spurius Collus* (Master of the Horse) an assistant Officer to the *Dictator* commanded to take off their Bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Ensigns. This Fight was so well performed, that a report went current, of *Castor* and *Polux*; two Gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be Eye-witnesses of their Valour, and fellow helpers of their Victory; for the General consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this, the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of Valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, upon infliction of some desperate bankrupts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproar in the Holy Mount; until by *Mercennius Scaevola*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistracies created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controversies, the Consuls Authority notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the People. After this atonement amongst themselves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other Neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volscians* and *Æquians* held them longest; who made War, of themselves, upon the *Romans*; whereby they lost the best City in their whole Jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this Conquest, *T. Manlius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as derived from a great Victory; although by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman General*, in after times, would have been ashamed of that Title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, advised to sell Corn, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the People: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after Judgment, banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volscians*, whom

lately before he had vanquished, incited them to renew their Forces again, which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullius*, he prevailed in Field so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Encamping there, he made so sharp War, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent, by any supplications of Embassadors, until his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pitiful tune of Deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country, than Friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome*, than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volscians*, as a Traytor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this, the *Veii* in *Hetruria* provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one Family, engaged and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private Quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying encamped at *Cremora*, were circumvented, and all slain; one only of that whole House, had been left, by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volscians*, at the Hill *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, chosen *Dictator*, and taken from the Plough to the highest Honour in *Rome*, with success answerable to his Expedition, dispersed his Enemies, and freed his Country in the space of sixteen days. In the continuance of this *Volscian* War it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governors of the State, and enactors of *Solon's* Laws amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistracies) would have ravished *Virginius*, the Daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captain of a Company, and lying then in Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the People, in an uproar, took the Hill *Acventum*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their Authority again to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new War against the *Veientes*, and their adherents, upon whom having tried their Forces, with diversity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidicenses*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a School-Master, by training forth into the *Roman* Camp, many Children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as Hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traytor bound unto his Scholars, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his Justice. The Siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were there first enforced to winter abroad under Beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received Pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length, winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their Tents to *Apollo Pythius*; and the whole People in general, were called to the ransacking of the City. But yet they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Corio-*

lanus; for they banished him the City, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he required their unkindness with a new piece of service, against the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Country, and very healthful, the Fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the Sons, destitute of means, were enforced to rove abroad, seeking some place, where to set up their rest; and withal being a Nation vast in Body, rude by Nature, and barbarous in Conditions, wandered as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, set upon *Clusium*, a Town in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous People, not regarding the Message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, converted their Forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow to the *Romans*, by the River *Alia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Alibis* in the *Roman* Calendar) they hastened towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City, some creeping into holes, Priests hiding their Religion, and every one shifting for himself; the Enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this Tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the World, did seat themselves in Thrones, in their several Houses, hourly expecting the Messengers of Death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this, the *Gauls* were entered the City, who feng all quiet, at first suspected some Ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, that fate in their Majesty, with a grave resolution: having first revered them as Gods, anon they tried whether they would die like Men. When the City was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol; which held them work for the space of seven Months. Once they were like to have surprised it by Night, but being detected by the galling of *Gele*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in Gold, to desist from their Siege. Whilset the Gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open infidelity, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus*, their Captain, casting his Sword into the Balance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling, came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their Troops, quenched the fire of the City with their Blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and to bear the Gold, in accepting which, they had lately been so fice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them through a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the Victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight flew a Champion of the *Gauls*) abated

their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Numa*.

The People, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the Siege of *Veii*, they changed their Government from Consuls to Military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil diffention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled; another while there was an Anarchy: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till after many years expired, the Consular Authority was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should always be a *Plæbeian*. This was after the building of the City, three hundred sixty five years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her Neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dars forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off; situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves Subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else, to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like *Fifth*, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the fairest City then in *Italy*.

The Families of the *Patryii* and *Fabii* were most employed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of thirty years. And in this season were the *Romans* often-times dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*; as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls; and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy; and when *Q. Fabius Gurgus* lost the Field with three thousand men. But for these losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papirius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their Quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long War it was, (though in time of Truce between the *Romans* and the *Samnites*) that the *Latines* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a *Latine* Colony; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such Capitulation. So a great Battel was fought between them; wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the virtue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Sooth-layers advertised, that the issue should be victorious which lost the General in Fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the Consul, exposed his life to the Enemy, and purchased Victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the Son of this *Decius*, being after Consul, did imitate his Father,

Father in the *Hetrurian* War. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased Victory, by rushing into the midst of the Enemies, wherein their Soldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion as required the Lives of so worthy Citizens to be sacrificed for the Lives of the Country. The Discipline of *Manlius* was no less reformed than the Valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his Place, and fight single with an Enemy. For breach of which order, he caused his own Son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Lutines*, being challenged in single Fight.

When the *Lutines*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Comani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other People, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any People of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabinus* adventured to try their Fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, waiving all their Country with Fire and Sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriaticque* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* Arms, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as Mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War unto that Party which should dare to refuse the Peace by them tendered. These Threats, which discovered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain Ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucani*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joining with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebel and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these People to know their own Weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Græcian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already, in a manner it did overspread.

§. II.

How *Pyrrhus* warred upon the *Romans*, and vanquished them in two Battels.

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unfused estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the Power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive War upon him, without far greater forces. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and Treasures left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he

might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of Employment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave Offers, as needing none other aid than his good Conduct, which to obtain, they would cast themselves under his Protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly Conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and fill by one Victory open the Gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cynas* his chief Counsellor, asking what he meant to do after every of the Victories which he hoped to get: that, having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy*, he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that out of *Sicily* he would pass over into *Africa*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cynas* enquired yet further what they should do, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cynas* then told him) that they presently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any Scholastic Disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well fortified, and well trained Soldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cynas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of Tongue, but in matter of Execution, utterly careless to provide for the War. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Arms, and making such a strict Muster, as was to them very unpleasant, though greatly beehowing to their Esteem.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Levinus*, the *Roman* Consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their Valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink, for fear of the *Roman* Fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own Forces, than the issue of their vaunting Promises. He was now driven, either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his Forces that had been scattered by foul Weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the Valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Levinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible Name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him Battel are all his Adherents should be ready to joyn with him.

This

This boldness of the *Roman*, and the slackness of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a Treaty of Peace: requiring to have the Quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* Friends, referred to his Arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their Fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at near distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his Honour: the short answer that was returned to his Proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this Word, that they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their Enemy.

Hereupon both Armies hastened their March unto the River of *Siris*: *Levinus* intending to fight, before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous People, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde upon the Passage of the River, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found that this new Enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entered the Ford in face of his Corps de garde; and their Horle, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their Bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to Battel, where-with he thought it best to present them ere their whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his Battails, himself with the Horle charged upon the *Romans*, who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this Fight, neither did his Courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal Valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best, for he never met with better Opposers. Once, and shortly after the Fight began, his Horle was slain under him: afterwards he changed Armour with a Friend; but that Friend paid his Life for the use of his Kings Armour, which was torn from his Back. This accident had almost lost him the Battel: but he perceiving it, discovered his Face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The Fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only Spear and Sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the Wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect the Horles of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the Victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* Battails perceiving their Horle put to rout, and driven out of the Field; finding also themselves both charged in Flank, and overborn by the force and huge bulk of these strange Beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight: in which conflagration, they were so forgetful of their Discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The Fame of this Victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the Reputation was no less than the Fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain Battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they always were. And this Honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* Friends, save the unwelcome *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this Action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucani* and *Samnites* for coming (as we say) a day after the fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such as would better endure many such Losses, than he could many such Victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilst with his Honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cynas* his Embassador; demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial Friend. This did *Cynas*, with all his Cunning, and with liberal Gifts, labour to effect: but neither Man nor Woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any Bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their Captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to Peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their Honour by War. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cynas* made at his return, of the *Roman* piuidance and Vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of Peace, the answer was, *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of Peace*.

In the mean season each part made provision for War; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his Forces, of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to trial of a second Battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boistrous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second Victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another Victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the Flower of his Army in this Battel, and though he drove the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old Stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such Learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his Honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of Peace or of Truce) he took a slight occasion, presented by Fortune, that followeth to be related.

whilst he was busy in getting his Men and Carriages a Ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the honour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such Ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert, and had faved it self by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of War, who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their Enemies, took courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory, caused all the barbarous Nations in those Quarters, to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* Valour: by which, the terrible and relentless oppressors of so many Countreys, were overthrowen.

To speak more of the *Gauls*, in this place; and to show how, about these Times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their Wars and Conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Arms of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countreys which now they wan, shall give better occasion, to rehearse these Matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of *Antigonus* got him Reputation, among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading, had won this Victory, could not thereupon be persuaded, to think him a good man of War: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the Service, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a Wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet, he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his Affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he fure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his War against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in brevity, meer necessity forced him, at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him, eight thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse: an Army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in Pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*: intending to take what Spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this Business, two thousand of *Antigonus*'s Souldiers, revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings, easily persuaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight, with this hot Warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a straight passage, and charged him in the Rear;

wherein were the *Gauls*, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus*'s impetion; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp Fight: wherein it seems, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian* Phalans within the Lights, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken soon after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence, that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the Beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalans* could be charged only in a Front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered to well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few Horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small Forces left, and Money enough to entertain a greater Power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking, how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak Forces, drove him to fly from the Parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the World, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirs*, and caused him to forget all sorrow, of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helius* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of Conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

S. V.

How Pyrrhus assailed Sparta without success. His Enterprize, upon Argos, and his Death.

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open Fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased. He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War against *Peloponnesus*, and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great Preparations were made, for accomplishment of some Design more important, than War against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedaemonians* feared this Expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*: who readily

readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure, that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such coarage he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himself as an open Enemy: excusing himself, and his former dissembling words, with a jest; That he followed herein the *Lacedaemonian* custom, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedaemonians*, to deal in like fort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as fallhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they always practiced as wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves, in this dangerous extremity. For the old Men and Women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could bear Arms, to reserve themselves fresh against the Assault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and for the most part hard to approach) the lower and more accessible Places, were fenced with Walls; at the present, only Trenches were cast, and *Barricades* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three days together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded Horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of saving the Person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn insunder the *Barricades*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus*'s Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Arcus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his Friends in War) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrey stood, until he was almost at home. These Succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to prevail against all Impediments. But the third days word shewed, how great his error had been, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the Place, otherwise than by a long Siege: in which tedious course, he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Army, though not strong enough to meet the Enemy in plain Field, yet able to hinder all his Purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diversly affected, by the difficulty of his Enterprize in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first Attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, Letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise, to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Dissension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the Heads of several Factions, to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous, to rid their hands of such powerful Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*; and that he would be gone if they needed not his

help. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs persuade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took small pleasure, in hearing the Fox and Kite at strife, which of them should keep the Chickens from his Enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to divert their Powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily consented, and gave Hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in need of goodwill. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none, to his inferiors; especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as indeed, it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a Bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City should be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complotches within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army, without any tumult, entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. The taking off, and setting on again, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of Ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the *Vanguard*) being ignorant of the ways, in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-passage: and letting upon the Enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, understanding by the confused noise, and unequal shoutings of his own men, that they were in distress, entred the City in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the Place. But the darkness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that Place, the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his own men; with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argives* pressing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his own Sword. The tops of the Houses were covered with Women, that stood looking on the Fight. Among these was one, that saw her own Son in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, she took a Tile-stone, or Slate, and threw it so violently down on the Head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground affrighted with the Blow; and lying in that case, had his Head cut off.

Thus ended the restless Ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his Life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the Army, the Body, and the Children of his Enemy. The Body of *Pyrrhus*, had honourable

ble Funeral, and was given by Antigonus unto Helorus his Son; which young Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdom of Epirus. From this time forwards, the Race of Antigonus, held the Kingdom of Macedon; the Posterity of Seleucus, reigned over Asia and Syria; and the House of Ptolemy had quiet possession of Egypt: until such time, as the City of Rome, swallowing all up, digested these, among other Countreys, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the settled Rule of ALEXANDER'S Successors in the East, untill the ROMANS, prevailing over all, made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

The FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punick War.

S. I.

A discussion of that Problem of Livie; Whether the Romans could have resisted the great Alexander? That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal Valour to the English.



H A T Question handled by Livie; Whether the great Alexander could have prevailed against the Romans, if after his Eastern Conquest, he had been all his Forces against them, hath been, and is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it seems to me) the Arguments on both sides do not so well explain, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath given, of the Roman Power, in his days. For if he, a Commander (in Hannibal's judgment) inferior to Alexander, though to none else, could with small strength of Men, and little store of Money, or of other needful helps in War, vanquish them in two Battels, and endanger their Estate, when it was well settled, and held the best part of Italy under a confirmed Obedience: what would Alexander have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of Employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half so well settled. It is easie to say, that Alexander had no more than thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse (as indeed, at his first passage into Asia, he

Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank: and so shall he perceive that will note the circumstances of almost any one Battle. This takes away all objection, for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one Flight of Arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Cross-Bow; but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary Arm; whereupon can be grounded no common Rule. If any man shall ask, How then came it to pass that the English won so many great Battles, while the English was not to be beat, with besting no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of Modesty, refer him to the French Historian: who relating the Victory of our Men at Crecant, where they passed a Bridge in face of the Enemy, useth these words; *The English comes with a conquering Bravery, as he that was accustomed to gain every where, without any loss: he forceth our Guard placed upon the Bridge to let, the Passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells how the Britons being invaded by Charles, King of France, thought it good policy to apparel a thousand and two hundred of their own Men in English Cal-lacks; hoping that the very sight of the English red Cross, would be enough to terrify the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French Historians (all report Wonders of our Nation) the Poyntion which first I undertook to maintain; that the Military Virtue of the English, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded: Why then did not our Kings finish the Conquest, as Caesar had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of the *Ætæides*, of whom the old Poet *Ænnius* gave this Note; *Belli potentes, ante magis quam politici potentes; They were more warlike than politic*. Who so notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conqueror: save only King Henry the Fifth, the course of whose Victories, it pleased God to interrupt by his Death. But this Question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the Conquest of Gaul, before the time of Caesar? Why not after the Macedonian War? Why not after the third Punic, or after the Numantian? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure, and fit opportunity, when under the Conduct of *Marinus*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Tutones*, by whom the Country of Gaul had been pitciously wasted. Surely, the words of Tully were true; that with other Nations, the Romans fought for Dominion; with the Gauls for preservation of their own safety.*

Therefore they attempted not the Conquest of Gaul, until they were Lords of all other Countries to them known. We on the other side, held only the one half of our own Island; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unless perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferior) every way equal to our selves; a Nation, anciently and strongly allied to our Enemies the French, and in that regard, Enemies to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger invasion by Land, than we could make upon France, transporting our Forces over Sea.

It is usual with men that have pleased them-

selves, in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injury done to their Judgment, if any take upon him, by way of companion, to extol the things of later Ages. But I am well persuaded, that as the divided Virtue of this our Island, hath given more noble proof of it self; than under so worthy a Leader, that Roman Army could do, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Caesar a *Monarch*; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance into our greatest help, the Enemy that shall dare to try our Forces, will find cause to wish, that avoiding us, he had rather encountered as great a puissance, as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aside comparisons, we return to the rehearsal of deeds done: wherein we shall find how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italy, to strive with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Punic War.

§. II.

The Estate of Carthage, before it entered into War with Rome.

THE City of Carthage had stood above six hundred years, when first it began to contend with Rome for the Mastery of Sicily. It forewent Rome one hundred and fifty years in antiquity of Foundation; but in the Honour of great Achievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion in Africa it self, from the west part of Cyrene, to the Streights of Hercules, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjected all Spain, even to the Pyrenean Mountains, together with all the Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the west of Sicily, and of Sicily the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty years, before the destruction thereof by Scipio: who besides other Spoils, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence four hundred and seventy thousand weight of Silver, which make of our Money (if our Pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound Sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same Fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The Ruine of the goodliest pieces of the World, fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after first time as it was cast down, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt, and by Gracchus it was called *Jæmia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genfericus* the Vandal, by *Belisarius* under *Justinian*, by the *Perfians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mabometans*. It is now nothing. The Seat thereof was exceeding strong: and, while the Carthaginians commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was eyed to the Main by a neck of Land, which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it self was above twenty mile in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the Circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City, and between each of those, three or four Streets with Vaults under ground of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants and all their Food. Over these they had Stables for four thousand Horse, and Granaries

ries for all their Provender. They had also Lodging in these Streets between these out-walls for four thousand Horse-men, and twenty thousand Foot-men, which (according to the Discipline used now by those of China) never pestered the City. It had towards the South part, the Cattle of *Byssa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could sow with an Ox Hide. On the West side it had also the Salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing Pool; for a certain Arm of Land fastned to the ground on which the City stood, stretched it self toward the west Continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous Arsenal, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The Form of their common-wealth resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the Aristocratical Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the People in later times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forceable causes of their Ruine, were their Avarice and their Cruelty.

Their Avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary Tributes) the one half of the Fruits of the Earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the People, to augment their Treasures. Their cruelty appeared in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendered them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready, upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the Spirits of their Generals, by presenting, in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel Death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the Carthaginian Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their Charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruin all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best Projects after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear, lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the Carthaginian rule, to cruciate, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him whose bad Council had prosperous event. The Faults, wherein, in general, they of Carthage are taxed, by Roman Historians I find to be these; Lust, Cruelty, Avarice, Craft, Unfaithfulness, and Perjury.

Whether the Romans themselves were free from the same Crimes, let the trial be referred unto their actions. The first League between Carthage and Rome was very ancient: having been made the year following the Expulsion of *Tarquin*. In that League, the Carthaginians had the superiority, as imposing upon the Romans the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the Romans should not so much as have Trade in some part of *Affrica*, nor suffer any Ship of theirs to pass before the Head-land, or Cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of Tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in Italy was forbidden to the Carthaginians. A second League was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livie* to say, that the Romans granted it ^{to the Carthaginians} intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the Romans to have Trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

By these two Treaties it may appear, that the Carthaginians had an intent, not only to keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other People) from getting any knowledge of the State of *Affrica*; but to countenance and uphold them in their troubling all Italy, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all Sicily, whilst that Island should be destitute of Italian Succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the Joy that was in Carthage, and the Crown of Gold weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to Rome, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little State of Rome prevailed faster in Italy, than the great Power of Carthage did in Sicily. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Affrica* into Sicily, was consumed by Pestilence; many great Fleets were devoured by Tempests; and howsoever the Carthaginians prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own Valour, or by assistance of their good Friends out of Greece, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon these Invaders. But never were the People of Carthage in better hope of getting all Sicily, than when the Death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant had left the whole Island in combustion; the Estate of Greece being such at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the Carthaginians were busy in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their Fellows, came into Italy, where he made sharp War upon the Romans. These News were unpleasant to the Carthaginians, who, being a seditious Nation, easily forebore, that the same bubble disposition, which had brought this Prince out of Greece into Italy, would as easily transport him over into Sicily, as soon as he could finish his Roman War. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to Rome, who declared in their Name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the Romans, their good Friends in this War, with *Pyrrhus*; and that the People of Carthage were very willing to assist the State of Rome, by sending an Army into Italy; if their help were thought needful against the *Epirots*.

It was indeed, the main desire of the Carthaginians, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his Work in Italy, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their business in Sicily, which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the Romans were too high minded, and refused to accept any such aid of their Friends, lest it should blench their Reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by

their own strength. Yet the Meflage was taken lovingly, as it ought, and the former League between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with Covenants added, concerning the present business; That if either of the two Cities made Peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be, with reservation of Liberty to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to found his intentions (a matter very difficult where one upon every new occasion changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicily*, where, though in fine, he was neither getter nor faver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking, had been so strongly pursued through the length of many Generations might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intentment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater Harvest, by how much their cost and pains therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practise, recovered in few years all their old Possessions: making Peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a Troop of *Campanian* Soldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as Friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the Power that they had to do wrong, and with perfidious cruelty, drew those that trusted them, which done, they occupied the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamerines*. Good Soldiers they were, and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous Treachery, added Rage unto their Stoutness. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the *Law* of the *Stronger*, they over-ran the Country round about them.

In this course, at first they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messina* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, against the *Syraculians*, and others; but they rather won upon them, yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting Tributes from many neighbour places. But it was not long ere Fortune turning her Back to these *Mamerines*, the *Syraculians* men fast upon them, and finally confining them within the Walls of *Messina*, they also with a powerful Army besieged the City. It happened ill, that about the same time a contention began, between the *Syraculan* Soldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governors among themselves; to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many Vertues, although it was contrary to the Policy of that State, to approve any Election made by the Soldiers, yet for the great Clemency he used at his first entrance, was by general consent, established and made Governour. This Office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb

to fame higher degree, than rested content with his present Preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City, and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the Place he sought; to wit, a powerful Party within the Town, and certain mutinous Troops of Soldiers without, often and easily moved to Sedition and Tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest Estimation and Authority among the *Syraculians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messina*, he quartered all those Companies which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town Walls, and left the Mutinies to be cut in pieces by the Affixed: So returning home, and leaving an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he halted again towards *Messina*, and was by the *Mamerines* (grown proud by their former Victory over the Mutinies) encountered in the Plains of *Myleum*, where he obtained a most signal Victory, and leading with him their Commander Captive into *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamerines* finding themselves utterly intebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the several Factions, dispatched Embassadors for the same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good Offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messina*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These News did much offend the People of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messina*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron*, the new made King of *Syracuse* (to gratify his People, incensed with the smart of Injuries lately received) added his Forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entered into a League, for exterminating the *Mamerines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamerines* on all sides were closed up within *Messina*, the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syraculians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius*, the Roman Consul, with an Army to the Straights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them, that the *Mamerines* were now become confederate with the People of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This Meflage was utterly neglected; And so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will be time to shew, on which part was the justice of the Quarrel, when some

actions

actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punic War. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

When *Pyrrhus* began his Wars in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only desiring to be taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busy time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of four thousand Soldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a Roman Prefect, by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this Roman Garrison, considering at good leisure, the Fact of the *Mamerines*, committed in *Messina* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the Boory, than the odiousness of the Villainy by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like Purchase, by taking the like wicked Course. Considering therefore themselves with the *Mamerines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and People of *Rome*, of this Outrage, they finding their Honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the World made a more severe Profession of Justice than they did, during all the time of their growing Greatness) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the Offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenced the Fires kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their Fact, hopeless of Pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution, and yet in the end, the Assaults forced them, and those which escaped the present Fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the usual Torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custom of the Country, they had their Heads stricken from their Shoulders; and the People of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former Liberties and Estates.

This Execution of Justice being newly performed, and the Fame thereof founding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: Messengers came to *Rome* from *Messina*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians* and *Syraculians*, that were in a readiness to inflict the like Punishment upon the *Mamerines*, for the like Offence. An impudent Request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that Villainy to the Roman Soldiers, and helped them with joynt Forces to make it good; intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their Fellow Thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve whether the way of Honesty or of Profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamerines* was, to their former Councils and Actions, seeing for the same Offences they had lately put to Torment and to the Sword their own Soldiers, and restored the Oppressed to their Li-

berty. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the Mediterranean Islands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* it self; whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein feared (a City in Beauty and Riches, little, at that time, inferior to *Carthage*, and far superiour to *Rome* it self) might become theirs; the safety of their own Estate spake for these *Mamerines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver (up *Messina*, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage*; and the Lordship of all *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it self could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that Passage from the main Land. It was further considered, that the opportunity of *Messina* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the Continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would serve as a Bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy* at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers that threatened from afar, did so prevail, above all regard of Honesty, that the *Mamerines* were admitted into confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatched away for *Messina*: into which he entered, and undertook the protection of it, as it shewed before. The Besiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and less moved with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their Wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this, he thought the stiff metal of his Roman Soldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the Field, and to let the Enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the Enemy lay incamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own numerous Followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own Quarter, without help of others. Against him *Appius Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected fallies, to surprize his Trenches) arranged his men in order of battle, whereupon he presented him. The *Syraculan* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good advice: rage to fight; he not have hazarded all his Power against an Enemy, of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get Honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his Reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to leave himself within his Trenches: by which loss he learned a point of Wisdom, that stood him in his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his Life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syraculians* so busy in helping those of *Carthage* against the *Mamerines*.

Had *Messina* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those Friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had, (in respect of those two

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mighty

mighty Cities) but a small flock, which it behooved him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the Enemy forsook both Field and Camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at first they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any form of terror in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable to consider of those grounds whereupon the *Romans* entered into this War; not now probable that they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanians*, distressed by the *Sannites*, had done) I cannot find, neither can I find how the messengers of those Folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such friendship, in the publick Name of all their Company.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful surrender of themselves and their Possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better Title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines* against their most ancient Friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanians* against the *Sannites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of Pirates, Thieves, Outlaws, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can, by any good favours of their Villany, obtain the privilege of civil Societies, to make League or Truce, yea, or to require fair War: but are by all means, as most pernicious Vermin, to be rooted out of the World. I will not take upon me to maintain that Opinion of some *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his Faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold, that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the Sword of Vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their Crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the *Romans*, so far from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacy made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this Nest of Murderers and Thieves into their Protection, they justly deserved to be warned upon themselves by the People of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messina* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, are any News of this Confederacy had been brought unto the Bessagers. The great *Alexander* was so far perverted herein; that he did put to Sword all the *Branchidae* (a People in *Sydicene*) and razed their City, not

withstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Company of *Melissians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which those of their Posterity enjoyed. Nevertheless, in course of humane Justice, long and peaceable possession gives *ius acquiritum*, a kind of Right by prescription, unto that which was at first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the Defendants from the Crime of their Ancestors, whose Villanies they do not exercise. But that the same Generation of Thieves, which by a detestable Fact hath purchased a rich Town, should be acknowledged a lawful Company of Citizens, there is no shew of Right. For even the Conqueror, that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his Title by those Victories which gave him first possession; but length of time is requisite to establish him, unless by some alliance with the Ancient Inheritors, he can better the violence of his Claim, as did our King *Henry* the first, by his Marriage with *Maud*, that was Daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*; by *Margaret*, the Niece of *Edmond Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of Justice in this quarrel, than had the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and other Nations of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her self, in the time of her Vilitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.

Of the Island of Sicil.

† I.

The Quality of the Island: and the first Inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messina*, being now no longer, since the first Victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a brief Collection of things concerning that noble Island, which hath been the Stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present War.

That *Sicil* was sometimes a Peninsula, or *Demy Isle*, adjoynd to *Italy*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria* near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this division happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient Writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* affirm, that it was caused by an Earthquake; *Strabo*, and *Cassiodorus*, do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the Tide and Surges of the Sea. Either of these Opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* severed from *Boeotia*; *Asiatike* and *Macedonia* from *Europe*; *Sicilia* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Exmouth*; and *Britain* it self (as may seem by *Pliny* and *Cornwall* arguments) from the opposite Continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to Fables, do attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Ennius* witnesseth) who with his three forked Mace, in favour of *Jocastus*, the Son of *Atlas*, divided it from the main land, and so made it an Island

Island, which before was but a *Demy Isle*, that by that means he might the more fairly inhabit and possess the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the Rocks and Mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* Sreights, as *Hercules* did thole of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excel the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of Soil. As concerning the form of this Island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capital Letter of the *Greeks*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the Figure of a Triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old Writers with one consent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of sowing and sowing cause; (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Phaon*, as soon as she, uncovering her self, first shew'd herself to be seen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the Fertility and Riches of this Country, there is a famous Testimony written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary*, and *Strabo* saith, it is the *Common-wealth*, and the *Nurse* of the *culgar* sort. The same *Cicero* doth add in that place, that it was not only the Store-house of the People of *Rome*: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished Treasury. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath usually clothed, maintained, and furnished our greatest Armies with Leather, Apparel, and Corn. *Strabo* repeateth almost the same thing of it. Whether *Sicily* doth yield (saith *Strabo*) whether by the Sun and temperature of the Air, or by the industry and labour of Man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the Earth first putteth forth, are extremely overgrown with *Saffron*. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the Fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Island, Wheat doth grow of it self, without any labour or looking to of the Husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fix Colonies, and sixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the Names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts done by the People of this Island, as well in Peace as War; there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the Birth of *Ceres*; the ravishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*, the Mount *Ætna*, *Sylla* and *Chariddes*, with other Antiquities and Rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*; the famous Geometrician *Euclides*; the painful Historian *Diodorus*, and *Epicharmus* the deep Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first peopled and inhabited by Giants *Levrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous People, and uncivil; all Histories and Fables do jointly with one consent avow. Yet *Theophrastus* saith, that these savage People dwelt only in one part of the Island. Afterward the *Sicani*, a People of Spain possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some do so think) *Theophrastus* and *Diodorus* do constantly avouch.

Of those it was named *Sicani*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that

part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterwards built, were driven by the *Pelagi* from their own Soils, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to master and inhabit, passed over into this Island three hundred years before the *Greeks* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty years before the Fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Island; and making War upon the *Sicani*, drove them from the East and Northern part thereof into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Messina*; and after that *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse*; it self, beating from thence the *Ætoliens*, who long before had set up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not known, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Island from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrival dispossess the *Ætoliens* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Nea*, *Hibla*, *Trinacia*, and divers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These fate down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentium*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a Civil War greatly infested. Among these ancient stories, we find the last Voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Theophrastus*, an Historian of unquestionable sincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Islands: and some such business, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Daedalus*. The Tale goes thus: *Daedalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocclus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocclus* to lay up his Treasure in; together with many notable Works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ram in Gold, that was set up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with so great art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos* hearing that *Cocclus* had entertained *Daedalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocclus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocclus* doubting his own strength, promitteth to deliver *Daedalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while kills *Minos* by Treason, and perfwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his Followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himself against the *Sicani*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their consent, and builded for themselves the City of *Minoa*, after the Name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Town of *Ergium*, now called *Gange*; and there were the first Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two Ages before the War of *Troy*; for the Grand-children of *Minos* served with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* understood, that their King had by Treason been made away; they gathered together a great Army to invade *Cocclus*; and landing near unto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return without any revenge taken) they were wrackt on the Coast of *Italy*; and having no means to repair their Ships, nor the Honour they had lost, they made good the Place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between

War, they sent into *Demaratus*, *Gelon's* Wife, a Crown, valued at an hundred Talents of Gold, with other Presents. Whereby we see that some Nations and some Nations are much the better for being well beaten. The Wars ended, and *Sicil* in Peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philistru* and *Pliny* report, That when his Body was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the Fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his Brethren *Polyspathus* and *Thrahybulus*, as he fought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; means to the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Aggrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he floridly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the Succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Gracians* against him. He also overthrew in Battle, *Thrahybulus* the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Aggrigentines* to their former Liberty. But in the end he lost the Love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrahybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrahybulus* enjoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For notwithstanding the force of mercenary Soldiers, which he entertained for his Guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the Government, and was banished the Island. From thence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered again their former Liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had never fought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his Virtue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man, to the Dignity of a Prince; it behoveth the Successor to maintain it by the same way and art by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere she could cleanse her self of the Creatures and Lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free well near three score years, to the time of *Dionysius*; though the were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own called *Tyranno*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracism*. They called this their new devised Judgment of exile, *Petalism*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive Leaf (as at *Athen* they wrote upon Shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby, in a short time it came to pass, that those of Judgment, and best able to govern the Common-wealth, were by

the worst able, either suppressed or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to do; seeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized Ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort to the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Emma*, and some other of the *Gracian* Cities, and overthrowing the Army of the *Aggrigentines*) the *Syracusians* sent Forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolon*. This their Captain made nothing more than to find *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him Barrel. So, for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they lay other Troops; by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitted himself, and is constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the Greek Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacia* excepted; which also by force of Arms, in the four score and fifth *Olympiad*, they brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, seek aid from the *Athenians*, about the fifth year of the *Peloponnesian* War, in this Suit they prevailed by the Eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator, and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Chorades*. To this Fleet the *Leontines* and their Partners added one hundred more; with which Forces, and with some Supplies brought by *Sepholes*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; war and lost divers places; took *Messena*; and in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* War, lost it again. They also, at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vain. The Fire of this Quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which invaded each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see no issue of the War; the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were admitted into their Society with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatness themselves in *Sicil*, by the division and civil War, were disappointed of their Expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and lain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custom of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sepholes*, and laid an heavy Fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable War that ever was made by the Greeks in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians* against the Cities *Selimumnes* and *Syracusians*, in favour of the Cities *Selimumnes*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selimumnes* had oppressed the *Egeffians*; and they of *Syracuse* the

Leontines, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old Friends: And in hatred of the *Athenians*, Aid from *Lacedaemon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedaemonians* make plainly, having none other end than that which they pretended, namely, to help a People of their own Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes, which presented unto them a Fleet and Army far greater than the terrible report of Fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the City of *Athen* had engaged all her Power; as regarding, not only the greatness of the Enterprise, but the necessity of it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedaemonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of Peace with *Athen*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare no cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it, which was likely to be hindered by Wars at Home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been over-patience, the Arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from to chargeable a business, and to reserve their Forces for a more needful use. But young Counsels prevailed against the Authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of Safety than of Honour.

Of this business, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the Affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the People to this great Voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succor the *Egeffians*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*, as also by force of Arms, to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by Tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captains were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Soldiers, besides the thirty Ships of Burden, which transported their Victuals, Engines, and other Munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodiens*, and *Candians*: there were besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirty Horse-men.

With these Troops and Fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them Victuals for their Money. From thence they tent to the *Egeffians*, to know what Treasure they would contribute towards the War, seeing, for their sakes, they had entered thither. But they found by their Answers, that these *Egeffians* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shews of Gold, having in all but thirty Talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient Friends, and

allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* advised them to depart towards the *Selimumnes*, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the *Egeffians*; as likewise to see what Disburments the *Egeffians* could make; and to return again into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athen* in a needless War. *Alcibiades* on the other side, would solicit the Cities of *Sicil* to Confederacy against the *Syracusians*, and *Selimumnes*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he persuaded them to assail *Syracuse* if self, before they were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they purpize *Catana*: and there they take new Counsel how to proceed. Thence they employed *Nicias* to those of *Egeffa*, who received from them thirty Talents towards his Charges; and one hundred and twenty Talents more there were of the Spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer, and the Army was left to the Conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imploir to *Syracuse* an Inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver in to their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best Forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians* setting sail for *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortify themselves against the Town. Shortly after this they fight, and the *Syracusians* have the Loss; but the *Athenians* wanting Horse, could not pursue their Victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves with a resolution to refresh their Army for the Winter-season. From thence at *Catana*, for the Winter-season, hoping to have made an attempt upon *Messena*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messinians*. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens the *Athenians*, because they had recalled him from his Command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured or to have banished him: whereof being assured of his Friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedaemonians*; and to them he gave mischievous Counsel against his Country. While this Winter lasted, the *Syracusians* sent Embassadors to *Lacedaemon* and *Corinth* for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, sent to *Athen* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* War) the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Country, they obtain some small Victories over the stragling *Syracusians*; and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without Horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island, from the *Segestans*, and other their Adherents: they were also strengthened with a Company of Archers, and with three hundred Talents in Money.

Hereupon they took courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the Banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians* that failed to impeach their Inrenchments. They also received from the Confederates four hundred Horse-men, with two

hundred other Horse, to mount their men at Arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their Passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Pytho*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces arrive, and take land at *Himera*. The Citizens of *Himera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, join with them, so that with these and his own Troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their Forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival near unto the City, upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their Enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* Horse-men could not come to fight in those Streights: but soon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himself within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his Affairs known by his Letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great Supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These Letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Demosthenes*, to join with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

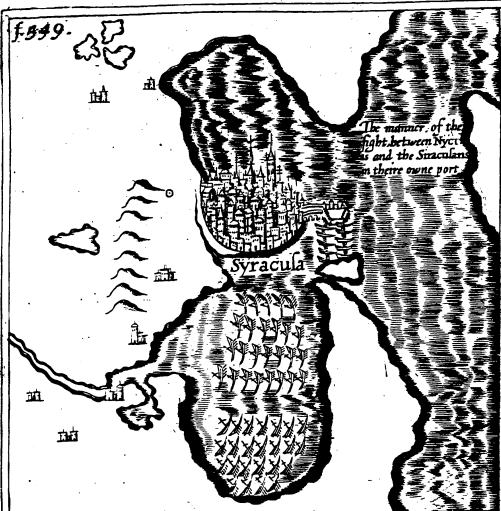
In the mean while *Gylippus* at *Syracuse* fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took from them their Fort near unto *Syracuse*, at the Promontory called *Phymomyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their Treasure, and a great part of all their Provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within Athens, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in Sicily, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new Succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards Sicily, encountered with *Polyarchus* the *Corinthian* with his Fleet: both the Captains being bound for Sicily; the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the Enterprise they had in hand. But before the Succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threecore and thirteen Gallies, charged with Foot-men; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten and repulst with great loss. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and return to the succour of Athens: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good Intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his Intelligence was, upon the arrival of a new supply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to defer their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threecore and seventeen

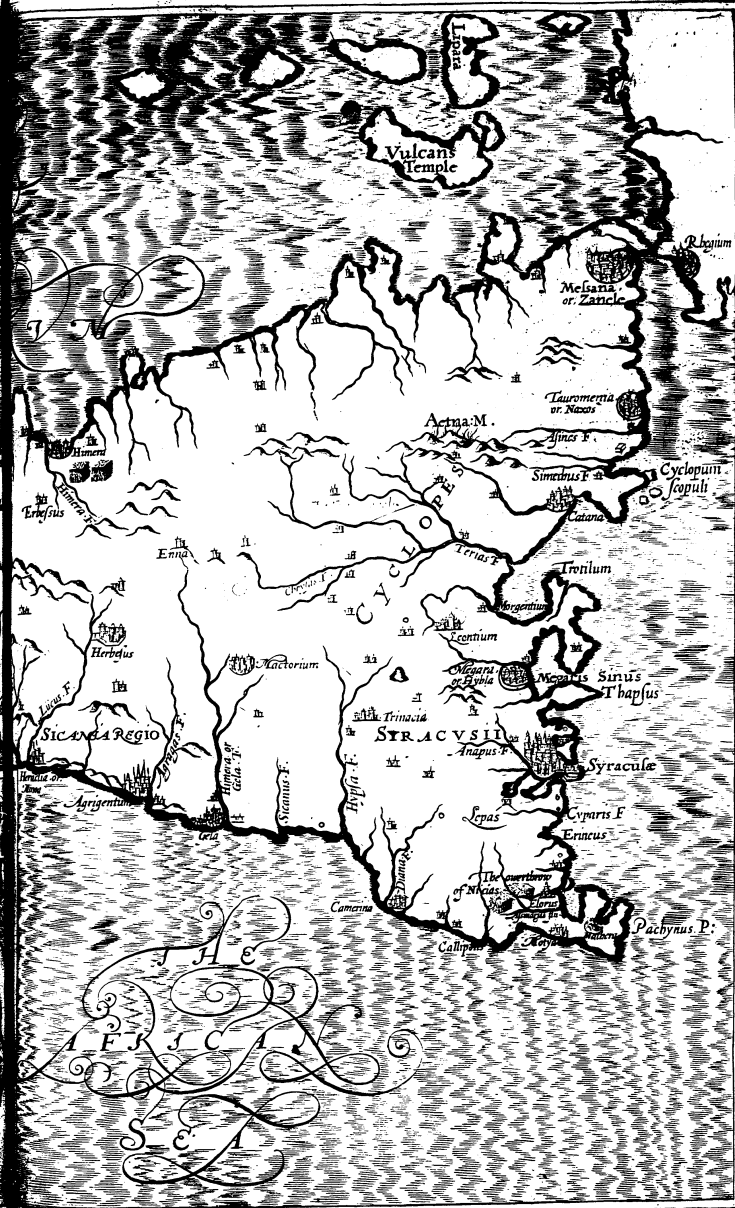
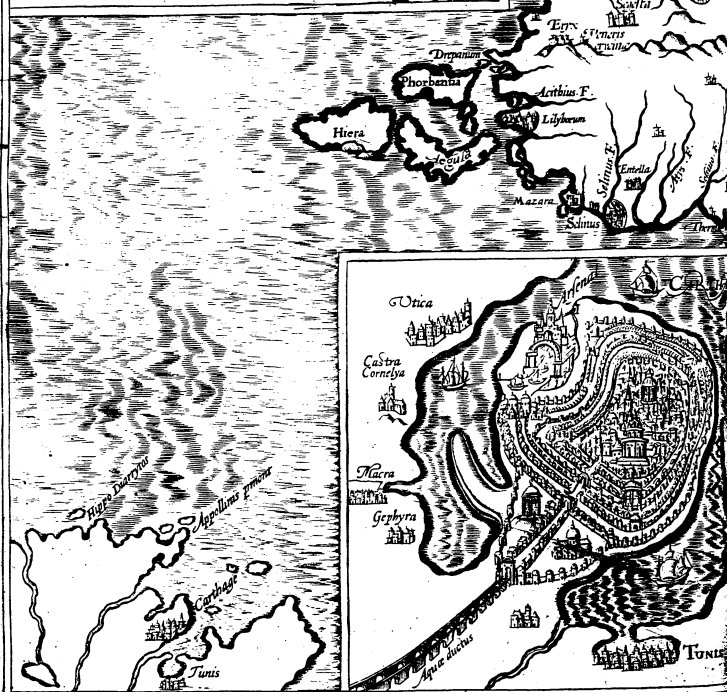
fail of Gallies entred the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their Fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port, encountered them with fourcore and six Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* Fleet was beaten by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more loss by Land (for the Fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; *When any People do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those Weapons in which they persuade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their Reputation, but their Courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackt, had seventeen taken and posselt by the Enemy: and with great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisade*, in one corner of the Port, unadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust Ships into a freight room and corner, as it is to scatter Foot in a plain Field against Horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other, by close imbatalling.

The *Syracusians* having now weakened the *Athenian* Fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusan* Fleet; which lay but single, because they were forced to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behind them again certain Ships, which served in the former War for Victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk, or the Chain which joyned them to their Fellows broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies which came on in form of a Wedge, to break through and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies and Ships intangled together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their courst and fury. For where the way of any Vessel using Oar or Sails is broken, and their speed fore-flowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and break down this great Bridge of Boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolve to hazard, with all their Shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the Bridge of Boats, did disorder the *Athenian* Fleet, ere they came to force the Bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the Chains, yet being stoppt by the Ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusians*, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a freight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having over-pestered their



The manner of the
fight between Syracu-
sa and the Syraculani
in their own port



their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive Arms of Darts and Slings, they had not place upon the Decks to stretch their arms; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the Fight was no less terrible than the Confusion; the Slaughter great on all sides; and the Noise and the Cries so loud and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten back to the Land, with loss of three-score of their Gallies, broken, sunk, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Pythion*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies running themselves into the bottom of the Port, saved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-army, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to Council. *Demophilus* persuades them to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present Victory, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athen*. This was no ill Council. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greatest number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten Enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosom of good success, have been suddenly awaked by the re-called Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby lost again all the Honour and Advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the advice of *Demophilus*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more favourable Fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedaemonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the Field, and to stop all the passages leading to those Cities of their Enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadex*, lost us both the *Indian* Fleet, and the spoils of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates* the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to persuade his Country-men to any hasty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, thereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three Horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* Faction) to give him advice not to march away over hastily from the place wherein he was fortified; alleging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Army, which could not long stay there upon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These Tidings *Nicias* easily believed, and put off his Journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearful than wise, and to them, every Thistle in the Field, appears by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their Baggage) they remove; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their Enemies Swords. The rest march away, to the number of forty thousand;

and make their first passage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their Enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* Horse-men, beaten in from foraging and provision of Food, they grow weak and heartless. The *Syracusians* also possess the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to pass towards *Camarina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their Journey intended. Many hard shifts they made in difficult passages and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the Enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vanguard; and *Demophilus* conducted the Rear. At the River *Eranus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole night's march, leaving *Demophilus* to make the Retreat: who being incompassed, and over-prest with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the Faith of his Enemies far worse than he suspected. For he was afterwards, with *Nicias*, murdered in Prison. The Army of *Demophilus* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the passage of the River *Assinarum*, rendered himself to *Gylippus* upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* fought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*, and who, at the Overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the Lives of the vanquished; *Demophilus*, as one that had done to *Lacedaemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous Violence, after so noble a Victory. But the cruel and cowardly sort, (Cowardice and Cruelty being inseparable Passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome Prisons, and the rest sold for Slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* War, which took end at the River *Assinarum*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the four-score and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egeftans* (for whose defence against the *Selinuntines*, this late War had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*, to whom they offered themselves and their City as their Vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late Victories over the *Athenians*, they staid a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were strictly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolve upon the Enterprize; and (by a trick of their *Punic* Wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeftans*, to compel the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the Lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should think meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approved the motion, for it tended to their own Honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune in the

Athenian War, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a business, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuse*, and the *Syracusan* as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this Employment, that he might take revenge, as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers Death, the one of them having been slain by the *Himerans*; the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these Cities, *Himibal*, in this War, won by force of Arms, sacked them and burnt them, and having taken three thousand of the *Himerans* Prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this, followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the Banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracusan* Forces against the *Athenians*. The malice of his Enemies had so far prevailed with the ingrateful Multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his near Vertue, at such time as he was aiding the *Lacedaemonians* in their War against *Athens*, wherein he did great service. All the honest for within *Syracuse* were sorry for the injury done unto him, and fought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himself returning into *Sicily*, gathered an Army of six thousand, with which he began to repair *Selinus*, and by many noble actions, laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the Faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was advised to seize upon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his Friends within the Town, might have the better means to rise against the adverse Party. This he did: but presently the Multitude fell to Arms, and set upon him, in which Conflict he was slain. But his Son-in-law *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of *Dionysius* the Tyrant: and others, following him in *Syracuse*.

THE *Syracusans* had enjoyed their Liberty about three score years, from the Death of *Thrasybulus*, to the Death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised up by God to take revenge, as well of their Cruelty towards Strangers, as of their Ingratitude towards their own best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their Pastime toward the Vertue of their worthiest Commanders with Death or Disgrace: which Custom they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees that many others before him had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* itself. For being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians* and other their Enemies, he behaved himself so well, that he got a general Love among the People and Men of War. Then began he to follow the Example of *Pisistratus*, that made himself Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a Band of six hundred men to defend his Person: under pretence, that

his private Enemies, being traitorously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laid Plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the Pay of the Soldiers, alleging that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himself. He persuaded the Citizens to call home out of exile, those that had been banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour among the *Syracusans*, grew from his accusation of the principal men. It is the delight of base People to raise over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as Fetters imprisoning their Liberty, the bars that held it under safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found wherewith to avenge themselves. But what they saw, the People would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the City to smart. He began early to hunt after the Tyranny, being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his desire to reign long. His first work of making himself absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was the possession of the Citadel; wherein was much good provision, and under it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the People; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear: The Army, the chief Citizens restored by him from banishment; all the needy for within *Syracuse* that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-Towns bound unto him, either for his help in War; or for his establishing the Faction, reigning at that present; were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the Citadel into his hands, he needed no more, save to assure what he had already. He strengthened himself by divers marriages; taking first to Wife the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius* his Successor; the other, *Arifomache*, the Daughter of *Hipparchus*, and Sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*, which bare unto him many Children, that served to fortify him with new Alliances.

Yet it was not long ere some of the *Syracusans* (envying his prosperity) incited the Multitude, and took Arms against him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their Enterprise was more passionately than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his Tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found Friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ransacked his Treasures, and so shamefully abused his Wife, that for the grief thereof she poisoned herself. But he followed their heels apace, and firing a Gate of the City by night, entered, strong enough to take revenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his known, nor, not of his suspected Enemies. After that, he grew so doubtful of his Life, as he never durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, nor, so much as his Brother, to enter into his Chamber unfrisked and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the People that ever reigned in any

State;

State; and withal, the most unreflexively cruel.

After this, he separated with Fortification that part of the City, called the *Island*, from the rest; like as the *Spaniards* did the Citadel of *Anwerp*: therein he lodged his Treasures and his Guards.

He then began to make War upon the free Cities of *Sicily*: but while he lay before *Herbelle*, an inland Town, the *Syracusans* rebelled against him, so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from whence, having allured the old Soldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their passage through the City with one thousand and two hundred Horse, he again recovered the Maffery over the *Syracusans*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Harvest, he disarmed all the Townsmen remaining, and new strengthened the Fort of the Island with a double Wall. He inclosed that part also called *Eppole*; which, with three score thousand Labourers, he finished in three weeks, being two Leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thousand Targes, with as many Swords and Head-peeces, with fourteen thousand Corslets, and all other fitable Arms. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly enfeebled by the Plague) that except they would abandon the Greek Towns which they held in *Sicily*, he would make War upon them, and not staying for answer, he took the Spoil of all the *Phœnician* Ships and Merchant-dise within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *English* before the War in our late Queens time. He then goes to the Field with four score thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, and sends his Brother *Leptines* to Sea with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred Ships of Burthen. Most of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him, saving *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these he first won *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the Sword; but before *Egesta* he lost a great part of his Army by a Sally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives, but ere he took Land, he lost in a Fight at Sea with *Leptines*, fifty Ships of War, and five thousand Soldiers, besides many Ships of Burthen. This notwithstanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his first descent.

From thence marching towards *Messina*, he took *Lipara*, and (soon after) *Messina*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his Estate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would pass toward *Syracuse*, and he himself took the Field again, with four and thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines* his Brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thousand of his men were slain, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us: that one City should be able to furnish five hundred sail of Ships, and two hundred Gallies (for so many did *Syracuse* arm in this War) and more strange it is, that in a Battle at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Musquetry, twenty thousand should be slain in one Fight. In all our Fights against the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we hear of no such number lost; nor in any other Fight by Sea,

that ever happened in our Age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fifth went to besiege *Algier*, he had in all his Fleet, Transports and others, but two hundred and fifty sail of Ships, and three score and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which Fleet, he sought help from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the Field upon extremity, as many as were needful, of all that could bear Arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our days it is not so, neither indeed is it often requisite. Upon this overthrow *Dionysius* posits away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and besieges the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant having received aid from the *Lacedaemonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himself to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sink four. Hereupon, finding their own success prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having also at the present Weapons in their hands; they confult how to recover their Liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedaemonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the Plague was so increased, and so violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is said, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the Power that he could gather together, sets upon them both by Sea and Land, and having slain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire Peace. This Peace *Dionysius* fold him for a great sum of Money, on condition that he should settle away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no Faith was kept with him, for he was purified, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The rest of the *Africans* fell under the Swords of their Enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: that which happened unto *Monfieur de Piles*, was very fitable to this Treachery, wherewith *Dionysius* purified *Himilco*. I was present when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendered *St. John d'Angelle*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. He rendered it upon promise made by the Faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his Followers. Yet in presence of the King himself, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of France, he was set upon and broken in his March, spoiled of all that he had, and forced to save his Life by flight, leaving the most of his Soldiers dead upon the place: the Kings Hand and Faith, warranting him to march away with Ensigns displayed, and with all his Goods and Provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore seem strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his Faith, since Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionysius, after this great Victory, took care to re-dedicate *Messina*. *Mago*, who staid in *Sicily*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionysius*, who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of four score thousand Soldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*: but they take

Eggs

Eggs for their Money, and make Peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves, whom *Dionysius*, after a long Siege, overcame, and gave their City to his mercenary Soldiers.

He then pass into *Italy*, obtained divers Victories there, brought the *Rhegiens* under their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourscore thousand Crowns, to furnish him with threefore Gallies, and to put in an hundred Pledges, for assurance of their future observance of Covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the Peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruin them utterly with the more ease. Now to the end he might not without some colour, falsifie the Faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want Victual for his Army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity, at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his Quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of Food, to endure a Siege any long time against him. For to ruin them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of Faith. For when, in the beginning of his Reign, he desired them to bestow a Daughter of some of their Nobility upon him for a Wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, save the Hang-mans Daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill Deeds than villainous Words. *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharp Swords, but never any sharp Tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes, and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting Taunts that he used against him before *Amiens*; than for his Conspiracy with the *Spaniards*, or *Savoyans*: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their Swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Perret* used of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine, and not the counterfeited Letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So feared it with some other, greater than he, that thereby ran the same, and a worse Fortune soon after.

To be short, he made them know new Bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to do eleven months, till he won it by force. He used his Victory without mercy; especially against *Phylon*, who had commanded within it.

Some other Wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raising of this City, and those with variable success. For as in one Encounter he slew *Atago*, with ten thousand Africans: so the Son of *Mago* beat him, and slew his Brother *Lepimus*, with fourteen thousand of his Soldiers. After which he bought the Peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperity and Adversity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: some say in his bed peaceably, which is the

most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithless; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterwards, for speaking against his Tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a Slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parafites therefore filled his Cruelty, *The bate of evil men*; and his lawless Slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his Justice*. True it is, that Flatterers are a kind of Vermin, which poison all the Princes of the World, and yet they prosper better than the worst thief and valiantest men do: And I wonder not at it; for it is a World: and as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The World will love her own*.

To this *Dionysius*, his Son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the Love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of Prison, a great number of Persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Wistful, he remitted unto his Citizens divers Payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastened unto himself the Peoples affections; he cast off the Sheeps Skin, and put on that of the Wolf. For, being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more Vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain, and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wives; *Doro* of *Loerie*, and *Aristomacha* a *Syracusan*, the Sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doro* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him: and by *Aristomacha* he had two Sons and two Daughters; of which the eldest, called *Sophrosyne*, he gave in Marriage to his eldest Son, *Sophrosyne*, he gave in Marriage to his eldest Son, and her half Brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theodoras*: after whose Death, *Dion* took her to Wife, being his Niece.

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of Vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, and that he was much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil* to instruct the young King. And having persuaded the King to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition, to change Tyranny into Monarchy, and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the Love of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnes of his lasted not long. For *Philybus* the *Hikorian*, and other his Parafites, that hated *Dion* for severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants Favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the War against them: his Enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good Will into matter of Treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own Affairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilst *Dion*, in the mean time, having furnished fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings service, had it in his own power, either to deliver to the *Syracusan* their former Liberty, or to make himself Lord and Sovereign of their State.

1e

It is likely, that the honest and liberal offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation at his own charge, begot him many Enemies. For they that had served the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the fame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But these covetous and ignorant Cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to fill his Love and Liberty, Pride and Presumption, and heartned the young King in his oppressing and eating up his own People, of whose spoils they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the Fifth had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperor to continue the Siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his Victories, and his Conquest of *Mexico* in the West Indies, persuaded the Emperor that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him, and to have it said, That what the Emperor could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented at first to send him the Revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his Mobables at his own pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Post-fail of this Noble-mans Goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his Country to liberty. The Vertues of *Dion*, especially his great Liberty, had purchased much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it flood him in good stead, when he fought to raise men, with whose help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needful, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the City without resistance; armed the Multitude, and won all, save the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy*; but he quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vain Treaties of Peace, and some forceable attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custody of *Apollocrates*, his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philybus*, coming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries Liberty, had the fame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retireth himself to the *Leontines*; who receive him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new Troops enter the Castle: they fall out, assail, spoil and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Soldiers were retired; and the Townsmen thinking themselves secure, shut the Gates against *Dion*. But the next night, they of

the Castle fall again with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity, *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Country surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the Garrison of the Castle with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire, every where kindled with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the Fire and the Sword, that had well near burnt to ashes and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Castle, with the Munition and Furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after *Dionysius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had been deceived, and whom he had loved most, gave an untime end to his days. For he was loon after this his Victory, murdered by *Callippus*; who, after he had, with ill success, a while governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his Friends in *Italy*, recovers his Estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Leontes*, a *Syracusan* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Leontes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*, but by the hatred of the *Syracusans* towards *Dionysius*, to have him also Lord of their City. The *Syracusans* being deservingly afflicted on all sides, lend to the *Carthaginians* for succour. *Leontes* also lends thither, and diffwades the *Carthaginians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the business. He tells them by his Messengers, that he had entered into League with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Carthage* to land any Army in *Sicil*. But the *Carthaginians*, being by this Treason of *Leontes*, more enraged than diffwaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies to deliver *Syracuse* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Leontes* had entered *Syracuse*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, wherein he besieged him.

Leontes, being himself a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his Power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to persuade him to return his Fleet, for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the fame Port of *Rhegium*; whose Captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be persuaded. *Timoleon* finding himself over-mattered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the People, to deliver unto him those arguments for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publique testimony, discharge himself to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians* perfwading themselves, that a Victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easie than that of many blows and wounds, yielded to *Timoleon* desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegiens*, stole out of the Press; and having set sail before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched towards *Adranum*, where pursuing

Leontes

Ietes his Army, he flew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of Victory to beget friends. The *Adranians* joyined with him, and so did *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands: as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Ietes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fifty days after his arrival, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Cerimb*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ietes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the Murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred Horse, which are slain in Italy by foul weather. *Ietes* is strengthened with threecore thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the Walls of that City. With this great Army, *Ietes* assaulted the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them Victuals and succour in small Boats by night from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ietes* do therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leas*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, filled out of the Castle, and took that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Ietes*, being frightened out of *Sicily* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of Treason. This made him return to *Carthage*, where the general exclamation against his Cowardize, did so much affright him, that for fear of farther punishment, he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Castle (which he called the Nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the City, when the Strangers were fled, in effect desolate, so as their Houses did feed on the Grass growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Cerimb* for People to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*, others from other parts of the Island.

But a new form ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers transported (with all their Provision) in a thousand Ships of Burthen, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the passage of a River.

A Tempest of Rain, Hail, and Lightning, with boisterous Winds beating upon the Faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken: ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, with all their Carriages and Provisions: among which, there were found a thousand Corbels, guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Ietes*, and following his Victory, took him, with his Son *Euplemes*, and the General of his Horse, Prisoners, whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Ietes* his Wives and Daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Ietes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arcte*, *Dion's* Wife, and a young Child of his, which *Asdrubal* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* to self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon*, Tyrant of *Messina*: but *Timoleon* pursuing him, won the Town, delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicily*.

Finally, he made Peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his Death, and was solemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the Tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought Peace to the whole Island, the Inhabitants enjoyed their Liberty in peace about twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired, the Trade renewed, the Merchant sailed in safety, and the labouring Man enjoyed the fruits of the Earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings to govern them, should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up an *Agathocles* among them, a man of base Birth, and of base Condition; who from a Beggar to a common Souldier, from a Souldier to a Captain, and so from degree to degree, rising to be a *Prætor*; finally, became Lord and Sovereign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and underwent as many dangers ere he obtained the Principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their Wars against those of *Enna* and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Margantians*, against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the People of *Margantia*, and made General of their Forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so sorely, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural Enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make Peace between himself and the *Syracusians*, binding himself by Promise and Oath, to remain a Friend and Servant to the Estate of *Carthage* for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen *Prætor*, he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Margantians*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City being all divided into many Factions) he assails the Senators, kills all his Enemies and Opposites, divides the spoil of the Rich among the Poor, and gives liberty to his Souldiers to Rob, to Ravish, and to Murder, for two whole days and nights without controulment: the third day, when he had blunted their barbarous Appetites, and strewed the Streets with ten thousand dead Carcasses, besides those that had broken their Necks over the Walls, their Fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the People (being an eloquent Knave) persuaded them, that for the violent Sicknes, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the

violent remedies which he had administered; and that he had affected no other thing, than the reducing of the State from an Oligarchy, or the Rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democracy, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and prosperity. This he did, to have the Crown clasp on his Head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew that he had left none living within the City fit nor able to exercise the Office of a Magistrate, so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted in the Murder and Spoil of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their Villanies and Cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again, saluting, and adoring him by that Name, as if it had been given to him by some lawful Election. Hence had our King *Richard* the Third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-wealth, the other fought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his Cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, fought, by making of good Laws, to recover the Love of his People.

The Life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Justin*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the sum whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men to help in the Massacre of the Citizens, was also content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his Tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island, because it was thereby like to come to pass, that he should reduce all *Sicily* into such terms, as would make it become an easy Prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities confederate with the *Carthaginians* sent their Embassadors with complaint of this ill dealing to *Carthage*; the *Punic* Faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than mere falsehood) threw it self very honourable, in taking order for the redress. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*, and a new Captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such Forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to save his Confederates from suffering such injuries in their Confederates from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they took order to have it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being given, but not calculated, and so reserved until he should return. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had some notice of it. In managing his business with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made such a Composition with the *Syracusians*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen himself both in Power and Authority, even against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices; thinking to deal subtilly, and finally, they spin their Threads so small, that they are broken with the very Wind. *Amilcar* saw that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deal substantially, and that therefore it would be hard for him to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into so much the greater ex-

temery, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example which some of his foregoers had taught him; and for fear of such a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what sort he thought best. This depredation of *Amilcar* served to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer, but instead of Spoil and Robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his own ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have encountered an ill established Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them their sharp entertainment. They were beaten by him, and their Navy was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land nor Sea, but were glad to leave their business undone, and return into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foul weather, and the best part of their craft away, even whilst it was yet kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Gelo*, gathering together the remainders of this Ship-wreck, was bold to pass over into *Sicily*, and landed not far from *Gela*: where *Agathocles* was soon ready to examine the cause of their coming. Many Skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusian* had the better. But his good success begat presumption; whereby he lost a Battle, more important than all the other Fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the State of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumfession. The War was soon transferred to the Walls of *Syracuse*, within which *Agathocles* was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great Massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such as had been either mercenary Souldiers, infranchised Slaves, or base and needy People; helpers in establishing the present Government, and Executioners of the Murders and Spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and (withal) so fearful, that they durst not stir. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity *Agathocles* adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet in those Vessels that rode in the Haven; and committing the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the People to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the Siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the Mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of Victuals, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came that many Ships of Burthen laden with Corn and other Provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* hoist sail, and launch forth into the deep. They were not far gone when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give Conveyance unto his Victuals. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain towards him, as thinking him

the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*, and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would give them light. In the mean season the *Vitallers* were gotten into *Syracuse*, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived; first, that by pursuing two Fleets at once, he had mislead of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his Fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend to well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six days. He had (at the first) a great start of them, so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them, and having sunk or taken many, drove the rest to fly which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his Voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project; letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ills of *Sicily*, than by bringing the War to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their Walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their People untrained and unexperienced in dangers; the mercenary Forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater Wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the Wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our Enemies can do, by making some addition to their Spoils. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*, and with many brave words encouraged his men to well, that they were contented to set fire on all their Ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in Victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities, which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground, as a mark of terror to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed, thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression so diffuses them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcar's* Faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principal Citizens at home of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the Enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not unto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno*, and *Bomilear*; great Enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the Forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that diffention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessary drove *Agathocles* to fight, and the courage of his men resolved to deal with the whole Multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made ease the Victory against the one half of them. For

Bomilear would not stir: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this Victory brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* Society, to take part with *Agathocles*, who pursuing his Victory, wins many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar* their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his Forces he thought it not needful to transport, as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be drawn home by one that could scarce retain his own Kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracusan*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprise. It was a pretty (though tragical) accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a Dream, which told him that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His Fancy begot this Dream, and he believed it. He made more haste than good speed toward the City: and coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his Enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an Ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried Prisoner into the City, in which it was likely that he had no great Cheer to his Supper: for they struck off his Head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome Present) to *Agathocles*.

This good success of things at home, did put quick courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself King of *Africk*. He had allured *Opbellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this War ended) he might reign quietly. *Opbellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian* taking advantage, did murder this his Affiliant: and afterwards, by good Words, and great Promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his Villainy found good success, and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Towns in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recovering their Liberty, thinking it high time to fight at length for their own Freedom, after that they had so long been exposed (as a reward of Victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high Spirits, and his good success in many Fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africk*, where his Affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus* his Son had lost a Battle, and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself, his Army being in mutiny for lack of Pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the Tumult, by the accustomed Promises of great Booty and Spoil. It had now been time for him to offer Peace to the *Carthaginians*, which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both Money enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their City had been distressed, not only by this War, but by the Treason of *Bomilear*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But Ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the Conquest of *Carthage* it self: out of

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which dream he was awaked, by the loss of a Battle, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this War, had renewed their old Sacrifices of Children to *Saturn*, from which they had abstained ever since they made Peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their Prisoners taken in the Battle, to offer unto the said Idol, in way of thankfulness for their Victory. The Fire with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the Lodgings neare unto the Altar, and spreading it self farther through the Camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a Tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them believing that the noise in the adverse Camp, was a sign of the Enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a late retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new Calamity. In the beginning of this his Flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Soldiers, and thinking them to be Enemies (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him to the *Carthaginians*, in the last Battle) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind Fight, above four thousand of his men. This did discourage his proud Heart, that being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his Ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his Head; which was, to steal closely aboard his Ships with his younger Son (the elder he suspected of Inceft, and of Ambition) and so to fly into *Sicily*; thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting Vessels wherein to transport his Army. His elder Son *Archagathus* perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custody; but by means of a sudden Tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his Sons behind him, his Flight being noised through the Army, all was in uproar, and extremity of rage caused not only the common Soldiers, but even such as had been Friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two Sons and kill them. That this Flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base; I need not use words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequel doth manifest. His forsaken Soldiers being now a headless Company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places whereof they had possession, for nineteen Talents. Likewise *Agathocles* himself, having lost his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late War, make Peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forraign Enemies, discovered his bloody Nature in most abominable Cruelties among the *Sicilians*. His Wans and his Fears urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the Spoils of the Rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beauly rage, depopulated whole Cities. He devised new Engines of Torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bill of *Phalaris*, he made a Frame of Brass, that should serve to scorch men's Bodies, and wishal give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is

become a Slave to his brutish Affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sex nor Age; especially when he was informed of the Slaughter of his Children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preserve his Estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Country, took arms against him, and drove him into such fear, that he was fain to seek the Love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well, he might have had in *Sicily*. He freely delivered into the *Phenician* hands, all those Towns of the *Phenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably with great store of Corn, and with four hundred Talents of Gold and Silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and settled his Estate. Having no further business left in *Sicily*, he made a Voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terror of his Name, than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lepara*, and made the Inhabitants buy Peace with one hundred Talents of Gold. But when he had gotten this great Sum, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the Temples of their Gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be Gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible Perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven Ships laden with Gold: all which, and all the rest of his Fleet, were cast away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous Sicknes fell upon him, that rotted his whole Body, spreading it self through all his Veins and Sinews. Whilst he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only *Theogenia* (a Wife that he had taken out of *Aegypt*) and her small Children: his Nephew, the Son of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger Son of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they seek to end the Controversie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the others Life, wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slew his Uncle, and got his Grand-fathers Kingdom without asking any leave. These Tidings wounded the Heart of *Agathocles*, with fear and sorrow. He saw himself without help like to become a Prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himself, or by those whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her Children. Therefore he advised her and them to fly before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no means avoid, either Death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his Treasures and Goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to embark themselves hastily, and make speed unto *Aegypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himself into the fire, or whether his Disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his Life as basely, as assuredly, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamermires* his Soldiers traitorously occupied *Messana*, and infected a great part of the Island. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is, that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven

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to fend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had married with a Daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly Champaign Field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our Story will declare.

§. V.

A re-continuation of the Roman War in Sicily. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsook the Carthaginians, and made his Peace with Rome.

WHEN *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his Victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek Peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withal, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to fit still, without fear of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the Mastery. In this good mood, the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octavius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his Friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him Peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into Sicily; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hieron* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of Money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of Service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the Friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his Honour, than it was to his Commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion for their sakes, that should have received all the profit of the Victory: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without training themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse* in the days of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew that it was able to bear out a very long Siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the Besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the utmost hazard of War against the *Carthaginians*, who fought no other thing than to bring it into Slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could withdraw it from the Party of their Enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hieron*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own Tyranny: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the Love of his People, by seeking their Commodity; but including his own Felicity within the publique, laboured to uphold

both, by honest and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy Reign; living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*; and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*: whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himself, ere he left their Society, made unwilling to seek his Ruine; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compass it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and win Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintain a Fleet. Their first loss, and first Victory by Sea. Of Sea-fight in general.

Hieron having sided himself with the *Romans*, aided them with Victuals and other Necessaries: so that they presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their Forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to better them; they lend to the *Ligurians*, and to the Troops they had in Spain, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum*, the Seat of the War against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of Munition.

The Roman Consuls having made Peace with *Hieron*, return into Italy; and in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arrive. They go on towards *Agrigentum*: and finding no Enemy in the Field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of Harvest being come, a part of the Roman Army range the Country to gather Corn, and those at the Siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* fall furiously, and in danger the Roman Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assaults redoubled their Guards, and the Besieged kept within their Cover. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep Trench between the Walls of the City and their Camp, and another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly, by a fall, nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double defence kept the Besieged also from the receiving any relief of Victuals and Munitions, whilst the *Syracusan* supplies the Assaults with what they want.

The besieged fend for succour to *Carthage*: after they had been in this fort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* imbarc an Army, with certain Elephants, under the Command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at

Heracles, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himself into the Field, and surpriseth *Erbelus*, a City, wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their Provision. By means hereof, the Famine without grew to be as great as it was within *Agrigentum*: and the Roman Camp no less streightly affliged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: in such manner, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the Siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them rich; *Hanno* determined to give them Battel. To which end departing from *Heracles*, he makes approach unto the Roman Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* Horse-men to charge their Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this Encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly incamped, waiting until some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal*, that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by Signs as Messengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight. But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day; and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heracles* in succour, perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this Victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligently, with all the remainder of his Army, and paid by the Roman Camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vain: sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little ado the *Romans* entered, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this Victory, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Messanians*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own Coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sicily; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good success, to sail over into *Africa*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and of private Men, to cover the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Octavius*, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicily. Whereupon the *Romans* being Masters of the Field, many inland Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own Coasts, often invaded by the *African* Fleets, as also to equal themselves in every kind of Warfare with their Enemies, determine to make a Fleet. And herein Fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in Shipwrights craft, a storm of

wind thrust one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to set up an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies rowed by five on every bank, and twenty, of three on a bank: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the Feat of Rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea-lands many Seats, in order of the Banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their Water-men, and taught them to bear the Sand with long Poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Matter, that so they might learn the stroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oars.

When their Fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of Warfare, than well advised, paid over to *Messana* with seventeen Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needs row along the Coast to *Lipara*, hoping to do some piece of service. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertised of this new Sea-mans arrival, sent forth one *Boades*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies, to entertain him. *Boades* falling upon the Consul unawares, took both him and the Fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the Roman Gallies and their Consul; he grew no less foolishly hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himself to surpris the rest of the Roman Fleet, on their own Coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; fought them out with a Fleet of fifty Sail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had lost but seventeen, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans* being advertised of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the Charge of their Fleet to his Colleague, *Dulcius*. *Dulcius*, considering that the Roman Vessels were heavy and slow, the *African* Gallies having the speed of them, devised a certain Engine in the Prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their Enemies, when they were (as we call it) board and board, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier Ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftness serve them, nor their Mariners craft; the Vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open, so that all was to be carried by the advantage of Weapon, and Valour of the Men. Besides this, as the heavier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best use their hands. The example may be given between one of the long Boats of his Majesties great Ships, and a London Barge.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a Fight at Sea, must be skilful in making choice of Vessels to fight in: he must man of War upon the Waters, belonging to a good man of War upon the Waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a slow Ship pierce as well, and make as great holes as those in a swift. To clasp Ships together without con-

consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by such an ignorant bravery was Peter Stroffe loft at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquis of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of England, been loft in the year 1588. if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant Fools were, that found fault with his Demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboard them; and he had none: they had more Ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that had he intangled himself with those great and powerful Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his Head. Here to speak in general of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Press) I say, That a Fleet of twenty Ships, all good Sailers and good Ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good Ships, and of lower sailing. For if the Fleet of an hundred fail keep themselves near together in a gross Squadron, the twenty Ships charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their next Fellows: of which, so many as intangle, are made unrelievable or loft. Force them they may easily, because the twenty Ships which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the Wind, and flying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty Ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual Volley, whereas those that fight in a Troup have no room to turn, and can always fly but one and the same beaten side. If the Fleet of an hundred fail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser Fleet prevail, either against those that are a-rear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-falling their Fellows keep the wind: and if upon a Lee-shore, the Ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own Squadron, then it is all to nothing, that the whole Fleet must suffer Shipwreck, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a Fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by that Oration of *Heracles*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Harry*, Prince of Wales; a Subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and forrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cura locus leguatur, ingentes supert.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*, who by losing their advantage of Swift Boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty fail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their Enemies, by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the Siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Mazæa*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Divers Enterprizes of War, between the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable success. The Romans prepare to invade Africa: and obtain a great Victory at Sea.

THE Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Naval Triumph that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* a great encouragement to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicily*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africa*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a Fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions that might help to recompence the late misfortune, and being advertised that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them, who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new Fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the Conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next Enterprize. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans* crossing the Seas from *Sicily*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* lay with his new Fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the Fleet and which he conducted, himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with his second un-fortunate Voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligen- ce: (for as it hath been said of old) *Nemo est hic in Bello peccare; in Via it is too much to find twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the *Confuls*, till * *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the Field; being unable to force that great City, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and took certain in-land Towns, as *Mylærum*, *Enna*, *Camæra*, and others; between *Panormus* and *Messana*. The year following, *C. Attilius* the *Consul*, who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, discovered a Company of the *Carthaginian*

* If we may credit Antiquity, which is not to be doubted, the *Carthaginians* were wont to have five ranks of Oars one over another; and the other Gallies (rarely) fewer. But had this been so, they must have had five Decks, each over other: which hath seldom been seen in Ships of a thousand Tons: neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the Water with their Oars.

Chap. I.

Gallies, ranging the Coast, and not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the halfe he made, and loft all, save the Gally which transported him: wherewith himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Attilius* his Fleet was gotten up: who renewing the Fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which, the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies, the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, * *Tirremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, and *Quinquirèmes*.

* The *Quadrirème* was a Gallie, wherein every Oar had five men to draw it; the *Quadrirème* had four in an Oar; and the *Tirremes* three. Some have thought that the *Quadrirème* had five ranks of Oars one over another; and the other Gallies (rarely) fewer. But had this been so, they must have had five Decks, each over other: which hath seldom been seen in Ships of a thousand Tons: neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the Water with their Oars.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the War into *Africa*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the Coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their Fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the Waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* Fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three first made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first Squadrons making the Flanks, and the third Squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two *Confuls* as Admirals) looking toward the Enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third Squadron. After all came up, the fourth, in form of a *Crescent*, very well manned, but exceeding thin: so that the Horns of it inclosed all the third Squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, I cannot conceive by the relation; but, by the manner of the Fight afterwards, I conjecture that the Front of their Fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en bari*; a long Front of Horle, and thin; which form, since the *Pilots* prevailed over the *Lance*, they have changed. Behind this first outstretch- ed Front, their Battalions were more folled. For

Amilcar, Admiral of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered most of purpose (his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that when the first Fleet of the *Romans* halted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a Victory) disorder themselves, and for eagerness of taking the Run-aways, leave their other three Squadrons far behind them. For so must it needs fall out, seeing that the third Squadron towed their Horle-boats, and Victual- lers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcar*'s direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin Front of the *Carthaginian* first Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second Squadron. Herby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the Body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (as the first) received great loss, till their second Squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him

to his Oars. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right Wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcellus Attilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to sustain both Squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the *Confuls* came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed their Victuals, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the *Confuls* joining their Squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running. This Victory fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardiness of their Souldiers, but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joynt himself to any of his other Squadrons, that remained as yet in fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon even terms, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the Fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet unengaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but four and twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loft thirty that were sunk, and three score and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also divided his Fleet into four Squadrons (besides those that he ranged in the Front, to draw on the Enemies, and to engage them) and that, while he himself fought with one Squadron that charged him, all the rest of the Enemies Fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second Squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed: and *Amilcar* being oppressed and scattered, the *Confuls* had good leisure to relieve both their third and fourth Squadron, and to get the Victory.

Charles the Fifth, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the Second his Son, where he advieth him concerning War against the *Turks*, tells him, that in all Battels between them and the *Christians*, he should never fail to charge the *Janssars* in the beginning of the Fight, and to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janssars*, who are always reserved in the Rear of the *Battel*, and in whom the *Turk* reposest his greatest confidence; come up in a gross Body, when all the Troups on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight and reservation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep some one or two good Troups to look on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

§. VIII.

The *Romans* prevail in Africa. *Attilius* the *Consul* propounds intolerable Conditions of Peace to the *Carthaginians*. He is utterly beaten, and made Prisoner.

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their Fleet, set sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the Promontory of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some forty leagues from *Heracles* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himself as yet staid. From this Head-

Head-land (leaving the entrance into Carthage) they coasted the East side of the Promontory, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty English mile from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* side; without which, all Invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own Carthage, fearing that the Roman Fleet and Army had directed themselves thither; but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all forts both by Sea and Land for their defence. The Romans send to Rome for directions, and in the mean while wait all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Consuls should remain with the Army, and that the other should return with the Fleet into Italy. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to Rome, whither he carried with him twenty thousand African Captives, with all the Roman Fleet and Army: except forty Ships, fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse that were left with *Attilius*.

With these Forces, *Regulus* easily won some Towns and Places that were unwall'd, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came unto *Adu*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Begrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred, and twenty foot long, which he slew, not without loss of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such Engines of War as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adu* he met with the Carthaginian Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicily* five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse to succour his Country. These (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africa*, by weary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main Fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows: yet had they a great desire to save the Town of *Adu* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the Siege of *Adu*, they incamp near unto him, and strongly (as they think) on the top of an Hill; but thereby they lose the services, both of their Elephants, and of their Horsemen. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while; but in fine, the Romans prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Following this their good Fortune at the heels, they proceed to

* This City was a City within sixteen miles of Carthage, as is seen from the Text.

by *Charles* the Fifth, in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keys which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his Son to keep safe; to wit, this Town, the Key of *Africa*; the Key of the Netherlands, and *Cadix*, the Key of Spain. But two of these *Philip* lost, that he never found them again; the third, our English were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wresting out of his hands: where we failed not to pick any Lock, but break open the Doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the Fire.

By the loss of this Battle at *Adu*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the Carthaginians were greatly dismay'd. The Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their Misfortunes; invade and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabit abroad to forsake their Villages and Fields, and to hide themselves within the Walls of Carthage. By reason hereof a great Famine at hand threatens the Citizens.

Attilius finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared left it might defend it self until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the Honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, persuades him to treat of Peace with the Carthaginians. But he propounded unto them no unworthy and safe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so courageous and disdainful, that they refused, either to defend their Liberty, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great Troop of Greeks, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xanthippus*, a Spartan: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the Carthaginians received near unto *Adu*, gave it out publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ran till it came to the Senate; *Xanthippus* is sent for, gives the reason of his Opinion, and in conclusion, being made General of the African Forces, he puts himself into the Field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the Forces wherewith the Carthaginians fought for all that they had, Liberty, Lives, Goods, Wives and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own Doors.

Xanthippus, taking the Field with this Army, marched directly towards the Romans; and ranging his Troops upon fair and level ground, fitted both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them Battle. The Romans wonder whence this new Courage of their Enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soon abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *form* Hope; that these might, either with Darts and other casting Weapons, drive back the Beasts upon the Enemies, or at least break their Violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end they made their Barrels deeper in file than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed unto the violence of Horse, where-in the Enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xanthippus*, all in one rank, before his Army, which followed them at a reasonable distance: his Horse-men, and some light-armed Foot of the Carthaginian Auxiliaries, were in the Wings. The first Order was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they break into the Battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the Roman battle was helpful. For when the Beasts had spent their force in piercing through a few of the first Ranks, the Squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the Carthaginian Horse, having at the first Encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Attilius* out of the Field, began to charge the Roman Battalions in Flank, and put them in great distress;

distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward, nor yet retire; but had much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the Romans as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the Carthaginian Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered company, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared to have dealt with the Enemy upon equal terms. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the Romans hastily recoiling to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the Enemy, and spent with travel, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these Troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the Carthaginians obtained a full Victory, destroying the whole Roman Army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred Prisoners, together with *Attilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were slain when the Fight began, by two thousand of the Romans, that wheeling about, to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the Carthaginian Trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby Fortune made the Romans know, that they were no less her Vassals, than were the Carthaginians: how insolentsoever they had been in their propoition of Peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which the never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joy these News were welcomed, when they came to Carthage, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the Virtue of one man hath often brought to pass in the World, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xanthippus*: all of them confirming that Sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una sapient, plurimum vincit manus*; Many men bands equal not one wise mind.

After this great service done to the Carthaginians, *Xanthippus* returned into Greece; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause it is unknown.

The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransom of Prisoners on both sides: giving his Faith to return, if the business were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate upon compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly persuaded to have the Prisoners in *Africa* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to Carthage: where, for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible Death. For this his Constancy and Faith, all Writers highly extol him. But the Carthaginians seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious Enemy; that neither in his Prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his Calamity would have the natural care to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all Wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the Carthaginians thought of him, sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave Speech which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of Prisoners, appears in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his Death; wherein

the Romans had the worst bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the Authority of all Historians that magnify him in this point, we are to consider that they lived under the Roman Empire: *Philinus* the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to Carthage. Neither do I think that the Carthaginians could excuse themselves herein, otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the Romans had behaved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warlike sort, but rather more odious, by which almost may. It was the Roman fashion to whip almost to death, and then to behead year afterwards their Enemies whom they took, yet, although they were such as had always met with tyranny, that they should cry out against the like tyrannical insolence in others, as if it were lawful only in themselves.

The consideration, both of this misfortune, that rewarded the Pride of *Attilius* his intolerable Demands, and of the sudden Valour wherewith the Carthaginian fear was changed by mere desperation; calls to remembrance the like Insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denied. In such cases I never hold it impatient, to add unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378, the *Genovaises* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drove their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own Fleet within two miles of Venice it self. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of Venice, that they offered unto the *Genovaises* (their State reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Petrus Doria*, blown up with many former Victories, would hearken to no composition, save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians* being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining Power, and assailed *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his Fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his Gallies, fourscore Boats of *Padoa*, and four thousand Prisoners; recover *Chioggia*, and all the places taken from them; and following their Victory, enter the Port of *Genua*, enforcing the *Genovaises* basely to beg Peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, his refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, Goods, and Estates to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, and entice him to wish his vanquished Followers, and entice him to wish himself under an heap of Straw in a poor hide cottage, out of which, with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of insolency.

S. IX.

How the Affairs of Carthage prospered after the Victory against Atilius: How the Romans having lost their Fleet by Tempest, resolve to forsake the Seas: The great advantages of a good Fleet in War, between Nations divided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late Victory, all places that had been lost in Africa, return to the obedience of Carthage. Only Clysæ stands out; before which the Carthaginians lie down, and assail it, but in vain: For the Romans hearing of the loss of Atilius went their Forces in Africa, and with all, that Clysæ was besieged, make ready a great Army, and transport it in a Fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by M. Amilins, and Sir. Fabius their Consuls. At the Promontory of Mercury, two hundred Carthaginian Gallies set out on purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the Romans took by force an hundred and fourteen of their Fleet, and drew them after them to Clysæ; where they staid no longer than to take in their own men that had been besieged: and this done, they made amain toward Sicily, in hope to recover all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this hasty Voyage they despise the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find Harbour in time, for that the Season threatened some violent Storms; which ever hapned between the rings of Orion, and of the * Dog-star. Now although the Pilots of the Roman Fleet had thus forewarned them of the Weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South Coast of Sicily had no good Ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident, yet this victorious Nation was perfwaded that the Wind and Seas feared them no less than did the Africans; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were advised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their Reputation, after this Victory against the Carthaginian Fleet; to take a few worthless Towns upon the Coast. The merciless Winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto Camerina, overturn and thrust headlong on the Rocks, all but fourscore of three hundred and forty Ships: so as their former great Victory was devoured by the Seas, before the Fame thereof recovered Rome.

* There is no part of the World which hath not some certain times of outrageous weather, besides their accidental storms. We have upon our Coast a Michaelmas Flaw, that seldom or never fails. In the West Indies, in the months of August and September, those most forcible Winds which the Spaniards call the Nortes, or North Winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take heed till those months be end. Charles the Fifth, being sail'd in passing the Seas toward Algiers, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the Council of A. Doris, as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his Siege before Mers in Larin, lost an hundred and forty Ships by Tempest, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, men, Victuals, Hories, and Munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extremum dishonourable.

The Carthaginians hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike Vessels, hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their Land-forces since the Overthrow of Atilius. They send Atraball into Sicily with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants, embarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and Fleet he arrives at Lilybæum; where he begins to vex the Parrissians of Rome. But adversity doth not discourage the Romans: They build in three months (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty Ships; with which, and the remainder of their late Shipwrack, they row to

Panormus, or Palermo, the chief City of the Africans in Sicily, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to Rome.

Very detestous the Romans were to be doing in Africa: to which purpose they employed C. Servilius, and C. Sennarius, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made up on the Coasts of Africa: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the Sands, and like to have perished near unto the lesser Syrtis, where they were fain to heave all over board, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of Lilybæum, in their passage from Panormus towards Lily, they lost an hundred and fifty of their Ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the God of the Wars favoured them no more, than the God of the Waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enrich them with upon the Land, Neptune robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and fifty Ships and Gallies, with all the Munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perfwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their Fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-army into Sicily, under L. Cælius, and C. Furius, their Consuls. These they transported in three more score ordinary Passage-boats, by the Straights of Messina, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like sort the Overthrow which Atilius received in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them less cholerick against the Carthaginians than before; so that for two years after they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in Sicily, without a Navy, much less to maintain the War in Africa. For whereas the Romans were to send Forces from Messina to Egesta, to Lilybæum, and to other places in the extreme West parts of Sicily, making sometimes a march of above an hundred and forty English mile by land, which could not be performed with an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than fourteen days, the Carthaginians would pass it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between Carthage and Edmond Ironsides. For C. Cælius, when he had entred the Thames with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail against London, suddenly imbarcked; and sailing to the West, landed in Dorsetshire, so drawing Edmond and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again shippt his men, and entred the Severn, making Edmond to march after him to the succour of Worcester, by him greatly provoked. But when he had Edmond there, he failed back again to London: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the Netherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their Liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could pass their Army from place to place unwaried and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their Enemies have been able to do it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest

Princes,

Chap. I.

of the History of the World.

Princes, that either the present or proceeding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Cannons, to Breda: making countenance either to besiege Biffeldus, or Gertruiden-Berg; which the Enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers and Victuals. But as soon as the Wind served, he suddenly set sail, and arriving in the mouth of the Meuse, turned up the Rhine, and thence to Tiel, and fate down before Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could march over land round about Holland, above fourscore mile, and over many great Rivers with their Cannon and Carriage, Zutphen was taken. Again, when the Spanish Army had overcome this wearisome March, and were now far from home, the Prince Maurice making countenance to sail up the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and failing down the Stream, he was set down before Half in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the Spanish Army could return. Lastly, the Spanish Army was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good Fleet, having fortified Half, fell sail again, and presented himself before Nymegen in Gelders, a City of notable importance, and maritred it.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Country, not having the Coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful Enemy that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spain than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second, had fully resolved to hinder Sir John Norris in the year 1589. from presenting Don Antonio, King of Portugal, before the Gates of Lisbon; and that he would have kept off the English, by power of his Land-forces, as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada, by the Fleet of Queen Elizabeth, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this Army have been bestowed? If about Lybourn, then would it have been ease unto the English, to take, ransack, and burn the Town of Grims, and to waste the Country round about it. For the great and threatening preparations, of the Earl of Alencara, the Marquels of Saralva, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand, under the Earl of Andrada, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris and his Associates: considering that the English charged there at Puente de Burgos, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with Shot, and barricaded at the further end, routed them, took their Camp, took their Generals Standard with the Kings Arms, and purified them over all the Country, which they held. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the War in Galicia; I think it would have made the Spaniards to quit the Guard of Portugal, and make haste to the defence of their St. Jago, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But had they held their first resolution, as knowing that Sir John Norris his main intent was to bring Don Antonio with an Army into his Kingdom, whether coming first, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed, could they have hindered his landing in Portugal? Did not he land at Penicba, and march over the Country to Lybourn, six days journey? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promises failed) pass along by the River of

Lybourn to Cascalis, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarke his men, and depart? But these, though no more than handily, yet were they English men. Let us consider of the matter it self, what another Nation might do, even against England, in landing an Army, by advantage of a Fleet, if we had none. This question, Whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the Coast of England, were there no Fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his Observations upon Cæsar's Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; in absence of our Shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course to defend all the Coast of England, than to suffer an Enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way to keep our Enemy from treading upon our Ground: wherein if we fail, then must we seek to make him with that he had staid at his own Home. In such a case, if it should happen, our Judgments are to weigh many particular circumstances that belong unto this Discourse. But making the Question general and positive, Whether England, without help of her Fleet, be able to deter an Enemy from landing? I hold that it is unable to do, and therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the encouragement of a first Victory to an Enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the Invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marquis of Albalade, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his Wanting Forces, wherewith to have kept the Frontier of Guienne, they of the Protestant Religion, after the Battel of Montcautier, entred that Country, and gathered great strength and relief thence; for if the King (saith he) would have given me but reasonable means, j'eu m'y garde a Monsieur P. Admiral, de faire boire les Chevaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his Horses in the River of Garonne. Monsieur de Langey, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a Frontier with an invading Enemy, and commands the delay; which course the Constable of France held against the Emperor Charles, when he invaded Provence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a Country as France is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of Invasions upon firm land, that these great Captains speak, whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is, of an Army to be transported over Sea, and to be landed again in an Enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hereunto I say, That such an Army cannot be resisted on the Coast of England, without a Fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the Coast of France, or any other Country; except every Creek, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerful Army in each of them to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That Ken is able to furnish twelve thousand Foot; and that those twelve thousand be laid in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nisse, and six thousand at Foulston, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these Troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the Enemies Fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the Enemy, setting sail from the Isle

fused to the uttermost, with great laughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extrem difficulty defend their Engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the State of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the service, and having received his dispatch, falls with one Gally to *Ægusa*, a little Island near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swiftly Gally, he past through the beft of the Channel, and recovered the Water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the Shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his return, he set sail, and shipping his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of sterage, and himself expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then finding himself out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprife, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in those days: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other Weapons of fire to kill a far off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious Man of War will not fear to pass by the best appointed Port of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of Wind, no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths against him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at War; our East-land Fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the Subjects of his Enemies, and he threatened to sink their Ships if they came through the Straights of *Elfenor*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a Ship of her Majesty's called the *Minion*, to send them) made the adventure; and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could to stop them, and sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elfenor*, which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any Wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by Famine, laid his Cannon on the bank of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impossible for the least Boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good Market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extrem dear in *Antwerp*, passed in Boats of ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong Westerly Wind, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as also with a contrary Wind, and an ebbing Water, they turned back again: so as he was forced, in the end, to

build his *Stockado* overhwart the River, to his marvelous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. Philip terrified not us in the year 1596, when we entered the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Pental*, when we were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with four Demi-cannons within point blank, from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege of *Ofenda*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good Ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so fit, as that of *Angra in Tenera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the Ships are driven to turn upon a bow line towards it, wanting all help of Wind and Tide; there, and in such places it is of great use, and fearful: otherwise not.

But to return to our adventurous *Rhodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the Estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the Channel, and for that purpose, fill many Merchants Ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the Tides clears it again in part: but they grounded so many of those great belled Boats in the beft of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Island, in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a *Carthaginian* Gally taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her self a ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chafe, and gathered upon him; he finds what he is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her: But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose fo violent a Tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they overtop the Walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A Greek Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a Tempest, it increased fo fast, as it became reftless, and in the end burned all ashes, and melted the brazen Heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the Defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messina*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprize of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul imbarks his Troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent Man of War, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he persuades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad than to be inclosed. Herewithal he promifeth great rewards to such, as by their Valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head

head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rageth himself, having the land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so streightened, as he could not turn himself any way from his Enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the Shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Gallies besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his Fleet, to the number of ninety and four Ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, armed threecore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, to take charge of their business in *Sicily*. *Junius* arrives at *Messina*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred Ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stales a while; partly to take in Corn; partly, to wait for some that were too slow of fall, to keep company with him along from *Messina*. In the mean time, he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum*, his *Quæstors* or *Treasurers*; to whom he commits the one half of his Victuals, with some Gallies for their conveyance.

Adherbal was not careless, after his late Victory: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The Ships and Prikkers that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthage*, who had threecore and ten more under his own charge, and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* Fleet, in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping of in the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boards and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who falls out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* in great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his Enterprife.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South Coast of *Sicily*, devising how to work mischief to the Enemy: wherein Fortune preferred him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had desiered near at hand, a great Fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the Victuals, which the Consul *Junius*, more hastily than providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming, for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late Victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulls approaching, to be rather a prey, than a Fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to en-

counter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight, but were glad to seek shelter in an open Road, full of Rocks, under covert of a poor Town, belonging to their Party; that could help to save them only from the present danger, by lending them Engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. The *Carthals* therefore having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those Rocks, but would be forced, by any great change of Wind, either to put out into the deep, or to save their men how they could, by taking land, with the loss of all their Shipping. Whilst he was buied in this care, the Consul *Junius* drew near, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had happened. The Consul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creek, thinking no danger so great as that of the Enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, betakes himself to a station between the two *Roman* Fleets, where he watcheth to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it self into the Sea. So as now all the three Fleets were on the South Coast of *Sicily*, between the *Prætorian* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the Wind stormeth at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of Tempest, and their signs, finding belike some swelling Billow (for so we do in the West of *England*, before a Southerly Storm) hastened to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their Beasts, their South-ayers being all Land-prophets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous South Wind, and all their Gallies forced against the Rocks, and utterly wrack.

This Calamity fo discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved again to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make War in an Island, against those that have a mighty Fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great Calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient Vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find that any Nation hath endured fo many misadventures and miseries as the *Spaniards* have done in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their Enterprises, with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom fo many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and Shipwracks, Famine, Overdrowns, Mutinies, Heat and Cold, Pestilence, and all manner of Difastes, both old and new, together with extrem Poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the Enemies, wherewith every one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years have passed over some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea, more than one or two, have spent their Labour, their Wealth, and their Lives, in search of a golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth Undertakers have not been disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those

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Treasures, and Paradises, which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The City of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar; who finally holds War with them five years. The Romans having emptied their common Treasures, build a great Fleet, at the charges of private men. The great Victory at Sea of Lucatius the Consul; where by the Carthaginians are forced to cruce Peace. The Conditions of the Peace between Rome and Carthage.

THE Romans were careful, to supply with all industry, by Land, the want of strength at sea. Therefore they continue the Siege of Lilybæum, and seek to make sure to themselves all Places, whither the Enemies Ships could not bring Relief. The Consul Junius, to cure the wound of Dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what Enterprize to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountain and City of Eryx, with the Temple of Venus Erycina, which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by Cunning or Treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated between Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit Place for a Garrison, that should restrain the Carthaginians from making Roads into the Countrey. Wherefore Junius fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottom, (both which Places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the 18th. year of this War, the Carthaginians sent forth Amilcar, surnamed Barcas, Father of the great Hannibal, with a Fleet and Army, who failing to the Coasts of Italy, did thoroughly repay the Spoils which the Romans made in Africa. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the Locriens, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entered he into Sicily, and finding there no walled City in the Carthaginians power, that served fitly to insult the Romans, he occupied a piece of Ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himself between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The Place that Amilcar had seized upon, was not only very strong by Situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity, to scour all the Coast of Italy with his Fleet, waiting all along as far as to Cumæ. In the Isle of Sicily he held the Romans to hard work, lying near unto Panormus, where in three years abode he did many notable Acts, though not of much consequence, for that the Enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he undertook a strange piece of work at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by Junius, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless Amilcar found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the City of Eryx, that was about the middle of the ascent, the Enemy knew of it. By this it came to pass, that the Romans which kept the top of the Mountain, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no less was Amilcar himself restrained, by both of these Gari-

sons, and such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those Quartern.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent unto the prosecuting of this business at Eryx. Wherein it seems true (as Hannibal, in *Librie*, spake unto Scipio) *Lib. Dec. 4. 10.* that the Affairs of Carthage never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the War, than now they did. For whereas the Romans had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses, partly upon confidence of their Land-forces, which they held restles; Amilcar, with a small Army, had so well acquired himself, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the trial of five years War, the Carthaginian Souldier was judged equal, if not superior, to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warrior, no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once again to build a Fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that Amilcar, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common Treasury was exhausted, and the coast was not little, that was requisite unto such an Enterprize. Wherefore there was no other way left, than to lay the burden upon private Pursts. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinqueme*; which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to do the like, joyined with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another, with condition to be repaid, when the War was finished. By this voluntary Contribution, they made and furnished 200 new *Quinquemes*, taking for their pattern, that excellent swift rowing Galley which they had gotten from the *Rhodians*, in the Port of Lilybæum, as was shewed before. The charge of this Fleet was committed to C. Lucatius Catulus, who passed with the same into Sicily, the Spring following, and entered the Port of Drepanum, endeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertised, that the Carthaginian Fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late losses which his Predecessors had received, he was careful to put himself in order, against their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian Fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) with Picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the Art of seeming reverend. How his Reputation was first bred, I do not find, but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new Enterprizes, and therewithal an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every loss received. More particularly, he was gracious among the People, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this been employed against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers, than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly Enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad conduct,

duct, than by his malicious counsel, when, having shewed himself an unworthy Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League between Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well he deserved of his own Countrey, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the Romans, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his present Voyage; wherein he reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that Peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Navy, with all needful Provisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexterity in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had neither been careful in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout Fellows. He thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian Fleet was enough, to make the unexpert Romans give way: forgetting, that rather the restles force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to fail to Eryx, and there to discharge his Ships of their lading: and having thus lightened himself, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-army, together with Amilcar himself, by whose help he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the Enemy repent of his new Adventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have been performed. But Catulus used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this design: not because he was informed of the Enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with Amilcar. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the Carthaginian Fleet was desired; yet he rather chose to fight with the Enemy, that had the wind of him, than to suffer this Convoy to pass along to Eryx, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that Hanno should have done, Catulus had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightened his Gallies of all unnecessary burthen; and he had taken aboard the choice men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first Encounter, were utterly broken and defeated; having 50 of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, and 70 taken, wherein were few less than 10000 men, that were all made Prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of wind, escaping to the Isle of Hieronius.

The state of Carthage, utterly discouraged by this change of Fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Means to repair their Fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of War by

Sea were consumed; and Amilcar, upon whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the Common-wealth rested, was now surrounded by his Enemies in Sicily, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make a dispatch unto Amilcar himself, and authorize him to take what course should seem best unto his excellent wisdom; leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, whom no Adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessity might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to Lucatius the Consul an Overture of Peace: who considering it well, gathered for many Arguments from the present Poverty of the Roman State, waited beyond expectation in the former War, that he willingly hearkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratify it with their allowance.

The Conditions were: First, That the Carthaginians should clearly abandon the Isle of Sicily. Secondly, That they should never undertake upon Hieron King of Syracuse, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, That they should set at liberty, and send back into Italy, all the Romans, whom they held Prisoners, without ransom. Lastly, That they should pay unto the Romans two thousand and two hundred Talents; which make, after 600 French Crowns to the Talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand Crowns: the same to be delivered within 20 years next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not thoroughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicily, to make perfect the Agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand Talents to the former Sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they took order, that the Carthaginians should not only depart out of Sicily itself, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all the other Islands between it and Italy, renouncing their whole Interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Punick War, that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by Fight or Shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinquemes*, and the Carthaginians, about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War: it self, wherein I hold good the judgement of Polybius, That the Romans, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and Amilcar, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers Actions passing between the first and second Punick Wars.

§. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries.

THE Romans, having partly by Force and partly by Composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following War, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present Peace. It is a true Rule, *Quid leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiunt à victis; That Laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the Romans had either forgotten the Answer that was made unto them, by one of the Privernates; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weighty business. For when one of Privernum, after a Rebellion, defending in the Senate the Cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What Peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in these words, Si bene dederitis, & fidem & perpetuum; si malum, haud disturbum; If the Peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this Answer, the Senate, at that time, gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiam; as credi posse, when populum, aut hominem denique in ea conditione, cuius cum peniteat, distans quam necesse fit manservum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an overburdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now if the Romans themselves could make this judgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than until they could recover their Legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) is only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or virtue; with-held the Tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick War was ended; Amilcar, leaving Erx, went to Lilybaeum, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into Africa: the care of which business he committed unto Geleo, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. Geleo had an especial consideration of the great Sums, wherein Carthage was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and, withal, of the great

disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perfwade any small number, lodged within so great a City as Carthage, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present empiness of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilst their dis-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like Agreement and Capitulation. So they detained the first and second comers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other Place where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perfwasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at Sicea: receiving every one a piece of Gold, to bear his charges in the mean while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers begin to dislodge; leaving behind them their Wives, their Children, and all their Baggage, as meaning flordy to fetch away all, when they came back for their Pay. But the Carthaginians have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to trust up their Fardels, that they might have no occasion left, to make any errands thither. So to Sicea they removed, with all their Goods; and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own Pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their Discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share; and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase

crease their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to some dangerous Fight, were called to mind, as so many Obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole Army being arrived and lodged in Sicea, Hanno comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together in maintaining stoutly the common Cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good news this Messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his Memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many Promises made unto them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. Hanno begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the Poverty of Carthage; tells them how great a sum of Money is to be paid unto the Romans; reckons up the exorbitant charges, wherewith the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally, desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their Pay, and out of the Love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the Carthaginian Army was composed of sundry Nations, as Greeks, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different Languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very Gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his Speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, so that nothing would serve to appease them. Hanno would fain have asswaged their Fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of many Countries, that have no one Language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that Hanno can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose, and such as deliver his Errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the Carthaginians, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave Sicea, and march as far as Tania, that is within a little of Carthage, and there they encamp.

Now begin the Carthaginians to find their own error. It is a good rule:

Curandum imprimis, ne magna injuria fiat Fortibus & miseris:

Have special care, that valiant Poverty Be not oppress with too great injury.

But this proud City having neglected the rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure herself against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole Multitude, whereunto she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyn it self into one body, when the several Troops might easily have been dispersed: the hath turned out of her Gates, the Wives, Children, and Goods of these poor men, which had she retained in view of kindness, she might have used them as Hosta-

ges for her own safety; and by employing a miserable Penny-father in her Negotiation with Men of War; she hath weakened the Reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely enough it is, that Amilcar had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their Wages: especially, considering that as he best could bear witness of their Merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that Hanno, with his Complices, who at this very time was a bitter Enemy to Amilcar, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched Counsel, upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. Amilcar therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him to have the managing of their own Plor, and to deal the Cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continued to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a Market at Tania for the Souldiers, whom they suffered to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senators into the Camp; who promise to satisfy all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus, by shifting from one extrem to another, they make the Souldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot but add much infolency to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of Weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wise, and finding the Season fit, labours to make a great Harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their Hories in the publick Service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of Victuals from Carthage. If they had lived, they wanted not Meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Was it not all one whether the Ships did bring in Provision, or their Captain directed them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their Provision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiniers; who might easily have been satisfied with far less Charges, and far more Honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the Carthaginians are perplexed about this Corn-Money, the Souldiers have devised many more tricks whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these Controversies, which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army consented, and made choice of Geleo: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africa: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of Amilcar, for that he had not visited them in all this busy time. So Geleo comes among them, and to please them the better, comes not without Money, which might give better countenance to his Proceedings, than barren Eloquence

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had done to the Negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all, the Captains, and then the several Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his Purse: offering to give them their whole Pay in hand, and then after to consider of other reckonings, at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two seditious Ringleaders of the Multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy Fellow, and audacious, but a Slave; that in the late War had fled from a *Roman* whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This Wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such Troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matbo*, an hor-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the Tumult, as he could not choose but fear, lest his own Death should become an example to deter others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matbo* deals with his Country-men the *Africans*, telling them, that they were in far worse condition than either the *Gauls*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foreign Mercenaries. For (saith he) these our Companions have no more to do, than to receive their Wages, and so get them gone; but we that are to stay behind in Africa, shall be called to another manner of account when we are left alone: so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home Beggars, rather than loiter with the Money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Yet we are not ignorant how tyrannically these our haughty Masters of Carthage do reign over us. They think it reasonable that our Lives and Goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times been accustomed to take away from us, even without apparent cause, as it were, to declare their Sovereignty: what will they now do, seeing that we have demanded our selves as Free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know that it were a very shame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of War as any other men, we should now stand quaking like Slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding we may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners as soon as our Fellows are gone: in regard of whom, they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced Countenance. Let us therefore be wile, and consider that they hate and fear us. Their Hatred will show it self, when their Fear is once past, unless we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, ensnare them so greatly, that their Hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their Strength consisteth in Money, wherewithal they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither Money nor Friends. The best army that ever served them, wherof we are no small part, lies at their Gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected, for were our Swords once drawn, all Africa would rise on our side. As for the *Carthaginians*, whether can they send for help? The case is self is plain, but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the di-

ligence of *Gelco*, by incensing these Gauls and Spaniards, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behooveth us to please our good Masters, by joining with them against our Fellows; yea, by offering to forgive unto them all our Wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our Faults already committed. He is worthily a wretched Slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters Love, nor courage to attempt his own Liberty.

By such persuasions *Matbo* wins the *African* Soldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of Money as of quarrel; which he that seeks will not miss to find. When *Gelco* therefore offered to pay them their whole Stipend presently, but referred their other demands for Horses and Victuals, to some other more convenient time; they break into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this Tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matbo* and *Spendius*: whose diligence is not wanting to add more Fuel to the Fire already blazing. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Soldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a shower of Stones flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by these good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only throw, throw.

Now the Rebellion begins to take form. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common Cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gelco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their Fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; seeking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fallen as the *Africans*, indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem, but will be more glad of an ill Answer, than of a good Payment. This is more than *Gelco* knows: he sees not that *Matbo* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsequence hear, he tells them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of Money, to seek it of their Captain, *Matbo*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? they stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the Treasure that he had brought; yea, upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and for the rest to take another course. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their Fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair Language: wherefore they cast into Bonds both him and all the *Carthaginians*; that they can find, that so the Army may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this follows open War. *Matbo* solicits all Africa, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to use perswasion; the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions with which they have plagued others. It is true, that adversity hath never been untold of her errors:

errors: and as she is ever assured to hear her own, so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the Wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were merciles; that they took from them the one half of their Corn, that they doubled their Tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their Vassals the greatest Punishments for the least Offences. These Cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: but the People that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear Arms, are ready to do service in this great Commotion; but the very Women bring forth their Jewels and other Ornaments, offering all to fall for maintenance of so just a Quarrel. By this great forwardness, and liberal contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threecore and ten thousand *Africans*; and are moreover furnished with Money, not only to satisfy the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the War begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diverse Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

† I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are driven to use help of Mercenaries.

HERE let us rest a while, as in a convenient breathing place: whence we may take prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly War. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a Tyranny should be upheld by mercenary Forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all War made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldom hear that the ruine of a Tyranny is procured or fought by those that were hired to maintain the Power of it: and seldom or never do we read of any War that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is a violent Form of Government, not respecting the good of the Subjects, but only the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely forbear to say, that it is the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Clem* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their Dominion over their Subjects was none other than a meer Tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great City, and a Popular Estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I should call this form of commanding, violent: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardless of his Life and Welfare; unless himself be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme Passion of Love. The practice of Tyranny is not always of a like extremity: for some Lords are more gentle than others to their very Slaves; and he that is most cruel to some, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers Discretion cannot extend it self, unto notice of the difference which might be found between the

worth of several men; it is commonly seen, that the taste of sweetness, drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants Appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their Purse, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a Stock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of Robbery, and is not better pleased with the Gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hared for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by Cruelty to change Hatred into Fear. So he makes it his exercise to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily: but if Innocency be not false, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in fear, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to disarm all his Subjects; to forsake himself within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lusty Soldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet some one or other might chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered he allures unto him a desperate Rabble of Strangers, the most unonest that can be found; such as have neither Wealth nor Credit at Home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now left any of these, either by detestation of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his Sword against the Tyrant himself: they shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to Rob, to Ravish, to Murder, and to satisfy their own Appetites in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be fain to say, that these are not Dreams: though some English men perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this Leaf, might suppose this Discourse to be little better. This is to shew, how many Tyranny grows to stand in need of mercenary Soldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly assured unto the Tyrant.

† II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects, is worse than the Tyranny of one man: and that a Tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Soldiers.

NOW concerning the Tyranny, wherewith a City or State oppresseth her Subjects; it may appear some ways to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her Life: the less need hath she therefore, to secure her self by cruelty

truelty. A City is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her subjects. If War, or any other great occasion drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary sums of Money: the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are inolen. Remember (saith Caligula the Emperor to his Grandmother Antonia) that I may do what I list, and to whom I list: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And several reckon it as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel Roman Dame upon her Slaves; that whilst she was whipping them, she painted her Face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needful, that the should keep a Guard of licentious Cut-throats, and maintain them in all Villainy, as a *Diomifus* or *Agatobolus* must do: her own Citizens are able to terrify, and to hold perforce in obedience, all Malecontents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the Name of a Tyranny, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his People, are not so heavy, as the burthens imposed by a cruel City. Nor without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lascivious, when *Cato* was slain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his Gravity might not hinder the People from calling for a show of naked Courtians, that were to be brought upon the open Stage? By common practise, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private Vertue or Vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of the *Universal* from the Singular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I have said elsewhere) that it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his Humour may be found, and soothed; Age, or good Advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his Successor may prove better. Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which becoming hereditary to their Posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, until they be pulled out of her hands; and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mighty Chariotier. This is woful: yet their present sufferings make them less mindful of the future. New Flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same fore, out of which, others had already

fucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor Kindred and Friends, who mean not to return home empty to their Hives, without a good loading of Wax and Honey. Thesie fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans Wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired: they becoming themselves Enemies, and all his fears: the Enemies that he feareth within a little space, the Enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these maleficial Guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The Love of one Governour is purchased with Gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished, in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary Faction at home, a bitter Enemy to both his Fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this Tyranny are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of Civil War. The Romans had a Law *De Reptundis*, or *Of Recovery*, against extorting Magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their Kindred and Friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these Enormities rehearsed, though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgment. If the Subjects of Rome groaned under such oppressions: what must we think of those that were Vassals unto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthen-some Tributes; they loved not to hear that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for having been ill Governours. At Carthage all went quite contrary: the Rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as Precedents to instruct another: every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whose Robberies had been such, as might afford a good theme to the common Treafurer. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practise are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the Roman in Sicily, that is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us what was the demeanour of these *Punic Rulers*, who stood in fear of no such condemnation as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general Proposition, That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have showed, That the Tyranny of a City is far more intolerable than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their Subjects: and again, futable to the hatred of the Subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in Wars abroad, the Carthaginians durst use the service of African Soldiers; in Africa it self, they had rather be beholden to others that were farther fetch. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punic War*, thrust his Mercenaries out of their own Countries: *Ut Afris in Hispania, Hispania in Africa, Livi. De milibus proci ab domo futuris uterque milis, velis minus obligati, stipendia facerent; That the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africa, being each of them like to prove the better Soldiers, the farther they were from Home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I confess, whether these African and Spanish Hiredlings, could properly be termed Mercenaries: for they were subject unto Carthage, and carried into*

the Field, not only by Reward, but by Duty. Yet seeing their Duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

† III.

The Dangers growing from the use of mercenary Soldiers, and foreign Auxiliaries.

THE extrem danger, growing from the Employment of such Soldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are feditious, unfaithful, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all Places and Countreys, wherinto they are drawn; as being held by no other Bond, than their own Commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such Hiredlings is, that they have often, and in time of greatest Exeremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States, that have trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all Italy, when *Charles* the eighth of France did pass the Alps, were the cause that the said French King won the Realm of Naples, with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Milan; who being entertained by Queen *Jean* of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden; and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of Aragon. Like unto his Father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that Race, Duke of Milan: who, being entertained by the *Milaneses*, forced them to become his Slaves; even with the same Army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodovick Sforza*, the Son of this *Francis*, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto Posterity, in losing his whole Estate by the Treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For, having waged an Army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his Person, into their hands; he was by them delivered up unto his Enemy the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like Inconvenience is found, in using the help of foreign Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired 10000 *Turks*, against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by persuation or force, set them again over Sea unto Asia side: which gave beginning to the *Christian* Servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander*, the Son of *Cassander*, fought Aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entered into his Kingdom, slew the same *Alexander* who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syprax* the Turk was called into *Aegypt* by *Samar* the *Sultan*, against his Opposite: but this Turk did settle himself so surely in *Aegypt*, that *Saladin* his Successor became Lord thereof, and of all the holy Land, soon after. What need we look about for Examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; but *Alar* *Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two Kingdoms.

Against all this may be alledged, the good success of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Soldiers, in their late War. Indeed these *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad, at the defence of a Place well fortified: but in open Field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniards*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could ill spare, unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common Purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenary Soldiers. Many fruitless Attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that brave Commander, Count *Lodovick* of *Nassau*, felt it to his grief, in his retreat from *Groenningen*; when in the very instant, that required their service in Fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Soldiers of the States, have either fought to hide their Cowardize under a show of greediness; or at least, by meer Courtousness, have ruined in one hour the labour of many months. I will not stand to prove this by many Examples; for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the Honour of *Monsieur*, the Duke of *Arvin*, Brother to the French King; save that it is toly to conceal what all the World knows. He that would lay open the danger of foreign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their Succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling Yoke upon the peoples Necks? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his Plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Amwerp*, as verily believing the Town to be surprized and won; the Death of the Count *St. Aignan*, who fell over the Wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own Troops, informed him better what had hapned, shewing that they were his own French, who stood in need of pity. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of mind; wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veule tu faire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So the Affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using mercenary Soldiers, or the help of foreign Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Saxons*, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King paraker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the Sovereignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniards* their Enemy, purified him with continual War; when the Heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just and wife (though not engaged in any Quarrel) either to make profit of his Neighbours Miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own

Inheritance : then might the *Netherlanders* very fairly repose confidence, in the Forces of their neighbour-Countries. The Soldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardless of the Pay that they should receive ; but well affected unto the Cause that they took in hand : or if any were cold in his devotion, to the side whereon he fought ; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with Death, if his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custody of Cities ; they were held as Friends, and Patrons ; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the Pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a neighbour-Country, of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected : then may such a Country be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these Circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general, *That mercenary, and foreign auxiliary Forces, are no less dangerous, than the Enemy, against whom they are entertained.*

I. IV.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assistance to use the service of their own Subjects in their Wars. That in man's nature there is an affection breeding Tyranny, which hindrers the use and benefit of the like moderation.

HERE may it be demanded, Whether also the Romans were not compelled to use service of other Soldiers in their many great Wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own Subjects; how happened it, that they feared no Rebellion? if Strangers; how then could they avoid the Inconveniences above rehearsed? The Answer is; That their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equal number : to which they added, as occasion required, some Companies of the *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their Subjects, as were either interested in the Quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had, about these Times, (though fabled they did employ so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting : which served to keep in good order their Subjects, that were always fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if Consanguinity were not a sufficient Obligation; yet many Privileges and Immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome* : under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in War. It is true, that a Yoke, how easie soever, seems troublesome to Freedom. Therefore many People of *Italy* have taken occasion of several Advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* Subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by War; the Authors of Rebellion have been sharply punished ; and the People, by degrees, have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it

was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarfas* in *Cilicia*, where *St. Paul* was born. That all the Burgesses should be free of *Rome* it self. This Favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great Conquest, to release unto their new Subjects half of their Tribute which they had been wont to pay unto their former Lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition ; when the review of harder Times past, should rather teach them to fear a Relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking Innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good Government, That when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*; *1.* they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petelia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of War, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their Subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governors, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is : They had, of their own, a strong Army ; they doubled it, by adjoining thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own Subjects ; all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate use of sovereign Power being so effectual, in assuring the People unto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion : it may seem strange, that the practice of Tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all Ages. The like, I know, may be said, of all Vice, and Irregularity whatsoever. For it is less difficult (whoever think otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it ; yet commonly our Passions lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our Reason ; the same unruly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least wile take away all cause of wonder. In Tyranny it is no less : forasmuch as we can hardly desire the passion, that is of force to infatuate it self into the whole tenor of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many Tyrants : yet so, that these desires have seldom been hereditary, or long-lasting ; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death ; by which means the Government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of short continuance*. But this doth not satisfy the Question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyranny? why did the *Athenians*? why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their general good ; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection ; what was that affection, wherein to many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by Factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, That Tyranny is, by

it self, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt, even by nature, to command, or to obey ; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto brut Beasts ; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense : but the desire of Rule belongeth unto the nobler part of Reason ; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as Hunger and Thirst are given by nature, not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their Life : as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have sense, for the flunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite : even to this desire of rule, which is requisite to arm the race ruling or obeying, engrafted by nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable Creature, for the ordering of his Life, in a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred Qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly ; by an improper term : since they grow from Appetites, found in less worthy Creatures than Beasts, and are yet not so common in Beasts, as in Men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as defend no lower than unto brut Beasts, are held less vile ; and perhaps not without good reason : yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by harper Laws, as being in general more pernicious. But as no Corruption is worse, than that of which is best ; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a Vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble Root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence arise those two great Mischiefs, of which hath been an old Question in dispute, whether be the worse ; That all things, or that nothing, should be lawful. Of these, a dull Spirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with Power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one ; the other proceedeth from a contrary Distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist : yet the defective dulness, that permitteth any thing, will allow permit the execution of Law, to which, meer necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate ; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it self in the excess, with a false colour of Justice. Examples of Stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent, though such Natures are every where found : for this quality troubles not it self in seeking Empire ; or if by some error of Fortune, it encounter therewithal, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some Friend, or else a Wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also Cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a Name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable : for it is *prosumum & felix scilicet*, a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. There is no Reward or Honour (saith *Peter Charron*) assigned to those, that know how to increase, or to preserve humane Nature : all Honours, Greatness, Riches, Dignities, Empires, Triumphs, Trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. *Cesar*, and *Alexander*, have unmade and slain each of them, more than a million of men : but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of man's Judgement, in valuing things according to common Opinion. But the true Name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other, than *Ferity* : the same that *Aristotle*

saith to be worse than any Vice. It exceedeth indeed all other Vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast ; no less than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible Crimes, exceed in Villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble Appetites. Hereof *Sermon*, *Procrustes*, and *Pisage campsies*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better Examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous Heads were affixed by the Hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old Examples of *Ferity*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of Reason : neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Free-men, and Slaves.

The Rule of the Husband over the Wife, and of Parents over their Children, is natural, and appointed by God himself ; so that it is always, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason over Appetite ; the latter is the whole Authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The Rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country : which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more masterly Rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said ; *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowls of the Air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth* : which also he confirmed unto *Noah* and his Children, saying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the Earth, and upon every fowl of the Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea ; into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this Dominion to Man, gave also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this Power hath since extended it self, over a great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according unto *Aristotles* Doctrine, to be naturally Slaves.

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with Bondage : unless the lawfulness *1. 6. 3.* thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a Man shall not be punished for the death of a Servant, whom he hath slain by correction, if the Servant live a day or two, because he is his *own* *Exod. 21.* *ney* ; or else by the Captivity of the *Midianitish* *21.* *Num. 30.* *Girls*, which were made Bond-slaves, and the *Sanctuary* had a part of them for the *Lords* *tribute*. Doubtless the custom hath been very ancient : for *Noah* laid this Curse upon *Canaan*, that he should *Gen. 9. 25.* *be a servant of servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants*, and *maid-servants*, which were none other than Slaves. *Christian* Religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of Servility : but surely, they are deceived, that think so. *St. Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus* *Epist. to philem.* *for whom he had won unto Christ* : yet wrote he *Philem*, for this unto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving *1. 14.* *it as a benefit*, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same *St. Paul* giveth unto Servants : *Let every man abide in the same* *1. Cor. 7. 20.* *calling wherein he was called : art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather.* It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured Liberty unto many ; not only in regard of Piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear, of being disapproved by their Slaves, unto the Persecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giving Liberty to his Followers, drew many unto his Impiety : but whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his Seditors, to hold one another

hody, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this Overthrow, there were six thousand of the Mercenaries slain, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled; some to the Camp at *Urica*, others to the Town at the Bridge, whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he was the place easily: the Enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The Fame of this Victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matbo* wanting to himself, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africa* for new supplies; admonishing the People, now or never to do their best, for the recovery of their freedom; he persuaded *Spendius* and *Autaricus* that was Captain of the *Gauls*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some Hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and he himself continued to press the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard Siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his business required, to take such ways as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plain surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, they their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his personal worth did greatly benefit his Country. For *Naravolus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much desired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend; promised unto him his own Daughter in Marriage; and so went from the *Numidians* two thousand Horse, that following *Naravolus*, turned unto the *Carthaginians* side. With this help he gave battle unto *Spendius*, wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own Valour, to his new Friend. So the Victory was great: for there were slain ten thousand of *Spendius* his Fellows, and four thousand taken Prisoners, but *Spendius* himself, with *Autaricus* the *Gauls*, escaped to do more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his Prisoners: pardoning all Offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his Followers; yet with condition, that they should never more bear Arms against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharp revenge upon all that should break this Covenant.

This Humanity was vehemently suspected by *Matbo*, *Spendius*, and *Autaricus*, as tending to win from them the Hearts of their Soldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that no man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety, whilst *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited Letters of advertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their Company, respectful only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Geles* and his Companions, whom these Traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Soldiers, exhorting them to Fidelity; and shewing with ma-

nny words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar* toward some, was none other than a Bait, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous Enemy *Geles* would prove, if he might escape their hands. While he is yet in the midst of his Tale; were Letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autaricus*, and speaks his mind plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea, the only way, for the common safety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desirous to make their own Peace, it would go hard with those that had a care of the War; that it were better to make an end of *Geles* his Life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his Custody; that by such a course every one should be engaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than in Victory alone; finally, that such as would speak hereagainst, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autaricus* was in great credit with the Soldiers, and could speak sundry Languages, in such sort, that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geles*, and all the other Prisoners, should forthwith be put to the horrible Death, by Torments. Nevertheless there were some, that for love of *Geles*, fought to alter this intended Cruelty, but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document unto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithal contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* Prisoners which they took, should be served in like sort: and that the Subjects or Friends of *Carthage* should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which Rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this Cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable ferocity. As for the Council of using it, it was like unto the Council of *Achitophel*; All Israel shall bear that thou art abhorred of thy Father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be strong. Such are the fruits of depredation. He that is past all hope of Pardon, is afraid of his own Fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the punishment of less Offences, committeth greater. The Cowardize of Offenders, and the revengeful Spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiency of Laws, in distinguishing the Punishments of Malefactors according to the degree of their several Crimes. A Coward thinks all provision too little for his own security. If Phocas be a Coward (said the Emperor *Mauritius*) then is he murdrous. To be steadfast and sure in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensive against new Injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianity; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly Enemies, who otherwise would have repented, and sought to make amends for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matbo* and his *Africans* to suspect even their gentleness, as the introduction to extremity rigour. Like unto the Errors of Princes and Governors, are the Errors of Laws. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the less offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his own security.

Against these inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, used with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his own Soldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them: But when they were trans-

ported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their Villany with answerable vengeance, casting them unto wild beasts to be devoured.

Until this time, *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himself apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may seem, for that nothing is remembered of him, since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the War grew to such extremity, as threatened utter ruin to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joined his Forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times: rather he could now perform nothing; such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Urica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood always firm on the *Carthaginian* Party, did now revolt unto the Enemy, murdering all the Soldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The Provisions brought by Sea, for maintenance of the Army, were lost in foul weather: and *Carthage* it self stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matbo* and *Spendius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Army. This was the common practise of those two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes have often imitated; perfwading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joyned two chief Commanders in equal Commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-wealths have been jealous, having been taught by their examples, that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have employed them. In this point the *Venetians* have been so circumfpect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own, in all the Wars which they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the War it self, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In Wars made near unto *Rome* it self, when two good Friends were Consuls, or such two at least as concurred in one desire of Triumph; which Honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years service: it is no marvel, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than Victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose Power was neither hindered by any Partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one War; but each went, whichever his lot called him, to his own Province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times prevail through their joyned Generals: yet was this never so seldom, without as much concord as any other virtue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able Captain,

though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and most dangerous overthrows; whereof in the second Punic War we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their Wars most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding Honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now of those ten Generals which served the *Athenians* at the Battle of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the People that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Scio*: the one being so over- wary, and the other so haughty, as all came to nought that they undertook; whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Arifides*, and others, having free charge of all, did their Country and Common-wealth most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal discretion and Valour; but that the one hath more of Fury than of Judgment, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often over-slip, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condé* was slain after the Battle of *Iarnac* (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chabot*, had the Conduct of the Protestant Army) the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, Person, and Birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hindrance to their Affairs. For so much did the Valour of the one out-reach the advisableness of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own Courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present business; who, though they were still sick of their ill grounded Love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet feeling that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their Controversies unto the Army that served under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: which he did; and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the Affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matbo* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a Siege. They might well be bold, to hope and adventure much; having in their Camp above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the City was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of Victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by Friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the Wars in *Scio* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their Alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*; fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because if no other State gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kind of noble disposi-

on; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the fellow manifestly proved.

Whilst *Matbo* and his Followers were busily preffing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more than straightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by fairly, they purposed to desert from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the Field: where *Spensius*, and one they stile an African Captain assisting the Rebellion, *Zarcas* an African Captain assisting the Rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Carthage* to a general care of the business. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and Horse of *Naravafus*, made *Spensius* fearful to defend into the Plains. Where *Spensius* fearful to his former method of War, keeping the straightest Passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had the skill in this Art than could be matched by the labour of *Spensius*. He drew the Enemy to mazy Skirmishes; in all which, the Success was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the Overthrow in plain Battel, until at length he got them into a Straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own disadvantage: and therefore they had the less stomach to fight; but awaited for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present fear, and shut them close up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour that came not: and having spent all their Victuals, were so pinched with Hunger, that they fed upon the Boils of their Prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*; and hoping that their Friends at *Tunis* would not be unkindful of them. But when they were driven to such extremity, that they were fain to devour their own Companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was broken, and they threatened their Captains with what they had deserved, unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such Peace as might be gotten. So *Spensius*, *Zarcas*, and *Autarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the Multitude, and yield themselves, if it were to be required, unto the Death, rather than to perish by the hands of their own Companions. Hereupon they sent to crave Parley, which is granted; and these three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in Person. What they could say unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the Conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the Multitude. The Conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse out of the whole number of these Enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his Shirt, or in one single Coat. When the Peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that Peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed: and

therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them, and the lame affrontment that made them break the Covenants of Peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of justice in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain: being forty thousand, or more in number.

This was a famous exploit, and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*, and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward, *Amilcar*, with his *Naravafus* and *Hannibal*, carried the War from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis* being held by *Matbo*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the Enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spensius*, with his Fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the Walls; to terrify those of his old Companions, that were still in Arms. With this rigour the Siege began, as if speedy Victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis* which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far a-funder to help one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matbo from the Walls beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his Companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise, than by a cast at Dice with Fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with great and unexpected fury he fell, that after an exceeding laughter, he took *Hannibal* Prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* Prisoners, he presently revenged the Death of *Spensius* by the same Torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the Siege, but was fain to break it up and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The Terror was no less within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great Victory. All that could bear Arms, were sent into the Field under *Hanno*, whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains surviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the employment of one sole General, near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar's* Camp, and by all good persuasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his Honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed unto him, by sending his Enemy to moderate his Proceedings. Nevertheless after many Conferences, the Authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made Friends; and thenceforth, whilst this War lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibal's* Calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matbo* was come abroad; as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The Skirmishes, and light exercises of War, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and with-

diminish the credit of *Matbo*, that he resolved to try the fortune of one Battel: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matbo*: as being weary of these long Troubles, and insupportable Expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar's* great worth, whereunto the Enemy had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their Friends to help; and drawing forth into the Field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battel might have been foretold, without help of Witchcraft. *Matbo*, and his Followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring Spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late Skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having often been victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their Enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of Liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to Servitude; as the honour of their State would in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that Adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great Victory, wherein most of the Africans their Enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matbo* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this Victory, all the Africans that had rebelled, made submission to their old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of Favour. But they were soon forced, to take what Conditions best pleased the Victors. *Matbo* and his Fellows were led to *Carthage* in Triumph; where they suffered all Torments that could be devised, in recompence of the Mischief which they had wrought in this War. The War had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose Subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the Peace.

WHILST *Matbo* and *Spensius* were making this terrible Combustion in *Africk*, other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Babar* the Governor, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army, (such as could be spared in that busy time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these Companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to join themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by Battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care, began to enter into pra-

tice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to run one course of Fortune with them in their Enterprize. This their offer was kindly taken; but their Faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all Jealousie and Distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust War, to enjoy the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such Actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a-kind of Cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possessed himself of their City, by right of War, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom with the rest of the Cities united. These Revolutions are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquests of new Fortunes, and making of new Parties, and Factions, without the depression or destruction of old Friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old Enemies. Ce *font les coups de vieille et crime*. These, (say the French) be the Blows of the old Art of Fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spensius*, and his Associates: only they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the Inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no less glad, than the Soldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the Victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the Soldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the Soldiers were of opinion, that the Title of the *Carthaginians* to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same Quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen, between *Spensius* with his Mercenaries, and their African Friends, if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the Riches of *Carthage*, had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey, the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to Blows; which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in Italy. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the Romans into it, with as good right, as the *Mantineans* had called them into Sicily. Yet this offer was refused, upon Reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spensius* with Corn; of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in Prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the Romans sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all Provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same Reason, did they forbid to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Utica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the Roman Faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit,

fit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of Faith. The whole Estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, upon the Virtue of *Amilcar*: who had been overthrown by *Scipio* or *Marbo*, in one main Battle, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilefs Villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately driven for Superiority. That extreme necessity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one Sally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwilfully done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking Ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again, began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced War against this ensleaved and impoverished City, under a shameless pretence, That the Preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeed against Rome it self. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves unable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have had twelve hundred Talents, in recompence belike (for I live not what Reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an Invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of War; and the money was paid, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punic* faith, in breach of Covenants: she herself hath broken the Peace already, which *Amilcar* purposed to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

§. V.

How the Affairs of *Carthage* went between the African Rebellion, and the second Punic War.

THE injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel, served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessary lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: and the best means were thought upon, for the increase of Puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousy of the *Romans*, forbade all Attempts upon the Mediterranean Seas; but the Riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the Ocean, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might serve, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in War, and to repair their decayed Forces, with all needful Supplies. Of this *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and sovereign trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men, that were of his Faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his Friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of Command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietness; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such Discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant folk suspected to be wilful idiom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable Services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the Streights of *Heraclus* (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the Western Coast of *Spain*; in which Countrey, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better parts of all those Provinces. But finally, in a Battle that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones* (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: carrying with him to the Grave the fame great Honour and Fame, by which in many signal Victories, he had acquired the Name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of War; but far better in practice and cunning, than in deeds of Arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of Negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding to many Subjects and Confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the Name of New *Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled, but began to cause their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the Isle of *Sicily*, as full of peccing their Neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a War of far less importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure, without interruption, to recover up again on their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient Enemies, and nearest Neighbour to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall have the virtue of a Command.

Yet were the *Romans* usually destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the Name: so that there were no *Martinetes*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* Succours. But in the Enterprize of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* Affairs had no relation to the Peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his Victories unto the Gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* Frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they

they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their Messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generosity of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter Pills, to avoid all occasion of War with *Rome*; yet the Bravery of one man might prove more audacious, and, resenting the Injury, return such Answer, as would entangle his whole Countrey in the Quarrel, that they so much desired; and might embarras at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent Covenant inserted into the Articles of Peace, he took upon him to do it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their ways contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preffed by the *Romans*, for fear of present War, had ratified this new Composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an Oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare Authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of Peace: whereas of the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of Perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* went some Repaty in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Mistress over them, stood in fear of receiving Blows from a flouter Dame, there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a People on the South-side of *Iberus*, entered into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other People (neither Subject, nor open Enemy in War to the *Carthaginians*) into their society: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*: to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if we consider the late Agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall find that the *Romans* could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit Covenant of making the River *Iberus* a Bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that River, held almost all the Countrey. Howsoever it were, this Indignity was not so easily digested, as former Injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater Power than the *Carthaginians*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselves right, War against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years:

(being slain by a Slave, whose Master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, Son of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen General in his stead.

§. V. I.

The Estate of Greece from the Death of Pyrrhus, to the Reign of Philip the Son of Demetrius in Macedonia.

IN the long term of the first *Punic* War, and the vacation following, between it and the second, the Estate of Greece, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as in an After-spring. The whole Countrey had recovered, by degrees, a form of Liberty: the petty Tyrannies (bred of those inferior Captains, which in the Times of general Combustion, had seized each upon such Towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like Diffensions and Tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to inchoate upon it. For after many Quarrels and great Wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*, *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fix and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose Father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the *Gauls*, he was converting his Forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garisons. But his young Son *Demetrius* raised an Army, where-with he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epiros*, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius*, (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadel of *Corinth*: which was justly termed the *Filter* of *Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky Hill on the North-side of the Town; and was by Nature and Art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by Land from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious Havens. *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Cratespolis* his Wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexander*'s Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his Wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a Trick. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seek her Marriage. The foolish old Widow perceived not how unfit a Match the

to require the benefit with some great mischief. They law that the *Achaens* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporate on: of which intent, the *Lacedaemonians* laboured earnestly to fet the *Lacedaemonians* and *Achaens* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to pass, they themselves should be called into help (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate their device unto *Antigonum*; offering to make him partaker of their Gain, whom they knew to be offended with the *Achaens*. Of this Plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedaemonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late, and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Achaens*, that were dependants of *Lacedaemon*, and thereby had provoked the *Lacedaemonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcaadians* their Friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it: The *Ætolians* contriving *Lacedaemon* with an Army, had carried away fifty thousand Slaves; and, which was worse, their Discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime been their general Vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural Citizens, of whom not above one hundred had Lands, all the rest were needy People, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who fought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the People to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act for the abolishing of all Debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. There had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part, being himself a difficult man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his Friends and Counsellors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their own private Commodity. They were hasty to take away all Debts, and cancel Bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the division of Lands they afterwards hindered, because their own Possessions were great. Hence arose a Tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased, by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leonidas* was brought home, and reformed to his Kingdom, and the two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late made King was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into Prison, and there by his Enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this Cruelty proceeded from the *Ephebi*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the Laws, using their Power, and more Power than to them

belonged, against a King that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the Laws required.

The Death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens, and served to establish the important rule of a few tyrannical Oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedaemon* to the *Achaean* Commonwealth, though it were great injustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by persuasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also require the unjust attempts of the *Achaens*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedaemonians* and their King, should have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus vacated *Agis* to be slain, took his Wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his Wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand, to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an Estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephebi* gave him in charge to take and fortify *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Lacedaemon*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended Title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but fought to take by surpris *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedaemonians*: wherein his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painful nights travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the War began. In the entrance whereof *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have staid the Quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lysidas* and *Arifmachus* would needs fight, and he could do no other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Arifmachus* was at that time General of the *Achaens* (He and *Lysidas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their Tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athenæ*, and required his assistance in a Journey to be made into *Lacedaemon*. No dissolutions of *Aratus* would serve, therefore he came in person, and took part of a business little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight, but opposed himself against *Arifmachus*, who desired to give Battel. Yet had the *Achaens* twenty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedaemonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lysidas* helped to make worse, by accusing his Cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achaens* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the year following, against *Lysidas* his Accuser that sued for the place. Being General himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the slanderous words of *Lysidas*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the

the *Eleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycaeus*. By *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great Battel, and drove him to hide himself all night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he secretly wrought with some of the *Montanians*, who did let him into their City. The *Montanians* had once before joyned themselves with the *Achaens*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætolians*, and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achaean* Society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another Battel almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achaens* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lysidas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger, and taking with him all the Horse, brake upon the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them, and his Followers driven back upon their own Companions, in such sort, that finally all the Army was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great loss, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution towards the Pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheless; wherein, though *Cleomenes* was some Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one small Fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intensive to another business.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painful Journeys, to look the *Achaean* War on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephebi*, and restored by force the ancient Discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings, and shewing by what degrees the *Ephebi* had incroached upon the Power of Kings, and many Disorders had grown in the City; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by chusing new out of such as were Friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it self from the *Ætolians*, *Ilyrians*, and other Enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; for the *Spartans* well satisfied, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take advantage of these his Domestic Troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for fear of some Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard that he had wasted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcaidia* at his pleasure; and was admitted unto *Maninæa*, and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These news displeased them not a little: but they must patiently

endure to hear worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the Power of the *Ephebi*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more boldly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedaemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the Possession of a few Towns: but adventured to win or lose all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side; and whereas he had gotten *Maninæa*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some Title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonum* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he devised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruine. The Office of General when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far preft as to hazard in one Battel all the Force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance Courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surpris, and depended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iryls*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the weak publick, though in aiming at the general good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of Battel; that *Maninæa* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Arifmachus*, once Tyrant of *Argis*, and since General of the *Achaens*, was now revolved unto the Enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Pelamy* was too far off to help, and the nearness of *Antigonum* was very dangerous; yet might be useful, if this King, would (as *Polybus* saith) like others, be Friend or Enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make tryal hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose, and instructed them how to deal with both *Antigonum*, and the *Achaens*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achaens*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent unto the general Council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonum* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonum*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need, and how it would agree with his Honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction, shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaens* under the Pa-

tragnage of Macedonia: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth, as it might stand with the *Acheans* good liking. Particularly he commended himself, by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they return to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required.

The *Acheans* were glad to hear that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent, and praised the Wisdom of his Country-men, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate, in that which himself of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss, since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that Power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withal, should have restored unto the universal State of Greece, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that Vertue having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it self (as it were) in the seat of Principality, by length of time, and success of many actions; can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it self likely to be over-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedaemonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own Honours reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of living as a Companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long Race of Kings, the Posterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus* as unto a God, and was finally possessed by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of five descents, and whom perhaps he might have seen his Fellow, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the Love of *Protrius* was lost: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality as he had used to the *Acheans*; being warned, as may seem by their example, to be more wary, both in trusting and dis-trusting. *Cleomenes* him self, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Acheans* to Battle. At the City of *Dyme* in *Achaia* were assem-

bled all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make trial, whether perhaps they might amend their Estate, without seeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had to great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The Calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next Election. Wherefore the *Acheans* were compelled to sue for Peace; which was granted upon this ease condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the Command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedaemonians* (as in former Ages) to be their Leaders in War. Hereunto, if they would condescend, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his Prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Acheans*, who desired him to come unto the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held for the conclusion of the War.

Now seemed the Affairs of Greece likely to be settled in better order than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* Invasion, when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindered all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in a great heat, and thereupon fell extrem sick, and to could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless he sent home the chief of his Prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good Faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Acheans* in their desire of his Friendship: who assembled again at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he brook himself to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving Hostages for safety of his Person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement: and took it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had been an easie matter to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seems to have troubled him, was the drift of his Oppugners, who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the Gates, and deal only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would adventure himself into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal shew, that might breed respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person, lest the People hearing the Promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and finish the Bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all as it were to Fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly, many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan

Argos

Argos, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own Son to *Cleomenes*, entreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Acheans*. *Cleomenes* gave as good words as could be wished: saying that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthum* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the Horse against his Enemy the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himself to be killed and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal vexed, but wanted all honest colour to do it: the *Corinthians* had no way deluded to be thence away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an opportunity was found, for that the *Corinthians* perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was in doing, he took special order that *Aratus* his House and Goods within the Town, should be safely kept for the Owner, to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these persuasions, then would he give him double the price Pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Protrius*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the Gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured Sovereignty of the Country; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyfully kept by the *Lacedaemonians* and *Acheans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus* rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own Son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*, and laboured with the *Acheans* to put *Acrocorinthum* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seized upon the Goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waited all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Illyrians* having passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Attolians* held the Straights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this Journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedaemonians* ready to forbid his entrance, and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battle, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force, but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally, he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the Gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his Enemies. The *Acheans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been

Enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of Macedonia. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of Friends; and partly, for that they all made themselves to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victory, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all Debtors to be discharged from their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men, and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took at their time, invaded the *Acheans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the Refuge that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood, by continual Messengers, that his men which he began to fear, left his labour in guarding the entry, should grow frivolous; the *Acheans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Illyrians*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust Fortune with the rest. And so both *Argives* and *Acheans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the Streets: when the Horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a far off, halting to relieve the Citizens, and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got hint home into *Laconia*, losing in short space all, or most, of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Agium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Acheans*: to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Acheans* were not behind with him, but made him Captain General over them and their Confederates, and further entered into Covenant with him, That they should not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassage, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feared him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane Honours, as sacrifices, and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Stoicism*, which had been followed by the rest of *Achaia*; if instead of made (forsooth) a very vile bargain, if it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Acheans*. This was hardly taken, yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected, when the Statues of those Tyrants erected by *Antigonus*; or when the Statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthum* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left.

was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of Marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his Son to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with Sacrifices, Feasts, Plays, and all sorts of Games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousy had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity befitting his old Age. But as he had stolen it, so was it again stolen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with Age.

Demetrius, the Son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his Virtue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually buied in War; wherein his Fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these Times the Power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only Son of *Demetrius*, was a young Child when his Father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the Name and Power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own Son, to whom he left the Crown at his death. This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Dolon*, that is as much as *Wile-guess*, because he was slow in his liberality. He respected the *Dardanians*, and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his Reign. Upon confidence of this good Service, he took for fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Acheans* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own Estate had not been endangered by a nearer Enemy. But civil Dissention, which had overthrown the Power of *Greece*, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness; and gave to this *Antigonus* no less Audio ijs therein, than *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Acheans*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most renowned Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their Clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others to their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of Weights, Measure, and Money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder Times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of Rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heracides*, when *Tisamenus* the Son of *Orestes* possessed the Territory of *Achaia*. In this Estate they continued to the Time of *Orges*; after whom, when his Sons fought to change the legal Govern-

ment of their Predecessors into Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equal. This form of Common-wealth had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of Times, till the Reign of *Philip* and *Alexander*; Kings of *Macedon*: who Tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the World. For those twelve Cities, called the Cities of Alliance, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battle of *Leuctra*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a War, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or near it, *Proculus* the Son of *Lagus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Solonus*, and *Proculus* *Ceramus*, left the World; as the ten remaining Cities and People, namely, the *Perseides* and the *Dimeis*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that general Accord and Reunion, which after followed. For having been, some of them Partisans with sundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings, they began to fatten themselves in a strong league of Amity, partly, in the *Olympiad*, before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first Voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Tarentines* and *Phars*, joyned themselves, *Ægea* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Barians*, killing their Kings, entered with the *Cerameians* into the same Confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Acheans*; who by a Senator and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-wealth; and soon after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Cæmpestis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in Exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City by night, with Ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the People to liberty. This was in the Time of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*, King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wife in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entered into the *Achaian* League: which though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of *Aratus* delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* League: so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fifty Talents, he pacified the inexpressible Controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those Enterprizes following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy* *Evergetes*, King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure Friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the Conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous Voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly Pictures, with the gift of many curious Pieces, wherein the Workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great Attempts, was the Surprise of the *Acrocorinthum*, or Citadel of *Corinth*; which

which he wan by night, being therein guided by some Thieves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the Place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his Treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the Rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed he was not, but with those Thieves, who were by *Antigonus* his Soldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the Assault; as mistrusting lest the *Acheans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the Place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any Enemy.

In this kind of Night-services, Ambushments, Surprizes, and Practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open Field, and plain Battle, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of Cowardize and Courage, he ministered Argument of Disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began Battle; and whether the virtues of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined, unto several sorts of action. In resolving which Doubts it may be said; that all Virtue is perfected in men by Exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, life, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreprieveable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testify.

When *Acrocorinthum* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entered into the same Corporation. So did the *Trezenians*; and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos*, and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The Enterprize upon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athensian* Prisoners, without ransom, to allure the City by shew of love, yet the *Athensians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest Slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the Adventure was carried more strongly. The *Acheians* came sometimes to the Gates of the City, but the People stirred not: once they entered it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; and sundry times, and with diverse event, they fought with the Tyrants (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open Field, and slew one in Battle; but all sufficed not: until at length *Ariftemachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, periwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Philiatians*. Whilst this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysidas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their Forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeding one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysidas* and *Ariftemachus*, were carried with private passion,

from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Acheians* having obtained so much Puffiance and Reputation, that *Polemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of Honour) General of their Forces by Sea and Land, made open War upon *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this Quarrel had lost a Battle, the *Athensians* were Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the Victory. Such were now the *Athensians* become; in whom the Rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; it is either base in service, or insolent in command. Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athensians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Acheians*; loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entered not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by sturdiness of body, and rude courage in Fight, without help of any other Virtue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antigonus* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and suffer much; partly by the natural strength and faithfulness of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, which, as hath been related, they had molested *Caesars*, in favour of *Antigonus*; and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or less, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held out War with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardened with perpetual travel, seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardiness ill deserved the Name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship; measuring all things by their own insolent will, and thinking all people base minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great Spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had invaded the Friends of the *Acheians*; taken and sacked *Pallene*; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them greedy of a new Voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Acheians*; which they obtained. The War which the *Acheians* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedonians* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* Forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, devised how

to require the benefit with some great mischief. They law that the *Achaean* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedaemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Aetolians* laboured earnestly to set the *Lacedaemonians* and *Achaean* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to pass, they themselves should be called into help to pass, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*, offering to make him partaker of their Gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses that his Kingdom had sustained by the *Achaean*. Of this Plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedaemonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late, and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Aetolians*, that were dependants of *Lacedaemon*, and thereby had provoked the *Lacedaemonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Aetolians* their Friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Aetolians* entering *Laconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thousand Slaves; and, which was worse, their Discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime been their general Virtue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than a few hundred natural Citizens, of whom not above one hundred had Lands, all the rest were needy People, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed an intestine sedition, which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who fought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the People to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act for the abolishing of all Debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part, being himself a disfigure man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his Friends and Counsellors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their own private Commodity. They were hasty to take away all Debts, and cancel Bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the division of Lands they afterwards hindered, because their own Possessions were great. Hence arose a Tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased, by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom, and the two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late made King was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into Prison, and there by his Enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this Cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the Laws, using their Power, and more Power than to them

belonged, against a King that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the Laws required.

The Death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens, and served to establish the important rule of a few tyrannical Oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedaemon* to the *Achaean* Common-wealth, though it were great injustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by persuasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also require the unjust attempts of the *Achaean*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedaemonians* and their good liking, for that the *Lacedaemonians* and their King, should have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus revenged *Agis* to be slain, took his Wife that was veiled rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his Wife, and fought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discouraged much with her about the purpose of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an Estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruin. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge to take and fortify *Atheneum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended Title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprise *Tegæa* and *Orbomenne*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedaemonians*: wherein his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painful nights travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the War began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Aetolian* practice, and therefore would have staid the Quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyfias* and *Ariftemachus* would needs fight, and he could do no other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Ariftemachus* was at that time General of the *Achaean* (He and *Lyfias* being of great account, since they had abandoned their Tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a Journey to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuavances of *Aratus* would serve, therefore he came in person, and took part of a business little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight, but opposed himself against *Ariftemachus*, who desired to give Battle. Yet had the *Achaean* twenty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedaemonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyfias* helped to make worse, by accusing his Cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achaean* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the year following, against *Lyfias* his Accuser that lived for the place. Being General himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the slanderous words of *Lyfias*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the

the *Eleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycaeus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great Battle, and drove him to hide himself all night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompened by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake, he secretly wrought with some of the *Manians*, who did let him into their City. The *Manians* had once before joyed themselves with the *Achaean*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Aetolians*, and from the *Aetolians*, presently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achaean* Society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another Battle almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achaean* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyfias*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger, and taking with him all the Horse, brake upon the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passages, he was slain by them, and his Followers driven back upon their own Companions, in such fort, that finally all the Army was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great loss, and incensed the *Achaean* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution towards the Pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheless; wherein, though *Cleomenes* won some Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one final Fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaean* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intensive to another business.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painful Journeys, took the *Achaean* War on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient Discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings, and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the Power of Kings, and many Disorders had grown in the City; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by chusing new out of such as were Friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it self from the *Aetolians*, *Illyrians*, and other Enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take advantage of these his Domestic Troubles.

The *Achaean* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for fear of some Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard that he had wasted all the Country of *Megalopolis*: had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Maninaea*, and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These news displeased them not a little: but they must patiently

endure to hear words. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the Power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedaemonians* retained their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth content about the Possession of a few Towns: but adventured to win or lose all. The *Aetolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Maninaea*, *Tegæa*, and other places, to which they had some Tide, they willingly renounced all their interest into him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Aetolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he devised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruin. The Office of General when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far preft as to hazard in one Battle all the Force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance Courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and depended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet he did not forsake the care of the weak publick, though in aiming at the general good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of Battle; that *Maninaea* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Ariftemachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since General of the *Achaean*, was now revolted unto the Enemy; following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Sparta* was too far off to help, and the nearness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be useful, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be Friend or Enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make trial herof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose, and instructed them how to deal with both *Antigonus*, and the *Achaean*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achaean*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent unto the general Council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what did to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand bravely; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time borne unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need, and how it would agree with his Honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction, shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Aetolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaean* under the Pa-

tragnage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth, as it might stand with the *Achaean* good liking. Particularly he commended himself, by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they return to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required.

The *Achaean* were glad to hear that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent, and praised the Wisdom of his Country-men, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate; in that which himself of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss, since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that Power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withal, should have restored unto the universal State of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that Vertue having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it self (as it were) in the seat of Principality, by length of time, and success of many actions; can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it self likely to be over-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedaemonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own Honours reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of living as a Companion with *Cleomenes*, that was defended of a long Race of Kings, the Posterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus* as unto a God, and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of five descents, and whom perhaps he might have seen his Fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the Love of *Polomy* was lost: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality as he had used to the *Achaean*; being warned, as may seem by their example, to be more wary, both in trusting and discharging. *Cleomenes* himself, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achaean* to Battle. At the City of *Dyme* in *Achaia* were assembled

all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make trial, whether perhaps they might amend their Estate, without seeking help of the *Macedonians*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had to great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The Calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next Election. Wherefore the *Achaean* were compelled to sue for Peace; which was granted upon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the Command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedaemonians* (as in former Ages) to be their Leaders in War. Hereunto, if they would condescend, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his Prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaean*, who desired him to come unto the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held for the conclusion of the War.

Now seemed the Affairs of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* Invasion, when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindered all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in a great heat, and thereupon fell extrem sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless he sent home the chief of his Prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good Faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achaean* in their desire of his Friendship: who assembled again at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he betook himself to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving Hostages for safety of his Person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement: and took it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had been an easie matter to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seems to have troubled him, was the drift of his Oppugners, who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the Gates, and deal only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would adventure himself into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal shew, that might breed respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person, lest the People hearing the Promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and finish the Bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all as it were to Fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly, many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terror, he won

Argos

Argos, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own Son to *Antigonus*, entreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achaean*. *Antigonus* gave as good words as could be wished: saying that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the Horse against his Enemy the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himself to be felled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal contented, but wanted all honest colour to do it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found, for that the *Corinthians* perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was in doing, he took special order that *Aratus* his House and Goods within the Town, should be safely kept for the Owner, to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians* and *Hyrians* to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these persuasions, then would he give him double the fine Pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolemy*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the Gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured Sovereignty of the Country; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyfully kept by the *Lacedaemonians* and *Achaean*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus* rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own Son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*, and laboured with the *Achaean* to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he sailed upon the Goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waited all the Country of *Sicion*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Illyrians*; having passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Atolians* held the Straights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this Journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedaemonians* ready to forbid his entrance, and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battle, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force, but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally, he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the Gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicion*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his Enemies. The *Achaean* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left there, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been

Enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chafe out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of Friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victory, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all Debtors to be discharged that their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn their backs upon him, and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achaean*, assisted his Garrison, cut in pieces the Refuge that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood, by continual Messengers, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost; he began to fear, left his labour in guarding the entry, should grow frivolous; the *Achaean* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook the custody of the *Illyrians*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust Fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*; that both *Argives* and *Achaean* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the Streets: when the Horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a far off, halting to relieve the Citizens, and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*, losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Argium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaean*: to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achaean* were not behind with him, but made him Captain General over them and their Confederates, and further entered into Covenant with him, that they should not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassage, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man that seemed to rule the Kings heart: the only man that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicion* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane Honours, as sacrifices, and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Achaean*. This was hardly taken, yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected, when the Statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the Statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left.

left unto himself at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appear, that this God was also fighful. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did fastise his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extrem Torments he did put *Arifomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards General of the *Achaens*; and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their Ingratitude and Cruelty shewed to the *Achaens*. For he slew all the principal Citizens, and fold the rest, Men, Women, and Children, all for Bond-slaves: dividing the Spoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*; who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it to be now-named *Antigonia*. Surety of this Cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the Flattery, which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of Servility, wherunto they had urged and brought him; whilst he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Civil state of the *Achaens*, let us return unto his War against the *Lacedaemonians*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* with *Tegae*, *Mantineae*, *Orchomenus*, *Helae*, and *Tegea*. *Mantineae* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he fitted no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineae*, and to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Ægyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his Children in pledge. These were sent into *Ægypt*; yet the Aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumitted all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedaemonian* Slaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his Forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous Times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entered, all that were fit to bear Arms, rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent to them again, if they would be of his Party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great Booty that he found therein. These News afforded the *Achaens* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering Places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their Lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of this unlucky Winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achaens*. When he had layn a while at *Argos*,

Cleomenes was at the Gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Countrey would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the Field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser, than to be moved with their Clamour; and suffered them to see their Villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector; unto some that were more valiant; and to fastise their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in Fight, and thereby lose more Honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the Reputation of his Enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, unto *Lacedaemon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for War, *Antigonus* gathered together all his Troops, meaning to requite these Bravado's of his Enemy, with the Conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keep the War from his own Gates; and therefore entered upon the Countrey of *Argos*, where he made such havoc, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended Invasion of *Laconia*. Many great Affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Countrey of the *Argives*, *Philiatians*, and *Orchomenians*, drove a Garrison of his out of *Oligyria*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the Suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the Keys. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the *Achaen* side, and to fill the Enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard, of things abroad, and to put all to hazard, by setting up his rest, without more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Thyrians*, *Gauls*, *Spartans*, *Boetians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achaens*, and their Friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming to *Selasia*, found his Enemy so strongly incamped, upon and between the Hills of *Eos* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in affaying their well-defended Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other, *Antigonus* attempted with his *Thyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Eos*: but his *Thyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achaen* Foot, that the *Spartan* Horse, and light-armed Foot, incamped in the freight Valley between those Hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts; and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the Battle, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Eucledis*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopemen* the *Arcaidian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on Horse, as a private young man, among the *Achaens*. He seeing that all was like

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to go to rout, if their *Thyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them, perfwaded the Captains of the *Achaen* Horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth, and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their Places, until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopemen* perceiving them to be more orderly, than well advised, entreated some of his own Countreymen to follow him; gave a charge upon the *Spartans*; and forced them not only to leave the *Thyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the Place which the *Thyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perfwaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Eucledis* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and fired not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was fore hurt, yet he made good the Place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedaemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Eucledis*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this Battle, ended the glory of *Lacedaemon*; which, as a Light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many Ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to fly, finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led into this Battle, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perfwaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had Shipping long before provided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himself for *Ægypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Evergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom; and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant Behaviour and Qualities. In the mean season he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, unmindful of all Virtue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the Troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seem to invite him, *Ptolemy*, and his Minions, would neither give him aid, nor yet dared to dismiss him (as he desired) to try his own Friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakness of *Ægypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him Prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirty of his Countreymen, he undertook a desperate Enterprize: breaking out of the Prison, and provoking the *Alexandrines* to rebel, and seek their liberty. In which Attempt, he slew some Enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the Streets, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the King's behalf) He, and his Companions, agreed together to be

Ministers of their own Death. Upon his dead Body *Philopater* was bold to shew his Indignation: and slew his Mother and Children, that had been sent thither as Hostages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grandmother, to come to such a bloody end, as now belet his own Wife, Son, and Grandchildren.

After the Victory at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entered *Sparta*: wherewith never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: carrying there no longer, than two or three days; after which he hasted out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an Advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Thyrians* over-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these News come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the Fight, a few days longer, or at least-way tarried, a few days after the Fight, in *Sparta*, the Kingdom of *Lacedaemon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great Battle with the *Thyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-straining his voice; wherewith he brake a Vein that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his Life, who was troubled before with a Consumption of the Lungs. His Kingdom descended unto *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, firnamed (I know not why) the Great; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to reign in *Asia*, and *Ægypt*; Boys all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seventeen years of his Reign. The unripe Age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is usual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the Romans; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

§. VII.

How the *Thyrians* invaded the Coast of *Greece*; and how they were subdued by the Romans.

WILKIN things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in their conquest of *Spain*, the Romans had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made all war with the *Thyrians*, wherein they got much Honour with little pain. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livy* saith, a Tumult than a War. So that by *Livy*, all these light Exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean Sea*, it hath been shewed before: of their dealings with the *Thyrians* and *Gauls*; it is not meet to be utterly silent.

The *Thyrians* inhabited the Countrey, now called *Slovenia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making War for gain, without other regard of Friend or Foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to help the

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Mydonians, his Friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrian* Succours came, the *Mydonians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the Booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, claiming to have the honour of the Victory, and the division of the Spoil to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the Siege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old Orders might be kept. It was a pretty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later Ages, who thought upon dividing the Prey, before they had won the Victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should be jointly entitled in the Victory, and have equal Authority, in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the Victory, partly by force of their own multitude, partly by help of the *Mydonians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly fell out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their Baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the Spoil, and went their way; the *Mydonians* erected a Trophy, inscribing the Names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this Voyage, highly pleased *Agan* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasy, to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this, he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a Pleurisy, which in few days ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Tuta*, his Wife.

Tuta gave her people free liberty to rob all Nations at Sea, making no difference between Friend and Foe; as if he had been sole Mistress of the great Waters. She armed a Fleet, and sent it into Greece: willing her Captains, to make War where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the *Western* Coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and layed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in Victuals and other Necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Argenrium*, then *Erys*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed, and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirians*, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Town. The *Gauls* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which delivered none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in Arms, and halfted to drive out these unwelcom Guests. But whilst the *Epirians* lay before the Town, there came News into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*; whom Queen *Tuta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this Advertisement, a part of them is sent

away towards *Antigenia*, to make good that Town, and the streights adjoining, by which these newcomers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other sped well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to join with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, fell out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirians*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Acheans* and *Ætolians*; craving their help, with very piteous terms of entreaty. They obtained their suit: neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to prevent battle unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home, by Letters from *Tuta* the Queen, that signified a Rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his Forces to hazard, but offered composition; which was accepted. The Agreement was, That the *Epirians* might ransom their Town, and all their people that were Prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this Voyage. For in fulfilling the Commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilst they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complainants made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Tuta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadors found her very joyful; both for the riches which her Fleet had brought in, and for that she had, in those forces, raised her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town of *Lissa*, which her Forces held freighly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, he could hardly afford a good look to the unmannerly *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true Name, *Pirates*, required amends. Yet when their Speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, That injury in publick the would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get Commodity, how they best could, by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take Revenge in publick, of those private Wrongs, that are born out by publick Authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. These Words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfy her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the Common Law of Nations, the caused him to be slain: as if that had been the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this out-rage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred Sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Popthimus*. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction, for this injury is of such nature, as must be required with mortal War. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadors: the reason and ground whereof,

seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should pass freely, and in safety between Enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold upon Embassadors sent by their Enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then is it as lawful, to use violence to those Embassadors (thus employed, to make the War more terrible) as it is to kill the men of War, and Subjects, of an Enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it, when they flew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Ambassador residing is the maintenance of Amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much less may an Ambassador do it, without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no privilege at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Greeks*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadors *Comacenus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error; that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since: Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirians* had the Name of the most warlike people in Greece; she had the easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much, by odds of Number, as by Valour, or skill in Arms; that the world have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like commission, to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self; and one part of it fell with *Dyrachium*; the other, with *Coryra*. *Dyrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In *Coryra* the *Illyrians* landed; wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Acheans* were called in to help: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Cæpensis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Coryra*, disarmed with this Overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius* *Pharicus*; who took possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrachium*. In the mean season, *Tuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was,

that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul failed thither; where he found the Town of *Coryra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it was only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and subverted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul failed along the coast, to *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Apollonia*, *Demetrius*, whom he tied thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Popthimus*, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbered at twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* Army, they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea; take Twenty of their Ships; and enforce the Queen *Tuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rijon*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part stays behind, and prosecutes the War, in such sort, that *Tuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable Conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay Tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, never send any of her Ships; or War, towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two Vessels, unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* War, the *Romans* sent Embassadors into divers parts of Greece, signifying their love to the Country, and how, for good will thereto, they had made War with good success upon *Tuta*, and her people. They hoped belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wiser enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Libinian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesy, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in Greece, save a little Acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the War between the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *Hannibal* into Italy.

THE *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lumbaria*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they took *Rome*; and burnt it: though the issue of that War proved not unprofitable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many Overthrows they received; and if they got any Victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce, than well advised: lightly stirred up to War, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were laid to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them:

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a Dyrrachium, a time called Dyrrachium, and now Dyrrachio, of upon the Adriatic Sea, between the Islands of Phœnice and Coryra, b Coryra, an Island of the Achaia, c Coryra, the city of the Phœnicians.

yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden and uncertain; by reason of their Neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their Attempts upon Rome, were called Wars, but tumultuous Gallies; tumults of the Gauls; and rightly. For they gave many alarms to Italy, and used to march with great Armies: but after a few days march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion they to disperse them. Having received an Overthrow; they would retreat ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the state of Rome, that against these made only defensive War, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the Gauls never fell upon Italy, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous War. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst Pyrrhus was travelling in the same enterprise, or in either of the two former Punick Wars; it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious City. But it seems that the Gauls had no better intelligence in the affairs of Italy, than strangers had in Gaul. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to snare, whenever the Enemies, which they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first Punick War. Once before this, the Romans had been bold, to set upon the Gauls in their own Country: and that was three years before the coming of Pyrrhus into Italy. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gauls, invading Hetruria, and besieging Arretium, had won a great battle, and slain L. Cæcilius with the most of his Army. Manius Curius the new Consul, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ransom of Prisoners. But these Embassadors they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it so well, that they expelled these Senones out of their Country, and sent a Colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the Boii; another people of Gauls, to fear the measure: who thereupon took Arms, and drew the Hetrurians to their side. But the Romans overthrew them in two great battles; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted until this end of the Illyrian war.

e There were divers Nations of the Boii; as in Pannonia, Elvira, Germany, in Barbis in France, and in Aquitania: but these Boii were of the French race, and dwell at this time about the mouth of the River of Po.

It vexed the Gauls, to see a Roman Colony planted in their Country; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds; by driving out their Neighbours: perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpinæ (so the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alps; though to us they are nearer; like as they called Cisalpinæ, or by-further the Alps, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, to their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carried, that the Cisalpinæ and Transalpinæ, fell together by the ears: putting the Romans only to a tumult, without further trouble of War. Soon after they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in Rome, propounded a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the Senones, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between Arretium and Ariminum: terminating utterly those Gauls. Such an Offer,

were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or Gutinus it self, would not convey the Multitude. But the Commonality of Rome took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had ever after their good will.

This dreadful President extremely displeased the Boii: who being Neighbours to Ariminum, feared the like displacement. And because all the rest of the Gauls had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Insubrians, which inhabited the Duchy of Milan, joyned with the Boii, and upon a common prey entertained the Gellates, Nations about Rhodanus, wageable as the Swissers in these times. The Gellates having received a great Impulse, came to the Field under the conduct of their Kings, Comelitanus and Aneroelphus: who with the Boii and Insubrians, compound an Army of Fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the Roman Territory; to whom, the Senogallii, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the Venetians, and the Cenomani, adhered to the Romans: as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of whole incursions therefore, the Gauls were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of Milan: With the rest of their forces they entered into Tuscanæ. The Romans hearing of this danger, sent Æmilius to Rimini, to stop their passage; and in the place of C. Atilius their other Consul, who then was in Sardinia, they implored one of their Prætors, for the defence of Tuscanæ.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerful Army, which the Gauls had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, being in this Muster, deserve to be recorded; because they set out the power of the Romans in those days. With the Consuls, they sent forth the War four Legions of their own; every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse; and of their Allies, thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the Sabines and Hetrurians, fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which Army was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria.

Of the Umbri and Samnites, which inhabited the Apennines, there were twenty thousand; of the Venetians and Cenomani, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the Boii, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the general Army of the Gauls should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertain chances of War, thirty thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, garrison'd in Rome it self, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. Over and above these great Troops, in the Roll of the Latines, that was sent into the Senate, there were numbered fourscore thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; in that of the Samnites, twenty thousand Foot, and of Horse seven thousand; in that of the Volturni, and Malappes, fifty thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse; the Lucani sent

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Sardinia, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls*, inclosed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To furnish *Amilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milavus*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the Fight *Polypius* describeth at large, which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Attilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Conciliatus* and *Anercifus*, with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this Overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their Victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boii*; but by reason of the great Rains that fell, and the great Fertility that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Enrius*, and *Flamininus*, invade the *Milavus*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Veneti*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Office: because the *Angures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only fore-shewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the Election. *C. Flamininus*, receiving letters of this revocation, from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the Contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gave battle unto the Enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This was that *Flamininus*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Country of the *Sennos* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his Birth and Degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the furer side: and found imitators, that rose by the same Art; which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flamininus and his Colleague, being deposed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls for the rest of that year. The *Gauls*, about this time desired peace, and were like to have obtained it; though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyined with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present War,

was at an end: So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerra*, a Town not far from *Novara* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchy of *Adrian*. To divert them from this Siege, *Britomarus* fate down before *Clasidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with great part of his forces; leaving the rest with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerra*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their Siege: *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the Horse, and six Hundred Foot lightly armed; thought to deal well enough with those at *Clasidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming; and met him upon the way; so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight. Herein *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of Horse and Foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his Enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the Enemies with his own Hand. To this kind of Victory belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cicero*, and this *Marcellus* had the Honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers other *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of War than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Optima Volua*; The Armour of a General slain by himself, when they were Generals, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this Victory, *Acerra* was yielded to the *Romans*, and *Adrian* soon after; with all that belonged to the *Cisalpinus* or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardy*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had for so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City itself, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possit by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not submit their Necks to the *Roman* Yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlaws and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing always open, when they had any War, save once, in the Reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, until the Reign of *Augustus*. But this their present Happiness was not to last long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP.

C H P. III.

Of the second Punic War.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besieged and taketh Saguntum; whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

Hannibal, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old, when he was chosen General of the Carthaginian Forces in Spain. He was elected by the Army as soon as *Adrubal* was dead: and the Election was ratified by the State at *Carthage*; wherewith *Hannibal* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* Family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose Surname was *Barcar*) that had command in chief, over the Men of War. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these domestical Enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* House, had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This general Good-will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in saving his Country from imminent ruin, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with Treasures and great Revenues; so was it retained by the same good Arts among his Friends and Followers. Hence therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the virtue of their Enemies, that was unprovable, nor to perform the like services unto the Common-weal, had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprehension of War, and cautious advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned other whiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* Faction went about to oppress the Liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were tedious to hear ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no less *Barchine* than *Hannibal* himself. For it was long since apparent, that the Oath of the *Romans* to the Articles of Peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were the never so quiet and officious, unless the would yield to become their Subject. Since therefore the Peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find some good advantage, to renew the War: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their own State was in good case, the War should begin, than that in some unhappy time of Famine or Pestilence, or after some great loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their Enemies; and to give away basely their Lands and Treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Countreymen, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his Father, and other Friends, had long time deviled of this business) that in making War with the *Romans*, it was so small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without molestation, there was good hope that he should find Friends and Assistants, even of those

People that helped to increase the Roman Armies in foreign Wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how farsoever they would be, to hear that he had led the War on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great Enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discovered of, in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*; who, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that *Spanish* Towns alliance with their false Friends. So should he assuage both the patience of his Enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approached unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Livy*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the War against *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needful to finish the Conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entered upon the Territory of the *Olcades*, * A People having besieged *Althea* (*Livy* calleth it *Carthago*) ple (saith *Stephanus*) near the River of *Ebro*, *Puro* detook, being subdued, and the Winter at hand, in he refted his Army in *New Carthage*, or *Carthago*, and imparted liberally to the Soldiers, the Spoils he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the War against the *Vaccæ*; and without any great difficulty, won first *Salamanca*, now called *Salamanca*, and after it, *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long Siege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the hazard, both of his Courage, and of his Martial Judgment. For all such of the *Vaccæ*, as were able to bear Arms, being made desperate by the spoil of their Country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had escaped in the late Overthrow, joining themselves with the *Toletani*; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men; and stayed *Hannibal* on the Banks of the River *Tagu*, which runneth to the Sea by *Liborn* in Portugal. *Vaccæ* in These four Nations having had experience of *Aras*, * *Arbucala*, or *Althea*, an Inn of the City of *Carthago*.

Hannibals

Hannibal's invincible Courage, and that he never fear Enemy, upon whom he durst not give charge, were thoroughly relieved, that his natural Valour would at this time no less neglect the cold advice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to do, when the like great occasion perfwaded him to use it. But he that makes himself a body of Cryftal, that all men may look through him, and difcern all the parts of his difpofition; makes himself (withal) an As: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in all that is juft and vertuous, yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they fee not all that they hold, on the fudden, and at once. It is true, that this fubtil *Carthaginian*, when he ferv'd under *Adrubal*, was of all the men of mark in the Army, the moft adventurous. But that which may befeem a Captain, or inferior Commander, doth not always become a Chief, though it hath fometimes fucceeded well with fuch great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wife. At this time, our great Man of War knew, as well how to diffeemble his Courage, as at other times to make it good. For he withdrew himself from the River fide, as if fearful to ford it, thereby to draw over that great Multitude from their Banks of advantage: *the Spaniards* apprehending this in fuch fort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should, thrust themselves in fury and diforder into the swift Stream, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary fide. But when *Hannibal* faw them in their way, and well-near over, he turned back his Elephants, to entertain them at their landing, and thrust his Horse-men both above and beneath them, into the River. These, carrying a kind of *Lance de gay*, sharp at both ends, which they held in the midst of the Staff; had fuch an advantage over the Foot that were in the River under their strokes, clattered together, and unable to move or shift their Bodies, as on firm ground, that they flew all thofe (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred into the Water, and purfued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with fo great a laughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard* on that fide the River of *Iberus* (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againft the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They fent Embassadors to *Rome*, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to fuffer that, which afterwards they fuffered indeed, only becaufe of their Alliance and Friendship with this honorable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This Tale moved the Senate, but much more a report that *Saguntum* was already befieged. Hereupon fome cry out, that War should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be fent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Affick*. But others went more *Roman-like* to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded, that Embassadors should be fent into *Spain*, to view the State of the Confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended War againft *Rome*, it was likely that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take Arms againft him: if he had no fuch purpose, yet would it be in their Power, to determine what they lifted themselves; upon the report of these Embassadors, and this their Gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to coun-

tertain their following Decree. Of these Embassadors *Livy* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Plutarch*, an Historian of sincerity less questionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthage*, and had conference with him, though fuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal's* whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more peremptory Embassage (as *Livy* confefsed) and fall to difputation about the Covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was fent upon none other pretence, than prevention of War.

Whilst the Embassadors passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his Forces, but some *Roman* pretences againft *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or People that should do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicily* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againft the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himself had hatched some. Finding therefore fuch an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first provoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but fate down with his whole Power before their Town. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been, of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Ambassadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour to shadow his actions: not only becaufe the War, which he fo much desired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open Enemy, before he could feet foot in Italy. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the Quarrel: as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not hasty to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize until they had an Army in readiness to be fent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum* the Seat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Phlorinus*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againft them: either for that he found himself over-freightly roused up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becaufe he was of an unthankful disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the Fame of the *Carthaginian* War, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons, whom he ought to have defended and aided in all Perils, even with the hazard of his whole Estate, which he had received of their Gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with thofe that had rewarded him for being fuch. First, he built Ships, and spoiled the Illes of *Greece*: againft the Covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and fifted upon some places that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun fooner, or rather if he had flayed somewhat longer, he might have fped better. For the business with the *Gauls* was ended, with *Hannibal* not thoroughly begun, when he declared himself, by his doings, an Enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Emilius*, was fent against him: who in seven days wan the strong Town of *Dimalum*, and thereby brought fuch

terror

terror upon the Country round about, that Embassadors were fent from all places to yield themselves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Phlorus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which it might have done long, if the horrid Rebel had not been too foolifh. *Emilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Ille of *Phorus* by night, and belowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning with twenty Ships before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his Power iffued out againft the Consul, and was foon intercluded from the Town, by thofe that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths, to a Creek where he had Shipping ready for him, and embarked himself, leaving all his Estate unto them, of whole Liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were foon difpatched, yet prevented it not the Siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* fate down, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the Siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave Sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous Wound in the Thigh, that caufed him to lie many days unable to move. Nevertheless he was not unmindful of his Work in the mean while; but gave order to raife certain moveable Towers, that might equal thofe which were built on the Walls of the City, and to prepare to batter the Curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had foon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of Wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was fo well fustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the Breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won, but they were purfued even to their own Trenches and Camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did fo weary the Towns-men with continual travail, that at length it got within the Walls; and was only hindered from taking full poffeffion of the City, by some Counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alein* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for fome accord. But the Conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were fo severe, and without all compaffion of Honour, as *Alein* durst not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had: Gold, Silver, Plate, and other Riches within the City: yea, the City it felf to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising that he would affign fome other place for their Habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing wherewith to fufftain themselves, than the Cloaths on their backs; or other Arms to defend them, than their Nails and Teeth. Yet might they far better have fubmitted themselves unto this miserable appointment (feeing thereby they might have enjoyed their Lives, and faved the Honour of their Wives and Daughters) than to have refled at the difcretion of the Conqueror, as foon after they did, by whom their Wives and Daughters were deflowered before their faces; and all put to Sword that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort which a great number of them took, when not daring to fight, and fell their Blood at the deareft rate, they thut themselves up like moft wretched Creatures, in their own Houfes, and

therin burnt themselves with all that they had: fo dying unrevenged. The Treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the Slaves and other Booty, he divided among his Souldiers, relieving fome things of choice, wherewith to prefernt his Friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These Tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to be angry at their own flowness, in forbearing to fend help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking fill for fuccour in-vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their Honour, by taking fharp revenge. To this end they fent Embassadors again to *Carthage*, demanding only, Whether it were by general confent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made War upon *Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it feemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their fecond Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice againft *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* Speaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in befieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own Council; or whether he did it by direction from us, it is not the Question which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or difpute, is, Whether it were lawful, or unlawful, for *Hannibal* to do as he hath done. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their Faults and Errors; to you, to challenge us if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our Negotiation with *Lutetius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the Peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no difpute. As touching the laft Agreement between you and *Adrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by Name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutetius*, to your own difadvantage, you caft it upon your Consuls preffumption; as premiffing those things for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans* to difavow the Actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise Warrant; the fame liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Adrubal* had made for us, without our commandment and confent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meer Cavil. For *Lutetius* the Consul, in this Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had exprefly referred the allowance thereof to the People of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have allegeded, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Ille of *Sardinia*, and withal, of twelve hundred Talents: which Perjury, the State of *Carthage* being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into Confederacy, and forthwith

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inferted their Names into the Treaty of Peace with *Afrubal*: that the Treaty with *Afrubal*, and all other Business between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, was no better than *Roman Injuries*; as implying this Commination, *Do whatsoever we require, else will we make War, without regard of our Oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of Contention (as *Polybius* takes) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livy* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did enflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge, we may reasonably think, that the mention of this Injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to show that the War, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in another manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Ambassadors, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short Reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you yourself have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and there it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each Part had resolved to make War, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the Party unwilling, or unable to finish the War. The rusty Sword, and the empty Parole, do always plead performance of Covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (seeing Peace between ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kind of breathing) the best-advised have rather begun with the Sword, than with the Trumpet. So dealt the *Agronomi* with the *French* in *Naples*; Henry the second, of *France*, with the *Imperials*, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surprize as many Places as he could, ere the War broke out; *Don John*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* the second, of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great Embargo, he took all our Ships and Goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of Injuries received from these Enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his Journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by Oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred; and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father caused him to lay his Hand upon the Altar, and make this Vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath Hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soon as their Coeffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves Enemies to the People of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain and Africk. His Journey into Italy.

WAR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put up his Sword, which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, until he had therewith opened his passage unto the Gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punic War*; second to none, that ever the Senate and People of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*; where he licenced his Spanish Soldiers to visit their Friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave Instructions to his Brother *Afrubal*, for the government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many Troops of Spaniards into *Africk*, to equal the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that for the one Nation might remain as Pledges and Gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fifty Foot, and twelve hundred Horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected four thousand Foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garrison'd in *Carthage* itself, not so much to regard of their Forces, as that they might serve for Hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that swayed most in their several States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coast and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the War. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*, he sent Discoverers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Ambassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might being his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his Forces, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Ambassadors, and Discoverers, being returned with good satisfaction, in the beginning of the Spring, he pass'd over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. All those Parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entered before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno*, (not that old Enemy of his House, who fare still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East-side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his Spanish Soldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also do, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that his Journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompanied

Chap. III.

him, as that not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, he pass'd the *Pyrenes*, and entered into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms, to forbid his entrance into their Country: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich Presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the Bank of *Rhodanus*, where dwell, on each side of the River, a People called *Volcae*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the Water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West-side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Viverrerz* and *Limnion*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their Goods, into the Countrey of *Daulphine*, thinking to defend the further Bank against him, yet such as remained, being desirous to free their Countrey of so many ill Guests, were better pleased to have their Countreymen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of Corn and Cattel wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which Reason, they helped him to make Boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher-up the River; and lent him Guides. When the Vessels for Transportation of his Army were in readiness, he sent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River, himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the Ford below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further Bank was won, though with some difficulty, and the Enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants, who marvellously feared the Water. He was therefore driven to make Rasses of Trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he fastened one to each Bank, that might serve as a Bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, upon which the Beasts were rowed over.

Having pass'd this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the Passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common Report made them; and from these he received Guides, with many other Encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extremely incumbered by the *Senones*, and lost, both of his Carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other side. And whereas this Journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen days travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but wretched, extremely beaten with grievous Weather and Snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this Passage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them, with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper Forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory, gave them great comfort, and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and Resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vain solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.

THE Countreys of *Spain* and *Gauls*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before, by the same *Roman* Ambassadors, who had denounced the War at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to disswade them from contracting any Friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a People in *Spain*: from whom, in open Assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest this uncomfortable Answer. With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* persuade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the Friendship of the *Carthaginians*, seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith, and promised assistance, have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured Friends, and good Neighbours, as we, and other the People of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and I think, I may answer for the rest of our Countreymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands, who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Ambassadors took their way towards the *Gauls*, using their best Arguments to persuade them, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, through their Territory: and withal greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience, to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal's* passage into *Italy*, entertain a War which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the War among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, towards our ancient Enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved to well of us, and the *Carthaginians* to ill, that we should first fire on our own Houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and Inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our Enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleasant Answer the Ambassadors returned home, carrying no good News, of Friends likely to help them, but rather some assurance from the People of *Massilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their Enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gave hasty proof. For when the News was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had pass'd *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*, that alone sufficed to stir up the *Bois*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These People were lately offended at the Plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, relying thereupon that, which they supposed to

be now at hand, they laid aside all regard of those Hostages, which they had given to the Romans, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems that they could not win; for Hannibal forthwith failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to fly to Modena, where they besieged them. The Siege of Modena had continued some small time; when the Gauls, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some Meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Ambassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these Quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste to the relief of the Besieged. But the Gauls, having laid a strong Ambush in a Wood adjoining to the way, fell upon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the Place; a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little Village, but defensible, upon the River of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. *Attilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieve the Besieged, with one Legion, and five thousand of the Roman Associates: which Forces were taken out of the Consul's Army, and supplied by a new Levy.

As the Gauls were too rash and hasty, so were the Romans too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this War. They were never perfwaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost fervently endured so many Injunctures, in time of the late Peace, would be so brave and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the Conquest of Italy itself. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make War in Spain, the other in *Africa*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Timæ* Sempronius took his way toward *Africa*, with an hundred and three score *Quinquagèmes*, or Gallies, of five to an Oar; which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. P. *Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the Wind all favourable, as in five days he recovered *Messina*. There he was advertised, of *Hannibal*'s having passed the River of *Rhodanus*; whom he thought to have found butte yet a while in Spain. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consul's arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry; as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed Roman Horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the Romans greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*, he found, that they were gone three days before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the Walls of Rome. This interrupted his intended Voyage into Spain. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother Cn. *Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Adrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Country. He himself, taking with him a few choice Bands, returned by Sea to

Pisa; and so passing through *Tuscany* into *Lombardy*, drew together the broken Troops of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, that lately had been beaten by the Gauls: with which Forces he made Head against the Enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

§. IV.

Scipio the Roman Consul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. *Battle of the Roman Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great Battle at Trebia.*

FIVE months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthage*; with great Murther he could make, when he had passed the Alps, it is not easily found. Some reckon his Foot at an hundred thousand, and his Horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only two-and-ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. *Hannibal* himself, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter Sum. Yet the Gauls, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the Banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse; of which, all save those remembered by himself in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have perished, by Dileas, Enemies, Rivers, and Mountains; which mischiefs had devoured, each, their several shares.

Having newly passed the Alps, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*, he sought to win the Friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next to his way. But the *Taurini* desired to hold War at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good Friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his Amity. Wherefore he assaulted their Town, and won it by force in three days. Their Spoil served well to hearten his Army; and their Calamity, to terrify the Neighbouring places. So the Gauls, without more ado, fell unit to his side: many for fear, many for goodwill, according to their former inclination. This disposition ran through the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in a readiness to joyn, with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio*'s Consul, at his arrival, made some to be more advised, than the rest. The Name of the Romans was terrible in those Quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians* experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Consul was already gotten through the most defensible Passages, many a speech had been heard of his approach, many a fate still, for very fear, who else would have concluded a League with these new-come Friends; and some, for greater fear, offered their service against the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they wished well to speed.

This wavering Affection of the Province, whereinto they were entered, made the two Generals hasten to the trial of a Battle. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondered at the others great expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange, that the Consul, whom he had left behind him on the other side of the Alps, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himself in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountains, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed, at *Hannibal*'s success, and sudden arrival. Wherefore

fore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste unto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicily*; giving him to understand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the War in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such Attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save Italy itself. According to this Order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilibeum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so near, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Soldiers, by the best Arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoric of a present example, that he shewed upon certain Prisoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italy. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withal so often scourged on their naked Bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kind of present death; were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slain; with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause Lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chiefs of the Gauls were wont to use in single Combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his own Lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven terms, to rid themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the Victory had gotten his liberty, together with an Horse and Armour: but even him also, who being slain in Fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impression this dumb show had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect. That he had laid before them an example of their own efforts: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die or (which these Prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the Mountains, the Rivers, the great distance from their own Countries, and the pursuit of merciless Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing

there was never any in the World, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their Enemies. On the contrary, he told them, that the Romans, who were to fight upon their own Soil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many ways to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withal, could no way entertain such a resolution as theirs: seeing the fate necessary, (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way press them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantial Argument, that there was no mean, between Victory and Death, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captain of France) *La commodité de la retraite avance la fuite*; The commodity of a retreat, doth greatly advance a flat running away.

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a Bridge over the River of *Ticinum*, did not neglect to use the best Arguments and Reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great Conquests and Victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than that of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late War they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withal to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a Troop of Brigands and Thieves, than an Army like to encounter the Romans; but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the Men, nor Horses, had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (saith he) ye your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after so many Travels and Miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had passed the *Rhone*, their Horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran head-long towards the Alps: thinking it a less dishonour, to die there by Frost, Famine, and Precipitation, than by the sharp Swords of the Romans, which had so often cut down his People, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicily*.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groves of his Army, with his Horse; and the Roman having also with him some light-armed Foot, to view the Ground, and the Enemies Countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other, *Scipio* lent before him his Horse-men of the Gauls, to begin the Fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their Troops, to assist them: himself with his Roman men at Arms, following softly in good order. The Gauls (who were desirous to try the mettle of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the Romans) behaved themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their Foot that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the Enemies Horse. This notwithstanding, the Gauls maintained the Fight, and did more hurt than they received: as presuming that they were well backed. Neither was the Consul unmindful to relieve them: their hardihood deserving his aid; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he

received a dangerous Wound, and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward furnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the Honour of this Rescue to a *Ligurian* Slave. Whilst the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected Storm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Nu-midian* Light Horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in Flank, and to compaſs them about, whilst he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their Charge, and met them in the Face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered Foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe whole-looks were fallen upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed, ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and let unto their Enemies the Honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his Horſe thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt to many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremity of the Tempeſt over-took him. For he ſaw by the lowing morning, what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his Barrail of Foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſole the retreat, and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haſte that he made, he left fix hundred of his Rear behind him, who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the Bridge. Herein he followed this Rule of a good Man of War, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripuit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: If a General of an Army, by ſome unſperous beginning, doubt the ſucceſs, or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſeal a ſafe Retreat, than to abide the uncertain event of Battle.

It was two days after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whilst reſreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his Wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering Battle to the *Romans*, who daſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers than *Aneroſtus*, *Britomarus*, and the *Gellates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many; eſpecially of thoſe Guards that kept Watch at the Gate; with whole Heads in their Hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their Service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſſed them to their own places, as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to be come his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth Watch of the Night following, the Conſul ſole a Retreat, as he had done before, but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of Spoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their Camp, and thereby given time to all, ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken,

to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his Wound, and withal finding it expedient to attend the coming of his Fellow-Conſul, incampt himſelf ſtrongly upon the Banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diſmiſſed his Reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boj*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeem their own Hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as Tokens and Pledges of their Affections towards him; by whole help they conceived better hope of recovering their own Men and Lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of Victuals, attempted the taking of *Clafidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their Store and Munition. But there need no Force; a *Brandiſten*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, fold it for a little Money.

The news of theſe diſaſters brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great sorrow for the loſs received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their Strength and Hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him ſent out of *Scil*, awaited his coming. He therefore haſted thither, and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague, who attended him upon the Banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyed in one, the Conſuls deviled about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibal*'s arrival; the fortune of the late Fight, and what error or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein ſoiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the Revolt and Treafon of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the Affairs in thoſe parts; fought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his Wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelf the ſole Glory of the Victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He alſo feared the Election of the new Conſuls, his own time being well near expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary, objecting the unſkillfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers, and withal, gave him good reaſon to aſſure him, that the *Gauls*, naturally unconſtant, were upon terms of abandoning the Party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the Rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the Diſhonour, which he might otherwiſe eaſily have avoided. This reſolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleaſing to *Hannibal*, who feared nothing ſo much as delay and loſs of time. For the ſtrength of his Army, conſiſting in Strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no leſs feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own Home, had many paſſions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, it fell out ſo, that about the ſame time, the *Gauls* inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of Injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not ſupply *Hannibal* with Neceſſaries, as he ſuppoſed that they might have done, although he daily reprehended their negli-

negligence, telling them, that for their ſakes, and to let them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver, and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and to make their Tale the better, ſay that this wrong is done them, becauſe they reſuſed to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he ſuſpected their Falſhood, and was aſſured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it ſtood with the Honour of *Rome* to preſerve the Confederates from ſuffering injury: and that hereby might be won the Friendſhip of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he ſent out a thouſand Horſe, which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal*'s Foragers, and finding them in heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chaſed the reſt even unto their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* fall out againſt them: who caused them to retire faſter than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the Enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth, and a Battle ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginians* had not reſuſed it.

This Victory (for ſo the Conſul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general deſirous to try the main chance in open Field: all the perſwaſions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this diſpoſition *Hannibal* was advertiſed by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himſelf how to help forward the Victory, by adding ſome ſtratagem to his Forces. He found in the hollow of a Water-courſe, over-grown with high Reed, a fit Trench to cover an Ambuſh. Thenceinto he caſts his Brother *Mago*, with a thouſand choice Horſe, and as many Foot. The reſt of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themſelves in their Camp, he led into the Field, and marched towards the Conſul. Early in the morning, he had ſent over *Trebia* ſome Companies of *Numidian* light Horſe, to brave the Enemy, and draw him forth to a bad Dinner, ere he had broke his Faſt. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight, and therefore not only ſuſtained out of his Camp, but forded the River of *Trebia*, in a moſt cold and miſerable day; his Foot being wet almoſt to the Arm-holes, which, together with the want of Food, did ſo enfeeble and cool their Courages, as they wanted force to handle the Arms they bare. Strong they were in Foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latins*, having of the one, fifteen, of the other, twenty thouſand. The maſs of theſe they ranged in a groſs Battailon, guarded on the Flanks with three thouſand Horſe: thruſting their Light-armed and Darters in looſe Troops in the head of the reſt, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of Foot, were in a manner equal to their Enemies; in Horſe, they had by far the better, both in number and goodneſs. When therefore the *Roman* Horſe, ranged on the Flanks of their Foot, were broken by the *Numidians*, when their Foot were charged both in Front and Flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Army was unawares preſt in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thouſand, that roſe out of their place of ambuſh, then fell the *Romans* by heaps under the Enemies Swords, and being beaten down, as well fighting in diſorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horſe-men that purſued them, there eſcaped no more of fix and thirty thouſand, than ten thouſand of all ſorts, Horſe and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deſerved to be recompenced with the loſs that followed. The firſt was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaign, being by far inferior in Horſe, and withal thereby ſubject to the *African* Elephants, which in incloſed or uneven Grounds, and Wood-lands, would have been of no uſe. His ſecond error was, that he made no diſcovery of the place upon which he fought, whereby he was groſſy over-reach and injured, by the ambuſh which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his Foot-men with empty Stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a moſt cold and froſty day, whereby in effect they loſt the uſe of their Limbs. For as one ſaith well: *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to preſent an Army tired with travel, to an Enemy fresh and fed; ſince where the ſtrength of body fails, the generoſity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour*.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; ſtealing away the ſame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceived him not, becauſe of the Showers, or would not perceive him, becauſe they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* eſcaped with extreame danger, flying through the Country that was overrun by the Enemies Horſe. He was attended by more than were requiſite in a ſecret Flight; yet by fewer than could have made reſiſtance, if the Enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his Office in chooſing new Conſuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The Departure of *Hannibal* from the *Ciſalpine* *Gauls* into *Hetruria*. *Flaminius* the *Roman* Conſul ſlain; and his Army deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*, at the Lake of *Thraſymen*.

The Winter growing on apace, was very ſharp, and unfit for ſervice, to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keep the Field, lay warm in *Placentia* and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not ſuffer them to reſt very quiet, but vexed them with continual alarms; ſending divers places, taking ſome, beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his Party, who preſented him, in token of their faithful Love, with two *Roman* Queſtors or Treaſurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. Theſe, and in general all ſuch Priſoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in ſtreight places, loaden with Irons, and miſerably fed: thoſe of their Followers, he not only well entertained, but ſent them to their Countries without Ranſome; with this Proſpectation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the Oppreſſion of the *Romans*. By theſe means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his Party and aſſiſtance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of ſuch perſwaſions. They ſtood in fear, left he ſhould make their Country the Seat of the War, and perhaps take it from them. They were alſo more grieved than reaſon willed them, at his feeding upon them, and waſting their Territory. Where ſome of them conſpired againſt his Life: others admoniſhed him of the danger: and theſe that gave him the advice, were ready ſoon after to praſtiſe againſt him;

him; but were in like sort deterred. He was therefore glad to see Perennes of Hair, and false Beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be described, nor known to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Apennine*, upon the first appearance of Spring, but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more Swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy Companions, and bring the War nearer to the Gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*, more servicable Friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all ways foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that Journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel through the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscany*. In those Marshes and Bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his Eyes, by the moistness of the Air, and by lodging on the cold Ground, and wading through deep Mire and Water. In brief, after he had with much ado recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*, where he somewhat refreshed his wearied Followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. *Flaminius*, and Cn. *Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius*, a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed Popular Orator, who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served to again, unless he quickly finished the War. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entered into his Office, left his Adversaries, by faining some religious impediments, should detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the Honour that he hoped to get in the War. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Arretium*. The *Fathers* (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of Victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Fesula* and *Arretium*, he put to Fire and Sword, even under the Consuls Nose, which was enough to make him stir, that would not have been still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true, that a great Captain of *France* hath said: *Pays gaste n'est pas perdu*: A wasted Country is not thereby lost. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own Honour to be much impaired,

and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear: saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the Gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took *Horle*, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this Tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest: saying, that the cowardly Knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the Earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto. For he commanded that it should be dugged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withal, whether Letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this Jealousie, both he, and the Senate that gave him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Corina*, as far as to the Lake of *Thralymene*, was on a light Fire, which whilst the Consul thought to quench with his Enemies Blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Army, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, between the Mountains of *Corina*, and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all sides (save only where that great Lake of *Persia* permitted neither his Enemies to come at him, nor him to fly from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead Carcasses of his Countrymen. About six thousand of his men, that had the Vant-guard, took courage, as for the most part happens, out of desperation, and breaking through the Enemies that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If they had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardiness: was well allwaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their Lives by flight. They stood still in a cold Sweat upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not discovering how things went, because of the great Fog that held all the Morning. When it grew toward Noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable Slaughter of their Fellows. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were despoiled, and attached by the Enemies Horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return unto the Fight. For despoiled they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who overtook them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his Horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendering their Arms upon his promise of their Lives and Liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own Honour) what it was to keep no Faith: and fired them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter Covenants, or add unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fairs to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of Talents, besides their first Bargain; as also to renounce their Interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their Spanish Con-

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quests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the Conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman* as themselves; and make them know, that perdition itself gaineth no more in propriety, than it loseth in the change of Fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* Prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without Ransom, professing, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* Tyranny, that he had undertaken this War. But the *Romans* he kept in freight Prison, and in Fetters, making them learn to eat hard Meat. This was a good way to breed in the People of *Italy*, if not a Love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this War had not concerned the general Safety, but only the preserving of her own Neck from the Yoke of Slavery, which her over-strong Enemies would thrust upon her, in revenge of her Oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by success of many Ages, is not lost in one or two Barrels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginian* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the Battle of *Thralymene*, C. *Cervinius*, with four thousand *Roman* Horse, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Arretium*, by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*; but coming too late, he increased only the Misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this Company, who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great Overthrow, charged them, and brake them, and killing almost half of them, drove the rest unto an high piece of Ground, whence they came down, and simply yielded to Mercy the next day. *Servilius* himself was in the mean while skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the News were brought him of his Colleagues Overthrow and Death in *Hetruria*, that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these Passages it is easy to discern the fruits of popular jealousy, which perwaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the Wars, which greatly endangered and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own Errors, than by the examples of their Fore-goes. *Flaminius* had heard in what a Trap *Sempronius* had been taken but the year before, by this subtil *Carthaginian*, yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also be like forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole Honour of bearing *Hannibal* in Battle, without help of his Companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and loss, else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his Charge, it is probable that he would have taken his Companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which, this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæsar* brought that mighty Nation together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *German*, under the *Roman* Yoke; into which parts had been there very year a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best Wit in the World can do, to inform it

self, within one years compass, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence, by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of them have returned as wild as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and Government, fitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever been the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them, and of Princes and Governments to uphold their foolish ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other Ages and People, though neither likeness of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perwaded the imitation.

S. VI.

How Q. Fabius the Roman Dictator, sought to contain the Force of *Hannibal*, by lingering War. Minutius, the Master of the Horse, encouraged and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting, adventures rashly upon *Hannibal*; and is like to perish with his Army, but rescued by Fabius.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than ever did War, since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Soldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an Overthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open Field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could work Wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his Quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only fought Honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery: demeaning himself like a courteous Enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* Name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thralymene* witnessed his purpose, and his ability. Which to withstand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators Power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto comprole of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his Prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too far off, the People took upon them, as having supreme Authority, to give the Dignity by their Election, to Q. Fabius Maximus, the best reputed man of War in the City. *Novum factum, novum consilium* expects Contrary Winds, contrary Courses. Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus Master of the Horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of Fabius, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matter of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable, had the Religion been also good. But if it were true (as *Sylvi* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of Devotion; then

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then must we believe, that those books of *Sybil*, preferred in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this War to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plays should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other such trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diffempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two Women that suddenly died, when they saw their Sons return alive from *Thraçynene*, may serve to bear witness; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City, were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it self. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*: word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the supply that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the Ships about *Rome* and *Ofis*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haste: and from *Arminum* he received the Army, which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Namidian* Horse had over the *Romans*, he always lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his Victory, had ranged over all the Country; and used all manner of cruelty towards the Inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the Sword all that were able to bear Arms. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased and over-travelled Companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the Spoils he had gotten. Having refreshed his Army, fed his Horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his Horse Heels of the scratches, by washing their patterns in old Wine: he followed the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City; only he had assailed *Spoleum*, a Colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over.

The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great Siege. This the *Protestant* Army found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the Battle of *Marston*; and their victorious Enemies, anon after, at *St. Jean & Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such Enterprize, as should endanger him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in Force and Reputation; knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the Field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their Gates, without expecting any Engine of Battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with Battle, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of Bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between Souldiers

bred up, ever since they were *Boys*, in War and in Blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many Victories there; and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such as had no other seen the Enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* to near, as he kept him from fraging too far; and preserved the Country from utter spoil. He injured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them first to look on the Lion a far off, that in the end they might fit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Hannibal*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardice and fear. But all fired not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such Noise, than with Wind bruffed out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indirection and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by succurance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battle; and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any Arguments be persuaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battle; but being far too weak in Horse, he always kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in fight, though a far off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was laden with Spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must pass along by the Dictators Camp, that hung over his Head upon the Hills of *Callicula* and *Cassinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly Garden-Country, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer Error of his Guide, that he first entered within these freights. For he would have been directed unto *Cassinum*, whence he might both assay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under Hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near to prevent him. But his guide misunderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him a wry other way, from *Cassinum* to *Callicula*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the Widow of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginian* in a Trap, and won the Victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself by a slight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the Country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose Horns he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark Night, caused them to be driven up the Hills. The Spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible: especially to those that knew it to be the work of a terrible Enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a device to circumvent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the Hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the Enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army, recovered fire ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light foot-

men, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in Skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the worst manner, keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilst the *Carthaginian* waited all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-Houses for Winter, and incamped under the broken Walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius*, the Master of the Horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully persuaded, that his *Romans*, in plain Field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by judgment of the Souldiers, in Worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme peril of death. But the Honour of the Victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at Home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to fave him from the Dictators Rods and Axes, took he the matter never so heartily. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore he drew near: and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Army to waste the Country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by Night, with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and entrencing himself thereupon, became their nearer Neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his Men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good Heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his Reputation, encourage his own men, terrifie his Enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Country at Will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many days issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in Harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battle to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His Horse, and all his light Armour, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the foragers; who being dispersed over all the Fields, and laden with booty, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer Weakness which held him within his Camp; and therefore were bold to despise his great Name, that could not resist their present strength. But

in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* Horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not rush hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he sent the News, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely in all his Dictatorship; whereas indeed he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of Discipline, and fearful of greater danger, thence likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done; that he would reach the Master of the Horse to do so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good success, issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cried out; especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italy to be wasted before his Eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others from doing better than himself can; or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of C. *Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea. I know not why; *Hannibal* and He, have, as it were, taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: He would have the War to last long, that he himself might be long in Office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this Authority, should again take it from him, and confer it upon one more worthy. But left, in moving the people hereto, I will seem to do him injury; thus far forth I will resem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his Honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joined in equal Authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor less necessary, than was the electing of this Dictator by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill persuaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal publick, was less than very honourable. Wherefore therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of Credit and Authority, besides the Propounder, should

should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principal Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) unto that Dignity, whose great power had freed the State at several times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Pretor, was glad of such an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the son of a Butcher; afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbings, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens Causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give an hard push at the Consulship; by doing that which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hor invecitive, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility; saying, that it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; that they fought to humble the Commons by Poverty, and to impoverish them by War; especially by War at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bad them to be wile; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Country, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him Authority, as if he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the Election of a new Consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*; and having finished all requisite business, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The News of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the Camp as soon as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their Authority: whether that one, one day; and the other the next; or each of them, successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the Horse equal to the Dictator; but that he should never be his Superior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with half of the Army he could not work such Wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best; and so taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and an half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Lucy* seem to tax him for it) that he should do so. For where two several Commanders are not subordinate one unto the other, nor joyined in Commission, but have each entire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging unto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polypius* neither finds fault with this disposition, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two Consuls used) with

Minutius, by turns. He saith, that *Minutius* was very refractory; and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the Forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigor of Authority, love nothing more than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Master of the Horse, to make good the Opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less careful, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for Ambush as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked Valley adjoining, had many, and spacious Caves; able, some one of them to hide Two or Three Hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed Five Hundred Horse, and Five Thousand Foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But left by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their Holes, he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and thoughts of the Romans, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his Honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light Armour, then his Horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own Troops with fresh Companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe Retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the Romans defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving a fair off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself, and his followers, did the Office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself, by halting to do good, than by suffering his Enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired; fearing to be well wetted with a shower, from the Cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards, the War proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* Fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the Coast of Italy; took Hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africa*; and there negligently falling to spoil the Country, was shamefully beaten aboard his Ships, with the loss of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the Dictator's Letters) repaired to the Camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

The Roman People, desirous to finish the War quickly, choose a rough and unworthy Consul. Great Forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal takes the Romans Prisoners in the Cattle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

WITH little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome, hear the great commendations, that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great Overthrow: but he had neither finished the War, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem, that the Reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole Winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any Roman General had willingly suffered the time of his Command to run away without any performance; as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man, to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This Affection of the People, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike whilst the Iron was hot; his own Worth being little or none, and his Credit over-weak, to make way into that high Prestige. But the Commonality were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Whereto then he, had a *Knave*, *Publius Herminius*, then Tribune of the People; who flared not to lose the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, That *Hannibal* was drawn into Italy, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was refused by *Fabius*, with the other two; but had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the Victory of *Minutius*, when he commanded over all, as Master of the Horse; That without a Plebeian Consul, the War would never be brought to an end; That such of the Plebeians as had long since been advanced to Honour by the People, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and condemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a Plebeian, a meek new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such persuasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other Virtue, than his detracting from their Honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he again deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in

choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took Name and Being in Rome, at the Death of *Romulus*; and was in use at the Death of other Kings. The order of it was this: All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an Hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five days, one *Decury* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Vigiles*, carrying the *Falces*, or bundles of Rods and Axes, waited only upon the chief of them with these Ensigns of Power. This custom was retained in times of the Consuls, and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to let slip five days, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well assuaged. Upon such change of those that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seek those Offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over; and the malice of the Fathers, against the Verue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed to manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the Election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners were over-ruled. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be joyined with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdom, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Commonwealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius*, that had been his Companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called unto judgment: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the Romans well in mind, each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most glorious loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy Victory, that ever befel that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the War: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what Wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more than once to have a fight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the providence and care of *Paulus*, travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls, *Servilius* and *Atilius*; desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that

when he and his Colleague should take the Field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Masters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is uncertain. Four-score thousand Foot, at the least, and six thousand Horse, they were strong in the Field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Here, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barley, and other Provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own Estate would fall to ruin; that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly balanced. He gave them also counsel, to send Forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the War from Home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger, account by Poil, of such as were not easily drawn into the Field, and fitted for service. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*; twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*; requiring him to deliver into their hands, *Demetrius Phærius*: who having been their Subject, and Rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their Tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What Answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Phærius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money; by the shifts that they were driven from after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for non payment of the whole.

Whilst the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a Battle. Many Skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blighted the Honour of their other Services, but was indeed the occasion, to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his force for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be near him, lodged about *Cannus*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all Necessaries, to the loss of good Opportunities, they bestowed much of their Provi-

sions in the Castle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan; and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his Enemies to want many needful things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse: longer than the *Romans*, having for many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering Battle; which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand, how this Piece, taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needful, even unto the *Fathers* themselves, to adventure a Battle with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheless answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet a while: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the Field; the two Consuls, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was always done with great Solemnity: especially, whenever they went forth to War against any noble or re-doubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their Gods, for good Success and Victory: which being performed, the Generals, in warlike Attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, not only such as were of their Kindred and Alliance, or followed them to the War, as Volunteers, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good Wishes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Emilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this Honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable Service. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a Troop no less in greatness, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to have exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to shew his Magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous folly of his fellow Consul. The answer of *Paulus* was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that he would do his best for his Country; but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, He would think it less rashness to adventure upon the Enemies Sword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

S. VIII.

Disension between the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great Battle of Cannæ.

These new Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atinius*, one of the last years Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakness: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessary, was to hearthen his Soldiers with good words; who out of their bad success,

hitherto, had gathered more cause of fear, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their Victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. He told them in what danger their Country stood; how the fate and safety thereof, rested upon their hands; using none such other common matter of persuasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration was, that *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one Victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolen the Honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Hereunto he taxed the inconsiderate rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his Enemies, until he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his Head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blind-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily persuaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* virtue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to think, that under a Captain so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Emilius* was known to be, they should easily prevail against the *Carthaginians*: that came far short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not always thrive. But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his desire, that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of waiting a convenient season. But they, having pre-conceived a Victory, thought all delays to be impediments: and thereby fought to rob themselves of their best help; which was, good conduct. They remembered what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the War quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to use it? Thus thought the common Soldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no less popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is always tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful Passions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who fastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in the performance. Thus while the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dilection* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Emilius* would do so, too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the Enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into Places less fit for his Horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last years provisions, return into *Cannæ* to gather a second Harvest? This would (*said Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (*said Paulus*) doth favour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Emilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to

come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless he fate down close by *Hannibal*: who as an unbidden Guest gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light *Armadure*, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-couriers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were overbold, now without loss, for that the *Romans* had, among their *Velites*, some Troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handily withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Aufus*; sending a third part of his Forces over the Water, to lie upon the Eastern Bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his Enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other Place, where his force lay, for want of Necessaries: whereof an Army foraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, that *Livy* differeth much in his Relation from *Polihius*: telling many strange Tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (*said Livy*) but ten days provision of meat. He had not money to pay his Soldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that He knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very Famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stolen away into *Gaul* with all his Horse, and left his Foot upon their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsel, He resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southernmost Parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaitful Soldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him unto that, which he most desired; even to fight a Battle upon open champion ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livy*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done nothing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith; *Hannibal de fide in Galliam [disceit] agitasse; Hannibal [a iud] to have brought himself off, flying into Gaul: where he makes it no more than a matter of hear-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process itself, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the Marishes and Bogs of *Hætruria*, could find Victuals enough, and all things needful unto his Army, the Summer foregoing; what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially seeing*

ing he had play'd the careful Husband in making a great Harvest; since he had long been Master of the open Field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Suitable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel; his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for Pay. But he brought Gold with him into *Italy*; and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Countrey, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with spoyl: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of Historians: who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from Sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations; no less different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in Languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men soever fought bravely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and sworn, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, took so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his Horse? or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live; having betrayed all his Army; and relinquish'd his miserable Foot, to the Butchery of their Enemies? This Tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the Life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his Directions from *Livy*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extol their own Countrey-men; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the Honour of the Victory taken from the Enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own Forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River *Ausidan*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in Honour, to make good his word unto the People of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own Authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of day he began to pass the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and fought, as in former Times, to have dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needless hazard. Against whose words and substantial Arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other, than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them Batel at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drave them shamefully to run within their defences, which also they made offer to assail: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured

Victory. When *Amilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* Foot he caus'd to be left behind, in the greater Camp, opposite unto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled, to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the Batel, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the Fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heat of Fight. This done; the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the lesser Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of Batel: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, pass'd likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He had them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyn Batel with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in Horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their Countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the Gods, that have brought them hither; and then us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Countrey, and Fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the Riches within them; which this Victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the Countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, What news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee Brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose Name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the Souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his Victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his Brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his Answer was

was more manly, than was the Relation of his discovery. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the Battle of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, that of the *French-men*, there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken Prisoners; and enough to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant Jest as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when Battle is at hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginians* excelled himself; expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the Place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his Enemies to Battle; He marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Balaers*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose Troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French Name *Enfans perdus*; but when we used our own terms, the *Forlorn hope*. The gross of his Army following them he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the Spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their Shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad Swords, that were forcible in a downright stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed Blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their Navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness; the *Spaniards*, wearing white Caslocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of Body, and furious in giving charge; but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to return, and renew the Fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the Place which they held in this Battle, added confidence jointly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose Name was grown terrible in Spain, by their Conquests; and in *Gauls*, by this their present War. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the utmost of their hardihoods, as knowing that the Enemy could not press far upon them, without further engaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in Horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. De-

spiration begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving void the Place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the form of a Crescent, He made them as it were his Vanguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the Enemies, being well strengthened and thickened against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it: though such Figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battle, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same Figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* Horse, under the Command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (Livy saith *Mabarbal*) with the *Numidian* light Horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his Brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rear. The whole sum of *Hannibal's* Army in the Field this day, was ten thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot; his Enemies having two to one against him in Foot; and He, five to three against them in Horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former War. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a Wall, under shelter wherof the disordered Troops might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to show more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the Field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattelling was very unprofitable, so far as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Emilius*; it was not his day of Command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* Horse-men, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the Horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the Battle. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward; the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light Skirmish between the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the *Balaers*: *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of service on Horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*, but each giving on in a right

a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand, so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break through. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords, but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grappled one another : and so their Horfes running from under them, fell many to the ground ; where starting up again, they began to deal Blows like Floemen. In conclusion, the *Roman* Horfe were over-born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boistrous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, was not to be reffited by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in Horsefanship. When the Battels came to jouncing, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough to break that great Crescent, upon which they first fell : so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* Foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their Battel drew towards the midst ; by whose aid, these Opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear, and were with no less haste and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul, both for that there was void room enough, and forasmuch as the safe Retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty Retreat, or Flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* ; it happened, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the Limb or utter Compass of the half Moon made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward, the Horns or points thereof, as yet untouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in a half Circle : which they should not have needed greatly to regard (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken ; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance) had all the Enemies foot been cast into this one great Body, that was in a manner disolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed Victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principal strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands ; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced fo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behind : and forward they could not pass far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*, which made that way the least easy. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undisturbed, until now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *insecure*, and that they behaved themselves as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their Army, into the Throat of slaughter, had they seen those Weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of Fight, and rashness of inferior Captains : but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in War, being vanquished in Horfe, had put himself among the Legions ; it cannot be supposed, that he and they did willfully thus engage themselves.

Asdrubal having broken the Troops of *Roman* Horfe, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River side, beating down, and killing as many as he could (which were almost all of them) without regard of raising Prisoners. The Consul himself was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did cast himself among them, as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the Defeat of his Horfe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless he cheered up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour : beating down, and killing many of the Enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the Battel ; and with better success. For the Consul received a Blow from a Sling, that did him great hurt : and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harm, yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled by Wounds and Weakness, to forsake his Horfe. Hereupon all his Company alighted, thinking that the Consul had given order so to do, as in many Battels, the *Roman* men at Arms had left their Horfes, to help their Foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consul had killed his Horfe-men to dismount. He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me bound hand and foot* : meaning, that he had them now almost as fast as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the Horfe of the Associates, in the left Wing, was marvelously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Mabarbal*) and the *Numidians* : who beating up and down about that great sandy Plain, raised a foul dust, which a strong South-wind, blowing there accidentally, drove into the Eyes and Mouths of the *Romans*. These using their advantage both of number and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his Followers exceedingly, neither giving nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the Battels were even ready to join, five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their Fellows, with their Shields cast behind their backs (as was the manner of those which yielded) and throwing down their Arms, rendered themselves. This was good luck to begin withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them, but called them, unarmed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bad them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he bad them for a while, till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had short Swords and Ponyards, besides which, they found other scattered Weapons about the Field, of such as were slain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way, so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater error. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an Ambush at the back of his Enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal* having in short space broken the *Roman* Troops of Horfe, and cut in pieces all, save the Company of *Emilius* that rushed into the grofs of his Foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their own Battalions ; did not stay to charge

charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*, with whom he joyed, and gave upon *Terentius*. This fearful cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other side : so did it prognosticate a dismal Storm unto those, upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his Followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and feeling more work toward than they could hope to sustain ; thought it the best way to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril ; nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities : it being impossible, when so many thrunk from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have endured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at Rome, and another to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying Troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* Horfe, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, that were, in this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. He brake them easily, who before made ill resistance, being inclosed and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitiful Slaughter : the vanquished Multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whether, or which way, whilst every one fought to avoid those Enemies, whom he saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got up to Horfe, and saved themselves : which though it is hardly understood how they could do ; yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livy* fo reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following Tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place, where he saw the Consul sitting all bloodied upon a Stone, entreated him to rise and save himself, offering him his assistance and Horfe. But *Paulus* refused it, willing *Lentulus* to shift for himself, and not to lose time in saving him. That it was not his purpose to be brought again into Judgment by the People, either as an Accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of that days loss. Further, he wished *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius* : willing them to forgive Rome as fast and as well as they could ; and telling *Fabius*, that he loved and died mindful of his whole (some counsel. These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that Battel, or when he beheld the first Defeat of his Horfe, at what time he put himself in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this ; when he thought the Consul and his Troop, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grofs of the *Romans* was inclosed indeed as within a Sack, whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides, the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom, and *Asdrubal* with his Horfe, closed up the Mouth : in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could not fit his Horfe, whilst the Battel yet lasted, and whilst the Spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself : was now (had he never fo well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way fo close a Throng of his own miserable Fol-

lowers, and so many heaps of Bodies, as left space in that great Carnage. It sufficed unto his Honour ; That in the Battel he fought no less valiantly, than he had usually before, both abfained himself, and dissuaded his Fellow Consul from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lain in his power to save his own Life, unto the good of his Country, never more needing it ; I should think, that he either too much diffemmed himself, or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankful Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* Valour, then was the English Virtue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Vicount *Lisle*, Son to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chapillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, and accountable for the Overthrow received : *Talbot* was in the flower of his Youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that days misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father ; who foreseeing the loss of the Battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old Age, exhorted this his noble Son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible Overthrow died all the *Roman* Foot, five two or three thousand, who (as *Livy* faith) escaped into the lesser Camp, whence, the same night, about six hundred of them break forth, and joining with such of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their Fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horfe, partly in whole Troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusium* : the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this Escape : only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of the *Asopus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed, but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the Battel was lost, and *Hannibal* coming over the Water to them, drave them into their own Camp, which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a great number of these did fly, and thereby escaped, whilst their Fellows making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the Enemy buied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps Liv. l. 19. not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannus*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting : Of the *Roman* Horfe, what numbers escaped, it is uncertain : but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River ; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with three-score and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel : for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward ; fo that his nearest way thither, had been through the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the Passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of fight, he turned up some by way, fo disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted contr. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other ways, and were scattered over the Fields ; two thousand, and thereabouts, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made Prisoners : the rest were slain, all save three hundred ; who

dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Canna*, besides *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consul; two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Soldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had born Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especial mark, as having been *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Consuls*, among whom was *Cn. Servilius* the last years Consul, and *Mimius*, late Master of the Horse. The number of Prisoners taken in this Battel, *Livy* makes no greater than three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse: too few to have defended, for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the same *Livy* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their Company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing to chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a Victory: which if he pursued, as *Mabarchus* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the *Wars* had prefgandy been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity, and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to use a Victory.

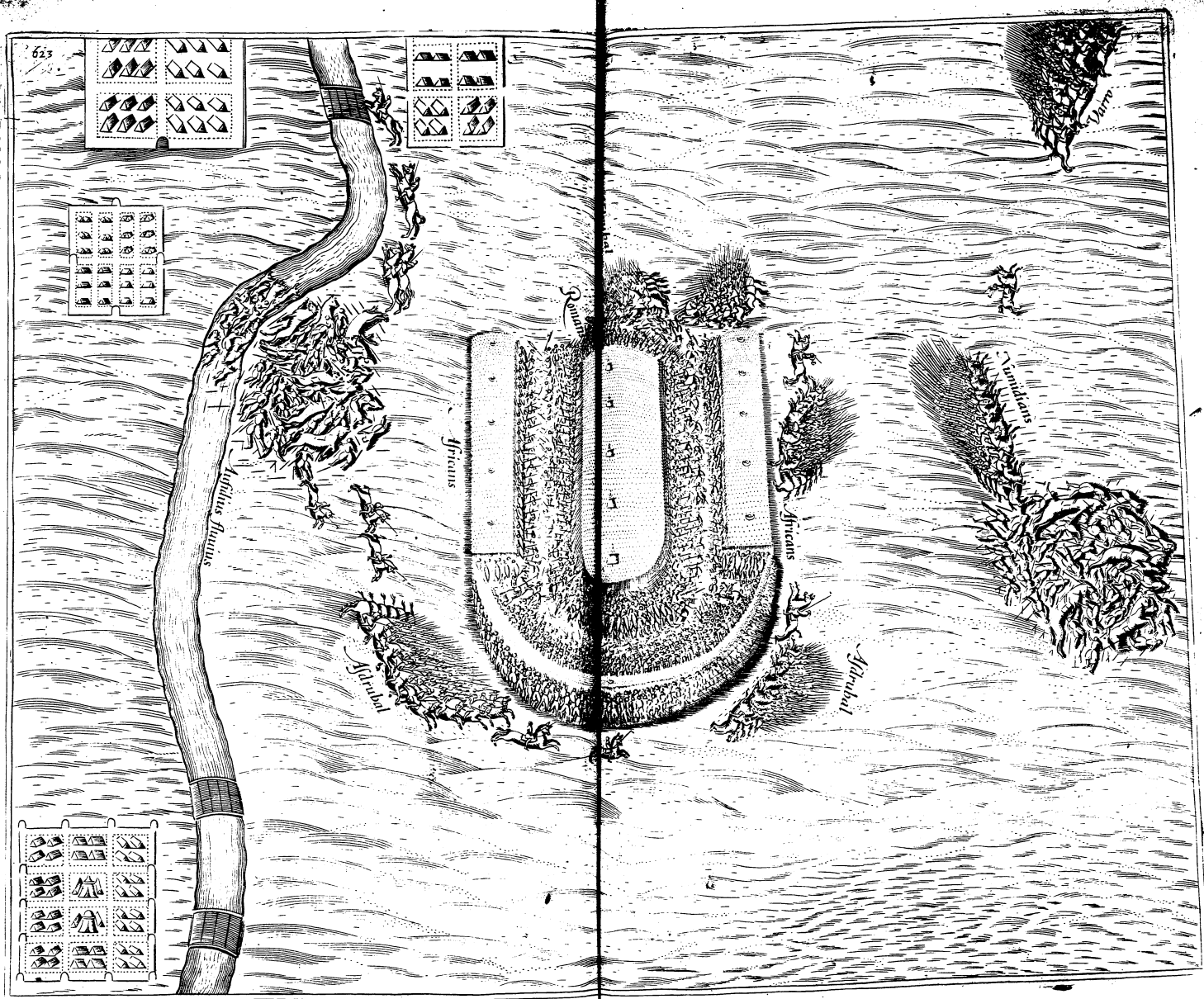
§. IX.

Of things following the Battel at *Canna*.

NO without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleasure of them, unto whose Honour they consecrated their Travels, than the truth of things, and information of Posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and Proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quæstors and *Fathers conscripti*. No man of sound judgment will condemn this liberty of Censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his Juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justify his own Relation; and confute the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own Writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains it is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than it deserved of his own Country. The like defence it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others; and shall have cause to wish, that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else, that some Works of their oppositive Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be

sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things, and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needful even at the present: such is the repugnancy or forgetfulness which we find in the best Narration, of things following the Battel of *Canna*. For it is said, that four thousand Foot and Horse gathered together about the Consul *Terenius* at *Venusia*; that others, to the number of ten thousand, got into *Cannusium*, choosing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terenius Varro*, joining his Company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thousand men about him; that these Letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those Tumults in the City, which grew upon the first bruit of the Overthrow; and yet, that Embassadors from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terenius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those Letters, which over-took (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the Overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camp, and trussed up the Spoils, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Sammium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other People thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* Party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Town that opened the Gates unto him, was *Colla*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hastened into *Campania*. The general affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses sustained abroad in the Fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used, unto such of them as became his Prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great Victory at *Canna*, He had lovingly dismissed as fell many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had fought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their Love with Gifts; pretending to admire their Valour; but seeking indeed, by all ways and means to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* Prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Estate; but being provoked by Injuries, fought to right himself and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should bear Sovereign Rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their Ransome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Noble Man of *Carthage*, and General of his Horse, to feel the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of Peace. But with the *Romans* these Arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place.



conjoyed, as were any Iave the *Lambs*, changed on a sudden their Love into Hatred, without any other cause found, than change of Fortune.

Campania is the most goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the Country whereof it was Head, so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no less convenient a Seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all Qualities, Bravery is the least requisite unto Sovereign Command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like Jays by their Feathers, despised the unfortunate Vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore especial regard unto the Majesty of *Rome*, and could not endure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* Faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude, which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavrus*, an ambitious Nobleman, whose Credit grew, and was upheld by furthering all popular desires: whereof the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the Battel of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his Journey into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearness of the *Roman* Army, or some other fear of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual Rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any Articles of new Confederacy: or had leisure served, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant Love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle usage, and free dismissing of some Prisoners, in good account among them) unable to hold any such Negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and to meet him on the way with some of their Nobility, that should assure him of all faithful meaning; were driven to sit still in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new Friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own Cowardize. The People holding so tender a regard of Liberty, that even the lawful Government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression, had now good cause to fear, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans*, bring them under a more streight subjection than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into some Outrage *Pacuvius* made use of to serve his

put themselves into many dangerous Councils, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his own Followers about it, that none might enter nor issue forth without his leave; He called the People to assembly, and speaking as much ill of the Senate as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them that these wicked Governours were surprised by his Policy, and all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessary required, that they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearsing unto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their judgment was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of Death: Choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, unprovided for such an Election, was silent; until at last, some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, baseness, and insufficiency; or else, even because they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen (the fittest men to be substituted, having been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily prevailed with the People, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtless) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their Lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this, by all obsequiousness, to court the People, giving their Reins unto their lawless Will, who else were likely to cast them down: All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their Gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Canna*, this impediment was removed, and few there were that would open their mouths to speak against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serve the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent unto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Fear. These whosoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in Spirit as in Followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them,

had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish Inveective, against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make Bridges of slaughtered Carcases, and to feed upon mans flesh; with such other stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themselves, He put them in mind of their present strength: they having thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he diffused them, prouder than they came: and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made Alliance, upon these Conditions: That the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizen of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in War, or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campans* three Hundred Roman Prisoners, such as they themselves would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen opposed himself earnestly: using, in vain, many persuasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old Friends for new Acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and cut it in pieces, that, by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples*, not far off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haisted himself towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the Walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay Siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great Solemnity and Pomp: all the People issuing forth of the Town, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many Noble Victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman Yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy*, and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their Enemies; He prayed them, that they would not think him a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State: and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him

away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campans*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being afflicted by *Perella*, the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perella* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilst he was at Supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers Authority kept him from making any such attempt. All the Town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of Fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casertine*, and *Acerre*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their Walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extreme fear of *Hannibal's* coming, at the first report of the Overthrow at *Cannae*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate; that it much disturbed the Provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to flint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the Streets were full. Couriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went; whereof when *Romans* from the Consul *Varrus* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous Superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive Two Men and Women, *Gauls* and *Greeks*, in their Ox-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think, that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked Soothsayers; whose detestable Counsels they afterwards, for their own Honour, (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire, with what Prayers and Supplications they might pacifie the Gods, and obtain an end of these Calamities. This is enough to discover the greenfears of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At the same time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor *Octavius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africa*. In these were contained News, of one *Carthaginian* Fleet, that wasted the Kingdom of *Hieron*, their good Friend and Confederate; and of another Fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægætes*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman Province, if the Prætor stirred aside, to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, for he might name a Dictator, to take sovereignty charge of the Weal publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of People went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home,

giving him thanks for that he had not depaired of the Weal-publick. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely, for up-holding the general Reputation. If his coming into the City, had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their Wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their Welcome, and Thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done: But whereas *Livy* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his Head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller Offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *Z. Sempronius*, Master of the Horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised Four new Legions, and a thousand Horse; though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very Boys. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten, in account of the Forces elevated by this Dictator; and Two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the City. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the Field, four new ones of *Prætorians*, or Striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy Slaves, that were put in hope of Liberty, if they should deserve it by manifold Service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever owed Money, and could not pay it, or had committed any capital Offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the Spoils of their Enemies that had been there set up: among which were fix thousand Armour of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent Oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own Gates, in the habit of Strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed Roman-like.

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the Prisoners taken at *Cannae*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere Night out of the Roman Territory. To the Messengers of the Captives, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor Kins-folk, but the great need wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their Suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans*

(held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken Prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the Enemy; much was alledged against these who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their Offence was no greater than the Conflicts: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted Money; and therefore could not want Excuses, whereby to avoid the disburment: whether it were fo, or not; that any such Plea was held about this matter of Redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the Slaves which were armed for the War, are said to have cost more than the Sum did amount unto, for that would have ransomed the Prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the Roman Proceedings, as if they had been severe, when as indeed they were fuitable to the present fortune, poor, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued those Roman Slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more than every one the third part of a common Souldiers Ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for Slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withhold consider, that these private men did only lend these Slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) until the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given fix long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready Money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like authority, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used towards the Souldiers that escaped from that great Battel. These were charged, for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *ragione dello Stato* may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driven to a miserable Exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Cannae*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or else were fifty years of Age; but until this War should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and without reward. The same chittry sentence, was afterwards laid upon others, for their misbehaviour: but never upon any man of Quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cassius Metellus*, and a few other hair-brained Fools his Companions; who being frightened out of their Wits, with the terror of so great a loss, were desiring, after the Battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigorous grew shortly distastful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People; *Liv. l. 2.* nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no less apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needful business within the City, took the Field with

with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the Honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofia* with a Fleet, ready to set Sail for *Sicily*, having one Legion aboard his Ships, and Fifteen Hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which Forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africa*. But hearing of the Overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Campaniam*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*), to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward, and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle Walks *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by fair Words, and terrible Threats, the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with the least touch of disloyalty: it had also a sure Haven; whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the Field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private Want or Poverty, but a great desire to gratify the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief: a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, half dead at *Cannæ*, and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his Wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in Honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an Enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie Nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal Valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: which he took by composition, and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his

quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the Enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make these of a meaning to force the Town; which he fought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the Night-time there passed Messages between him and the Citizens his parakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his Forces, could be trained into the Field, the Multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the Gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the Walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betwixt. Wherefore ordering his Men in three Companies, within three several Gates looking towards the Enemy: He gave a freight command, that all the Citizens should keep their Houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the Enemies great wonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the Walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he had his Men bring Ladders, and make ready for the Assault; which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very Walls, and thought nothing less, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the Field: suddenly the middle Gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, break forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected Sally the more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him; the other two Gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new-levised Companies, upon the Enemies backs. The sudden terror was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a Victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War; inasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his Enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning above three score, and ten of High Treason, whose Heads he struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the mean season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded, he thought it no Wisdom to lose time in periwations, but laid Siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by Night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing News of the Dictator, that he was about *Capua*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being unwilling, that an Enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant

to

to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late Victory of *Marcellus*, had nothing abated the Spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army, seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his Men, at the most, and those not slain in plain Battle, but by a sudden eruption; winneth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as own Citizens; to hear, That in a Skirmish with good News, to hear, That in a Skirmish not far from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not restless. At *Capua* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italian* Confederates but many Companies of *Italian* Confederates but many Companies of *Italian* Confederates were gotten into the Town, and held of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held of *Rome*. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and above four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battle of *Cannæ*, being sent by their several States to the Camp: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back sorrowful; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose Government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Capua*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard News from *Capua*. How that great City became the King-leader of all the *Campanians* into Rebellion. The people of *Capua* were affected as they of *Cannæ*; and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many Trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a Night, and fortified the *Wessera* part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulsurnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Capua* were; as the rest of the *Campanians*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place winneth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountered with greater Forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers Assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss; and many Sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the Horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River, who had found him relieved *Capua*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome*, about some matters of Religion, had given him express charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus*, from *Suessula* could not come, his way being stopped by the over-flowings of *Vulsurnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanians*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the Water stayed his journey, such Entreaties were needless. Neither is it like, that the Dictator carried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Capua*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the Siege. Barrels of Corn were sent by Night, floating down the

River: and when some of these, being carried away by an Eddy of the Water, stuck among the Willows on the Bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged Men. At length, when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallies; the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground: whereon the besieged presently fowed Rape-seed. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their Patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Capua* until the Rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their Obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent Ransom, which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven Hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Capua*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanians*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their Virtue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prænestis*: which is no weak proof of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Government. This Siege of *Capua* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For Winter overtook him, long before he could dispatch the business: which how to quit with his Honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he Wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithal did often bear the *Romans* in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great Supply that was decreed at *Carthage*, to be sent to *Hannibal* in Italy. How by the malice of Hanno, and sloath or parsimony of the *Carthaginians*, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the *Carthaginians* grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of Fabius and other old *Roman* Historians, how partial they were in their Writings.

When *Mago*, the Son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the Battle at *Cannæ*; his Brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyful message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his Brother had fought; what Confils he had chased, wounded, or slain; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former War never flunished any occasion of Fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he never durst adventure to come to Battle; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand Prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucians*, and other

People of *Italy*, that following the fortune of those great Victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief seat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his Brother had been entertained, where he meant to rest that Winter, attending their supply. As for the War, he said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repair their broken Forces. He willed them to consider, that the War was far from home, in the Enemies Country; that so many Battels had much diminished his Brothers Army; that the Soldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* Friends, with exactions of Money, Corn, and other necessities; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*: which the Victory would requite with large amends. Finally he caused the golden Rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman Knights* that were slain, to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three buffels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, forasmuch as none but the principal of that Order, were accustomed to wear that Ornament.

* This Li- ty reports it, and credi- ble it is, that while Rome was poor, the full advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the Errand of *Adgo* found extraordinary welcom. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perfwader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the Gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal Answer, which *Livy* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in mind of his own shameful overthrow received at the Islands *Agates*: yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious, than it is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barbians*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruins of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these Victories, as is reported; saying, It ill befitted him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more help, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forthwith with spoils, to make request for Meat and Money. To these Cavils, if Answer were needful, it might be said, That other booty than of Horses and Slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* Camp: the best of the Soldiers carrying no other wealth into the Field, than a few silver Studs in the Bridles and Trappings of their Horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main Convoy of Money and Provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to have done, when they were the Camp of *Adrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might such an objection more justly have

been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oracion, and where in he best might hope to prevail, contained a persuasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek Peace, whilst they had so much the better in War.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easy to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of War, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this War ended, and a new League concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruin, longer than until such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other Wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very petulant; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of Silver, should be lent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not only to supply, as need should require, the *Armies* in that Province, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to tax the wretched improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannae* to *Rome*, or in retreating his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanians*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following War. But either the too much carelessness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extrem necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The Elephants were sent: and some money peradventure; uncertain it is, how long after. But those great Forces of three score thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by Time, and sundry accidents of War. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Adrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great Riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their Subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the War of the Mercenaries; and the perfidious Tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expense of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of Peace, after the loss at *Agates*. Yet

Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on Foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*; and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to, have extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit, even for the price of those Slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage, in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all Parts of the *Mediterranean Sea*, even from *Tyrry* their Mother City in the bottom of the freights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* would leave to them it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*: the impudence of *Roman* falsehood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up Hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoined them, with condition that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their Weapons, and Engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the Body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withal, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other Place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduring men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though figured with glowing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the halty growth of *Carthage* in Riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, added still this conclusion, *Thus I think; and that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present Wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these Times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering Wealth, were more industrious and skillful than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them, in the honourable care of the publick good; having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them, (besides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the War strongly, was over-past, go more lazily to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easy for *Hanno* to persuade the covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wilidom, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of Fortune, against the Enemies; or (which perhaps were

works) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could do so) finished the War, might easily make *Hanno* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the Forces that he had given them to the Conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own Slackness, Incredulity, dulness, or Negligence, the *Carthaginians* were perfwaded rather to make small disturbances in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet might live so large extent, and so open a Coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy, especially the affection of the *Naturals* (being as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their main intendment against *Rome* it self, until such time as every little Thorn were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province: then must *Emporia* have been besieged and forced: which by reason of Alliance with the *Masilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporia* was too strong to be won in haste: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of Wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Town of the same Name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Grecians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*; would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Roman* War (in appearance) after the Battle at *Cannae*: yea it had been in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the War; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgment, near unto the Gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt being such, as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong War up on their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africa*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the seat of the War, transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private Affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than it is necessary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at Opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious Wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the Purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the Noble House of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of their *Barbians* had been somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the People of *Rome*: not only in Go-

verment of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weal publick above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former Roman War was finished: so the conclusion of this War present, will make them complain, with feeling Sighs, of their Negligence in supplying Hannibal, after the Victory at Cannæ; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the Opportunity, that now they let pass, as if it were coit enough to send a few Handfuls into Spain.

That both the Spanish business, and the State of Affrick it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon success of things in Italy; the course of Actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in Spain by the Carthaginian Governors, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set down. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian Livy, the tender love of his own Country, which made him give credit unto Fabius and others: yet must we not, for his sake, believe those lies, which the unpartial judgment of Polybius hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them Original. It was needfess to rehearse all that may be found in

Pol. lib. 1. Polybius, concerning the untruth of that Roman Historian Fabius. One Example may suffice. He saith of Amilcar and his men at Eryx, in the former War, That having clean spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the Romans. Contrary hereunto we find in the Life of Amilcar, set down by *Æmilius Probus*. That Eryx was in fact, for held by the Carthaginians, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any War. These Words, being referred to the brave resolution of the Carthaginian Soldiers, and the singular Vertue of their General infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not over-liberal. For in the Treaty of Peace between Amilcar and Catalus, when the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Eryx should lay down their Arms, and forsake Sicily, threatening, that otherwise he would not talk of any Composition: Amilcar boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talk of it, or no; for that the Arms which his Country had put into his hands to use against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the Romans, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let Amilcar have his Will, and not to stand with him upon point of Honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as Fabius would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of Polybius: who statly, and by Name, chargeth Fabius with untruth; saying, that howsoever Amilcar, and his Soldiers, had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between Fabius (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the Roman Story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of Rome: we must take it in good part, that howsoever Livy introduceth Hannibal, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful Oppression, &c. verthowr on the Islands * *Agæates*, with the great services of Amilcar at Cannæ, as if both of them had had a like event; yet * elsewhere he forbear-

eth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same Hanno his Mouth, making him say, That the Affairs of Carthage were never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that Battel at Sea: wherein himself was General. Now concerning the doings of the Scipio in Spain, there is cause to wily, that this Fabius, with Val. Antiat, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of Livy to his Rome, had not caused him to think too well of their Relations: which are such as follow.

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman Victories in Spain, before Adrubal, the Son of Amilcar, followed thence his brother Hannibal into Italy.

It hath been shewed already, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Consul, returning from Gaul into Italy, to encounter with Hannibal at his descent from the Alps, sent before him his brother Cnæus, with part of his Fleet and Army, into Spain. Two Roman Legions, with fourteen thousand Foot of the Confederates, and twelve thousand Horie, had been allotted unto this Consul, therewith to make War in Spain against Hannibal: who since he was marching into Italy with the strength of his Army, P. Scipio believed, that a good part of these his own Forces might well be spared from the Spanish Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publius himself remained in Italy all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into Spain, by the Senate, with an Army of Eight thousand Men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in Spain, against the Carthaginians: whom they vanquished in so many Battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that we have cause to wonder, how the Enemy could so often find means to repair his Forces, and return strong into the Field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliver the Countrey from the Tyranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the African Yoke, and durst adventure to break it: so the ancient Reputation of the first Conquerors, might serve to arm the Naturals against these Invaders; and to reclaim those, that had revolted unto the Romans; were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like Rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian Treasure: which easily raised Soldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poor, and Gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their Children, Kinsmen, and Friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Italian Wars; or serving the Carthaginians in Affrick. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it; the Victories of the Scipio were neither so many, nor so great; as they are set out by Livy. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captain Fabius, or Livy in his person, maketh an Objection unto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Livy for him, doth answer. That

if Adrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That Adrubal being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a Battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his Money, Elephants, and broken Troops, over Tagus, directly toward the Pyrenees, and so toward Italy; upon which he fell with more than threecore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most inconvenient for his Retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his Money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so are they said to have done in the last Battel between him and Scipio) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all Carthaginian Records of this War, and Spanish, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell us: unto whom it were no Wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the Scipio in Spain; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven-Town not far within the Pyrenees, retaining still the same Name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his Clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto Rome, as the Story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his Clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a mean stranger, and having no Jurisdiction in the Countrey. Yet is it certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexterity in practise had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other Errand, than setting them at liberty. This Pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with Money; and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially, when he had won a Battel against Hanno. Into all Treaties of accord made with these People, likely it is that he remembered to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances never forgot, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiors; *Majeftatem Pop. Rom. comitor* conseruent, which is, as Tully interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Majesty of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became *diuina Romana* of the Roman Jurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage toward Italy; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Barguntians; Hannibal had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them flart from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between Iberus and Pyæ, the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that

is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Countrey unto Hanno and his Heirs.) He made him not only Lieutenant General over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but took from them all inferior Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by Hanno, at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoice at the coming of Scipio: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joy; it being the custom of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indifferently into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the Napeletians, and Milanens, in the Age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the Spaniards and French; as some feasible fill of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, wherinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of his Province, would not suffer Hanno to tamperize. Ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, Hannibal had left unto him: besides which it is like, that some Forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a Battel with Scipio; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this Victory, Scipio besieged Stiffum, a Town hard by, and wan it. But Adrubal having passed Iberus, and coming too late to the relief of Hanno, with eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horie, fell upon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not far about Tarraco, whom he found careless, as after a Victory, roving abroad in the Countrey; and with great slaughter drove them aboard their Ships. This done, he ran up into the Countrey, where he withdrew the Illegates from the Roman party, though they had given Hostages to Scipio. Scipio in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his Fleet: where having fed things in order, he returned back, and made toward Adrubal; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over Iberus. So the Illegates were compelled by force, having lost Albanania, their chief City, to pay a Fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their Hostages. The Lucetani likewise, Confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty days; hoping in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the Romans to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of Silver. During the Siege, the Lucetani came to help their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lucetani, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should, without any cause remembered, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntarily *diuina Romana*; subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold War against Scipio, without any assistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that Adrubal, as it were by a Chann, stirred up the Illegates, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Arms in his Quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ran away, and saved himself beyond Iberus. Publius perhaps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would have told it thus: That Scipio adventuring too far into the Countrey, was beaten by Adrubal back to his Ships, whence

* *Agæates*, Eryx, or Sicily, the place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful Oppression, &c. verthowr on the Islands * *Agæates*, with the great services of Amilcar at Cannæ, as if both of them had had a like event; yet * elsewhere he forbear-

Pol. lib. 1.

Lib. 1. 21.

Lib. 1. 21.

whence he durst not stir, until Winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wan, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacertans*, *Illygetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they fought their own benefit: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon kinds of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous Tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, heartening again unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governors sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanor in all Ages following may testify: even from henceforth unto the days of *Augustus Cæsar*; till when they were never thoroughly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a Victory against the *Carthaginians*, in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their Ships, that ran not too far on ground, he took, and thereby grew Master of the whole Coast: landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this Victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, and given Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the Land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it follows; that the *Illygetes* did again rebel; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberia*, and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Illygetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celiberians*, that lately were become his Subjects and had given him Hostages. These took from the *Carthaginian* three Towns, and vanquished him in two Battels, wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his Men, and took four thousand Prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren jointly administered the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celiberian War*, the two *Scipio's* did, *hand cunctanter*, without fear or doubt, pass over *Iberia*, and besiege *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the same *Celiberians*, that with their proper Forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Bolser*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be perfwaded by one *Aciduss* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely restoring unto them their Hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their Faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this Message and Restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perfwading them, as he had done *Bolser*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much Love: if the Tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere it we find, that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe no less. But since we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their Forces: *Cn.* makes War by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty,

hath gotten four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse out of *Africa*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*, because they had been chidden the last year for their Negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of these Ship-Masters animates to Rebellion the *Carpestians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land People about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, to that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a Journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them that were found scattered abroad in the Fields. But they making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very fear, to incamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them Battle. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his Provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good success breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay: *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest, so that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should lead his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his Letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the very rumour of this Journey, almost all *Spain* was already to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or if they will needs have it so, that then they must find him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to employ, they should find work more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; and *Himilco*, with such Forces as are thought expedient for that Service, both by Land and Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of Money, that he might have wherewithal to win the Friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countries he must pass, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his Subjects: and having gotten together as much Treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberia*. The *Scipio's* hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest Town in all those Quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a Battle with him: which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his Followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the Victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain, and few should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away, ere the Battels were thoroughly joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and spoil: whereby (questionless) they are marvelously enriched; all the Money that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian Expedition*. This day even joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping him-

himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*: and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither Money, Apparel, nor Bread, wherewith to sustain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting, so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their Forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an evil season, the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent, how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that Love and Care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think; that remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threecore thousand Men, besieging *Iliturgi*: (which the learned *Orelius*, and others, probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carmona* is now, in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Iliturgi* afterward called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illygetes*, their nearest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of Victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and having victualled the place, encourage the Townsmen to defend their Walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threecore thousand: and killing more of the Enemies, than themselves were in number, drive all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one, out of his quarters; and took that day, besides Prisoners and other Booty, fifty and eight Ensigns. The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Iliturgi*, fall upon *Incibit*, that stood a little *Soutwards* from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning Money by War, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered whence the *Carthaginians* had Money to pay them; since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting Money of his own; and being beaten in this journey, had lost his wealthy Carriages, when his Camp was taken after the Battle by *Ibera*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are Beaten again at *Incibit*: where there were of them above thirt-

teen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous Victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Novum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incamped: and stores the place with Victuals, being

strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* Horse have charged the *Romans* in their March, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in March, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoefull, to retire unto some place more assured. So *P.* withdraws himself unto *Mons Vitiæ*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibit*, overlooks the *Southern* Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gefeo*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the Enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Cassulo*, a great City of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a Wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Betis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Iliturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* Garrison; hoping to win it by Famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the Rebellion of *Cassulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two Battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them Prisoners, with fix and thirty Ensigns. This Victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that Siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great Battle fought; that lasted four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable Victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand Prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Astorgis*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the Field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* again: but kills not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these Overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by Nature to set War on foot, quickly fell up the broken Troops of *Asdrubal*: who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again, and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other Appurtenances. After so many Victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed, to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entered into this War. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so

as they need not to blush, for having so long forbore to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they win *Saguntum*, and restore the possession thereof unto this of the poor dispersed Citizens, as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had mislaid unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last Action (questionless) was much to their Honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them, if they had been able.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great Victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, either print or token of all their brave Exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Adrubal's* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporie*, an Haven-Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Plebeians*, kin to the *Mallians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unfeigned passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession; who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprise: which is to be suspected, since in this Action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable Fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those Battels lately remembered, after every one of which *Adrubal* fate down before some place that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custom of Armies vanquished, to carry the War from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the Field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians*, the next adjoining People. Yet made they this, a little less than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they have yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their Faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made War against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the *Roman* Camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custom, or rather the custom of some bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every Messenger, or Stragler, that entered their Camp, an Hostage of that People from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, fired with great Rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Countrymen that follow *Hannibal* in his Wars. But if any of these three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the Riches and Welfare of *Hannibal's* Men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Adrubal*,

when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when these Mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the Field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the Enemies; who lie not far off with three Armies. *Adrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand: even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Antevia*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed, *Mago*, and *Adrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days March, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Soldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago*, and *Adrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They join their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himself most well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Malcanila*, Prince of the *Mallians*, *Numidians* bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief Honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a Spanish Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suesetani*, to join with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be freight shut up, and besieged, He flies forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius*, his Lieutenant, with a small Company, to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The Fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* Horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting, and animating his Men, where need most required, is struck through with a Lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio*, within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Adrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had War in their own Country. If *Antevia*, where *Adrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Barro* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Adrubal*, and easily persuaded to take as much Money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them; and no less unable, without their help, either to resist the Enemy, or to join with his Brother, makes a very violent Retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Adrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Adrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their Horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such

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Enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds, of ease afforded on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliade. The weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that having themselves, I know not how, within some Woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible Overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and throw themselves within Woods adjoining, I should much wonder, did not a greater Miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* Camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Marius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman, of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Soldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Soldiers, being to choose a General by most voices, prefer this *L. Marius* before *Fonteius*, the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Adrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, coming upon them; this *L. Marius* fo encourage his Men, (singly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable Victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely founds the Retreat; reserving the fury of his Soldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in Enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken: But when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and utterly despising him, let neither *Corpus ducard*, nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no Enemy were near. *Marius* therefore animates his Soldiers with lively words, and tells them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and seals upon the Camp of *Adrubal*: where finding no Guard, but the Enemies fast asleep, or very drowsy, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All pages out of their Camp, *Marius* hath preposited, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart: which as many do as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Adrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Marius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath beset a *Roman* Cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But left perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Marius* hastens to them as soon as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning upon this further Camp: which with no great difficulty he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* Shields, foul, and bloodied with

their former Execution. He drives headlong into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the Sword. Thirty seven thousand of the Enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken Prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain: and that in another Battel with *Adrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken Prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livy* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in Battels. That, whilst *Marius* was making an Orator to his Soldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livy* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Marius* got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these Occurrences *L. Marius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but letting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, He filed himself Proprietor. The *Fathers* were no less moved with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their Forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies, leaved to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the City itself, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for that title of Proprietor, which *Marius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* Foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the Affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the Victories of *Marius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Marius* and *Fonteius*; he found firmer tokens of the Overthrows received, than of those miraculous Victories, whereof *Marius* had made his Vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Adrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lepides arvi*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a freight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Adrubal*, seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forth

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with out of all Spain, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition, that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many days in entertaining Parley with *Claudius* about this business. That night by night he conveyed his Foot-men (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in Spain; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the Foot-men could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the Conditions offered for their late departure, to have been of far less value. However it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in Spain; or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Soldiers, which had chosen *Martin* their Proprietor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deeds, had repealed their Election, and sent a Proprietor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved Memory of *Cn. and Publius*, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same Family. Whether upon these, or upon other Reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province, and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio*, sent Proconsul into Spain.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the War into *Africa*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty; and other Virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenor of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too much of the great *Alexander's* Vanity; How he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; How a Dragon (which must have been one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than meer Fables, devised by Historians, who sought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble City might seem, not only to have surpassed other Nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for Spain, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when of the Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to ad-

venture himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place, where he might be seen of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the Victories of *L. Marius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into Spain Proprietor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insit.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into Spain; and with him was joynted *M. Junius Sillanus*, as Proprietor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, in thirty *Quinquagena Gallie*. With these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarraco* along the Sea-coast. At the same time *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him from all quarters of the Province, which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful Opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time perhaps, as his forefathers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against *New Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, his Sea-forces assisting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and wan it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fishermen of *Tarraco* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the Walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of *New Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-Iland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Western side of the Walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake, which the Fishermen of *Tarraco* had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thrust threinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the Walls without resistance: the place being left without Guard, as able to defend itself by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City; easily forced a Gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. War booty was found within the Town, *Scipio* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of Riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury; we may easily perceive, how

how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africa* and *Spain*, was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoining Provinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtesy; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Illyrgetes* and *Lacetani*, nearest Neighbours to *Tarraco*, and dwelling on the North side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joynted with the *Romans*. The Speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Illyrgetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*; and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Illyrgetes* had ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the fame, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never Masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, wan unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry; yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, having stoln a Town by surprise, was too far transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busy, in setting forth towards Italy; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook *New Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, fate down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into Italy, than that half of Spain should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gefeo*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* at work, in that lingering War of taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* Forces, under *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater Enterprise; even to fight in trial of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into Italy: whether he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as

long as they might but hear the Name of *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vancourers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* Horse, that they drove them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that final piece of service, how full of Spirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore-side; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whercon he strongly incamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within his Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazard of a Battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain; up into his Camp on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drove both Men and Elephants head-long. I know not whether: for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out of such a Battle, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed Troops, to have marched towards the *Pyrenes*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gefeo*, are reported after this, to have conspired with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the Name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs, have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Posthumus, the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip, King of Macedon, enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans, joining with the Aetolians, make War upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.

WE left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates rejoiced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage*, of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* Corn into his own Barns, and to drive away their Cattel to *Geryon*: his Victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him Master of the open Field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns, in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Cannae*: but had he spent much time about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and

Spring following, until Corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon Rome after his Victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming; want of Victuals would have compelled him to quit the Enterprize. Yea many of the People that opened so hastily their Gates unto him, upon the first bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the Event of another Battle: if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessities to continue a Siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the Walls of Rome, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened Reputation, somewhat later in the year; in which time to force their obedience was wanting, unless they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old Enemies of Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay Siege unto that proud City, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty Forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply, there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above Thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the *Alpes*, had been lost in his journey through the Masses of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this excused negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his Friends, they told him truly, what the Mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to pass along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himself had done; and increase the Army, by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main strength of their City, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needful Provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfy his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the year served, he took the Field: and having finished what rested to be done at *Casilinum*, sought to make himself Master of some good Haven-Town thereabout, that might serve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet; or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to do what else was needful, he sent *Himilco* unto the *Leontines*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assuage all quarters of Italy, yea the Isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; since the Siege of Rome must needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or over-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slew above Two thousand of his Men, with the loss of fewer than Three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* sped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good Friends, he won *Petelia*, or *Peitia*, by force; after it had held out some Months. He was likewise *Consentia*, and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Alto

the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over-against *Sicily*.

The great Faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good Government, under which the *Roman* Subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanians*, and others, whose earnestness in Rebellion may seem to prove the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Sovereignty, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or benefit ally. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did fend to Rome for help: where their Messengers received answer from the Senate, That the public Misfortunes had not left means to relieve their Afflictions (Embassadors they are termed, as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the *Roman* Subjection, that had a private Jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the *Fathers*, not to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible in defence of the Town against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation again: and having thoroughly considered all their Forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore these Embassadors were willing to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own safety; as having already discharged their Faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some Months; and having striven in vain to defend themselves, there was no apparent possibility, gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody Victory over them; being vanquished as much by Famine, as by any violence of the Assaults.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal*, with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them into terms of great Extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loss at *Cannæ*; they had shewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithstanding the great War that lay upon them so near at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their Fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumus Albinus* their Pretor they had sent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaul*; to the *Illyrian* King, *Pneus*, they had sent for their Tribute due, whereof the payment was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Phloris*, their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumus*, with all his Army, was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce Ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Luma*, through which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had fawed the Trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumus*, with his whole Army, was entered into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls*, that lay about the Wood, began to cast down the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all down to fast, that the *Romans* were

were over-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work, of fawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind, that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entered, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject, I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done; and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies Sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lausardy*, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumus* his skull, being cleaned, and trimmed up with Gold, a drinking Cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy Vessel, for the use of the Priest in their Solemnities. Of this great overthrow when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no less than the calamity. But Sorrow could give no remedy to the Mischiefs: and Anger was vain, where there wanted Forces to revenge. Tribute from there wanted Force came none: neither do I find, that any was a second time demanded: this we find. That with *Plenatus*, and *Scordileus*, the *Illyrian* Kings; as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; increasing their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having assured his affairs in Greece, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a League, upon these conditions; That the King in Person should come into Italy, and with all his Forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the Roman War, until it were finished; That Rome, and all Italy, together with all the Spoil therein to be gotten, should be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, should pass into Greece, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving seemingly unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoining. But such pre-disposition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the Divine Providence, which therein shews it self not (as *Herodotus* fally terms it, and like an *Ætkeiff*) envious or malicious, but very just and majestic, in upholding that unpeakable greatness of Sovereignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold Lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted; and friendly dismissed, with Guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell willingly into the Camp of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the business, about which they came, upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward,

they happened again unluckily to be defrined by the *Roman* Fleet; which, mistaking them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chase. They did their best to have escaped; but being overtaken, they suffered the Lie that once had served them, to fail it again. That having been sent from King *Philip*, to make a League with the People of Rome, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius*, the Pretor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. Their Tale was now less credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gelyes*, *Beller*, and *Algo*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal*, to ratifie the Agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out: so that at length *Hannibal's* own Letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confessed. The Embassadors, and their followers, were sent clove Prisoners to Rome: where the chief of them were cast into Prison, and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their Ships that escaped, carried word unto *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassy was sent, that went and returned with betterer speed; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* War, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution; and suitable unto that, whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie, with small Forces to detain *Philip* in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italy. And here they were in the right. For that the very Reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance not only of the *Latines*, and other their most faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies that held all Privileges of the City, it will appear by the following success of things. *M. Valerius*, the Pretor, with Twenty *Quinquageme* Gallies, was appointed to attend the *Macedonian*: and to let on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was bused about the Sea-Towns, that looked towards Italy, sitting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he wan, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Egyptians* craved help of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kind Offers, who had none other business to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Townfmen in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily re-gained the Town, and sent thence a Thousand Men, under *Nerius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain; which got by night into *Apollonia*. There made a notable Sally; and break into *Philip's* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his Camp, and raise the Siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence soon, but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River; so that he was fain to burn his Ships, (which be like were

were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation always Enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*: and easily perfwaded them (being fo affected, as hath elfe where been fhewed) to make ftrmg War on *Philip*; wherein he promifed them great affiftance from the *Romans*. That which moft moved the troublefome Spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promife, as if already it had been his own. So a League was made between them: and afterward folemnly publifhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their Capitul. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which fpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country fhould be fubdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*; the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it fhould be with Provifion, to hold no longer, than whilst he abftained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Affociates. This was indeed the only point, whereto *Valerius* aimed: who promifed as much on the *Romans* behalf; That they fhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*; unlefs it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place referred for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thofe that had made or favoured the fide of *Cleomenes* againft the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleafure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Serdaites*: the firft of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Afia* the lefs, a Prince hereafter much to be fpoken of; the other two held fome part of *Myfia*, about which the *Romans* were fo far from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of thefe Affociates, are thruft into the Treaty; rather to give it countenance, than for any readinefs which they difclofe to enter therein. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dymachus*, and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muft make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the Fourth, when he had only the title of *Nauarre*, was fain to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of War upon the *Myrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger, to infect the Kingdom of *Macedon*; wafted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and over-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardaniens*, and others, whom he held fufpected, came down into *Theffaly*, whence he made thence as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to ftr up all the *Greeks* adjoining, againft the *Ætolians*, whom they generally detefted as a neft of Robbers, troublefome to all the Country. To which purpofe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perfus*, his Son and Heir, with four thoufand men, upon their borders: with the reft of his Army, before greater bufinefs fhould overtake and entangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, againft a people called the *Medes*: that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was abfent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againft the *Acarnanians*, in hope to fubdue thofe their daily Enemies, and win their little Country, ere he fhould be able to return.

Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently fituated to let in an Army, and configned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the ftout refolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we fay) every Mothers fon of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great hafte of the *Macedonian* (who laid afide all other bufinefs) to fuccour thefe his friends; caufed the *Ætolians* to forfake their Enterprife. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Antioche*, which they took: the *Romans* affailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the fpoil.

For thefe good fervices *M. Valerius* was chofen Conful at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* fent in his ftead, to keep the War on foot in *Greece*. But befides the *Roman* help, *Attalus*, out of *Afia*, came over to affift the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved, by his own jealoufie of *Philip's* greatness: though fomewhat alfo tickled with the vanity, of being chofen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magiftrate; which honour, though no better than a regular, he took in very loving part. Againft the Forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had fent, being joined with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two batels: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon thefe his troublefome Neighbours defired peace of him; and ufed their beft means to get it. But when the day, appointed for the confufion thereof, was come; their Embaffadors, inftead of making fubmiffion, propofed unto him fuch intollerable conditions, as ill befecmed vanquifhed men to offer; and might therefore well reftifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being befieged in their own Towns, that had made them defirous of compofition. This fear being taken away, by the Encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thruft a Garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Accha*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ftreight from *Naupactus*, wafted the Country in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* required them; coming upon them in hafte from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and fending them falter away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prufias*, King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lefs than *Attalus* held fufpected the power of *Philip*; ſent a Navy into *Greece*, to affift the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reafon; as being more intereſſed in the fuccels of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man fome two hundred Ships; yet the Veffels were ſuch, as could not hold out againft the *Roman* *Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to ufe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came ſomewhat too late: which might better at firft have kept thofe Enemies from laſting upon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needful that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Accha*ians his principal Confederates. But in affailing their Town, he was encountered by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garriſon; which drove him back with ſome lofs.

In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God is intended a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his Retreat from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his perſonal Valour, in fighting well on foot, when his Horſe was ſlain under him. He had alſo ſoon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thouſand; with ſome twenty thouſand Head of Cattel, which they had brought together into a place of ſafety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his purſuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his Horſe running haſtily under a low Tree, had torn off one of the Horns, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*; who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The Horn was well known, and the Tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar: and not only the Borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but ſome Captains of *Philip*, eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelves a fortune in that change of things, ran into ſuch Treafon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home; leaving not three thouſand men to affift his friends the *Accha*ians. He alſo took order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the Enemies doings; upon whom he meant ſhortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his preference quickly eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went ill-favourably; eſpecially in the life of *Eubæa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it; where alſo the ſtrong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſty Marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*. This City, lying over-againſt *Eubæa*, *Attalus* had won, more through the cowardize of the People, than any great force that he had uſed. Now becauſe the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the ſack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whilst he was buſie, in drawing as much Money as he could out of the Citizens: the fudden tidings of *Philip's* arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-fide, where he got aboard his Ships; finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this miſadventure; or tidings of *Prufias* the *Bithynian* his invaſion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without ſtaying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; won *Torone*, *Tricones*, *Drymus*, and many ſmall Towns in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome Actions, of more bravery than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Macchidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philip's* arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his Death in *Egypt*, went about to chooſe two new Kings; and to conform themſelves to their old manner of Government. But their Eſtate was ſo far out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the City, proved no lefs unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large Dominion abroad. *Lycurgus*, a Tyrant, roſe up among them: unto whom ſucceeded this *Macchidas*; and ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They

held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* fide, for fear of the *Accha*ians; that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and of *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

Philip entering into *Acchia*, and ſeeing his preference had brought the contentment of affurance to that Country; ſpoke brave words to the Affembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to do with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Acchia*: but could no where find them; ſuch hafte they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he ſaid, was not always prosperous: he ſhould one day light upon them; as ere this his ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſs. The *Acchia*ians were glad to hear theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he reſorted unto their Nation ſome Towns, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaves, he fought out, ranfomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their own City. Further, paſſing over the *Corinthian Gulf*, he fell upon the *Ætolians*: whom he drove into the Mountains and Woods, or other their ſtrongelt holds; and waited their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Accha*ians: and returning home by Sea, viſited the people that were his Subjects, or dependants; and animated them ſo well, that they reſted fearleſs of any threatening danger. Then had he leiſure to make War upon the *Dardaniens*, ſix Neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ran along the coaſt of *Greece*, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſuccels added much Reputation to the *Macedonian*; and emboldened him to make ſtrmg War upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans*; either ſome diſpleaſure, conceived againſt their Confederates; or ſome fear of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; cauſed them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driven to great extremity, were fain to ſue for peace unto *Philip*, and accept it, upon whatever conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempromius* with ten thouſand Foot, a thouſand Horſe, and thirty five Gallies, came over in great hafte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aſide to *Dyrachium*, and *Apollonia*; making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his own Forces he would work Wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to viſit him; and found him tame enough. The King preſented him Batrel: but he reſuſed it; and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himſelf cloſe within the Walls of *Apollonia*; making ſome Overtures of Peace: which cauſed *Philip* to great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*; as had *Philip*, to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the Royal offer that he made them, to ſerve their turn

in Italy, and afflict them in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any Fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the Roman and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was, at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing; and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretched dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno*'s Tricks; whereof *Hannibal* too bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make *Morarchs*, and alter the affairs of the World at his pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Envy could suggest, to persuade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian Wars so mighty a Prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes, by making many promises of sending a Fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serve to terrify the *Romans*, and compel them to send part of their Forces from home; that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in Italy; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the War, be urged unto the prosecution by his own necessity, putting the *Carthaginians* to give him no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of living him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all Italy, should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfil his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impatient, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; even in that little courtesy which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he begun the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereof his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætoli*ans had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him; with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the War, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had willfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they

deceived him, as if the quarrel were merely his own, and he unable to manage it. The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Egyptians*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonians*; and therefore perhaps inferred into the Covenant, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Ætoli*ans were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, the *Acheans*, *Boeotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Egyptians*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus*, King of *Perge*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Elani*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætoli*ans were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Elani* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætoli*ans, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also inferred by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*, they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting down of their name in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a buſſe people, and ministered occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble Affection of the Romans, in relieving the publick necessities of their Commonwealth.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprizes at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more Men and Money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This Error had been the less harmful, if their care of Italy had been such as it ought. But they sacrificed *Hannibal*, to weary himself with expectations of their promised Supplies: which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conqueror could have desired. The Death of *Posthumus*, and destruction of his whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun Rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the Death of *Hiero*, their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicily*; as also that War, of which we last spake, threatened from *Macedon*, happening all at one time;

time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of the Italian Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the Forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for Italy: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care, and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his Italian War; should have been strengthened, whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in Spain; the lingering aid which they sent, to uphold the *Sardinian* Rebellion, when it was already well near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicily*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed, than by making supposition. That the care of Italy, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to Necessity, to feed his Italian friends with hopes, and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard Siege, that was to be reserved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*; but always with bad success. Once *Marcellus* fought a Battel with him there: yet under the very Walls of the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better acquainted to the *Roman* side, since the Heads, that inclined them to Rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that Fight lost: which was no great marvel; his Forces being then divided, and employed in sundry parts of Italy at once. *Naples* was, even in those days, a strong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was always frustrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Cumæ* had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Comans*, desiring them (as being also *Comans*) to be present at a solemn Sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general good: promising to bring thither a sufficient Guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Comans* made shew to entertain; but privily sent word of all to *S. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good Man of War; and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have been *Posthumus* *Al-*

binnus, that was lately slain by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found some religious impediment, that nullified the Election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feigned so to have done: because this was the first time that ever two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Comans*: not able to meet the Enemy in Field; yet intensive to all occasions that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had been armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his Men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skilful in the Exercises of War, than to keep it from quarrels, that might arise by upbraiding one another with their base condition.

Whilst the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* sent him word, of all that had passed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his Men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had had experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himself into *Cumæ*; whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that City were expected by the *Capuans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hæmæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius* *Africanus* the chief Magistrate of *Capna*, with fourteen thousand Men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather desiring how to surprise others, than fearing himself to be assailed. The Consul, therefore, suffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the Town when it grew dark: his Men being well refreshed with meat and sleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; losing not above an hundred of his own Men. Their Camp he took; but carried not long to rise it, for fear of *Hannibal*; who lay not far off. By this providence, he escaped a greater loss than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hæmæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to find those young Souldiers, and Slaves, busied in making spoil, and loading themselves with the booty. But they were all gotten safe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill success, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent about this Town. They raised a wooden Tower against it: which they brought close unto the Walls; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inside of the Wall, raised against this an higher Tower: whence they made resistance; and found means at length, to consume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busied in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, falling out of the Town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drove them to their Trenches, with the slaughter of about fourteen hundred. The

Conful wisely founded the Retreat; ere his Men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readiness to require their service. Neither would he, in the pride of this good success, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him barred the day following, near unto the Walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the Siege; and returned to his old Camp at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conful had taken the Field, some small Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yielded; and withal to abide (as it must do) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it self, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of War: and, instead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invasion upon the whole Country, to pass from place to place; and wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the Enemy than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Sannites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*: as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conful; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*; and received there the loss before-mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people showed not the like spirit in defending their Lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the victory. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to have Dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old the more easie means, to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intemperate, as necessity constrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship; and joyed with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*; and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, That being himself Conful, and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or regard what Men might think of his ambition, but caused himself to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Confuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, served to put the *Carthaginians* in fear, that *Capua* it self should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal* at their earnest entreaty came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*), and, having with his presence, comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-Town of *Campania*; about which he spent three days in vain, hoping to have won it. The Garrison in *Puteoli* was six thousand strong: and did their duty so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good success, could only show his anger upon the Fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill success as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilst he was in his progress thither, *Hanno* made a journey against *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the last years Conful, halting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a Battel. *Han-*

no had with him about seventeen thousand Foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelve hundred Horse; very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moor*. He held the *Roman* work four hours, ere it could be perceived, to which side the Victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his Soldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed Slaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day, or never, they must purchase their liberty, bring every man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it; howbeit that vain labour, imposed by their General, of cutting off the slain Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly, and hindered the service, by employment of so many hands, in a work to little concerning the Victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own Error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the Battel, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrowen, if the *Roman* Horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Roman* Battel, that four thousand of the Slaves, (for fear either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the Battel, unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength: yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Grofs of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the Field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his Soldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoiled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the Wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his Order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Soldiers were feasted in publick by the Townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of Slaves manumitted) with Caps, or white Wool. The Picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Liberty*; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first Battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the Victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hanno*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industry, by little and little, repaired that great breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Canne*. But all this while, and longer after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help out. The Fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplussage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy*, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could work to do than before; as living upon the same Trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it self. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield

yield great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the Detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Country, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased: so as if Money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatness of the War within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the *Naturals* declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the *Eastern* parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cock to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Adribach*, to follow his brother over the *Alpes*; as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not Money for any one of these mortal dangers, were driven almost even to extremum want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the Letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Q. Fabius*, the *Pretor*, laid open the publick wants, and plainly said, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of Money for *Vidual*, Weapons, Apparel, or the like things needful to the Soldiers: but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities, and labours, until the War were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intemperate to the correction of those that had misbehaved themselves in this present War. They began with *L. Cæcilius Metellus*: who, after the Battel at *Canne*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the Message of their fellows made Prisoners at *Canne*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by Oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whoever had not served in the Wars, after the term which the Laws appointed. Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in Reputation: but greater weight was added thereto by this Decree of the Senate following; That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into *Sicil*, there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard Conditions that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at *Canne*. The Office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to choose

or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhoneft or unequally behaviour fell not within compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publick Horfes of service, unro such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the over-sight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much revered and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick works; as mending of High-Ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other Buildings. If any man encroached upon the streets, high-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues, to farm; so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholden unto this Office, as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereof belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the Dignity of the Senate: the Commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were always of that Order, and careful to uphold the Reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel, without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those Slaves, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the Goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Quæstor kept a book, of all that was laid out for the sustentance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole flock was used by the City. This good Example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Soldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded half so much Commodities, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, wherein to their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather enable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith under-

took, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto the attained, ere the youngest of those Men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman Mortal grew more hard and solid; and by paring the Branches of private Fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the City of Athens, when Xerxes had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State whose dimension or form is small, may apply serve to be a foundation of a great Monarchy: which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestic prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great Example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of Alva; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as by extreme industry, and training themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient Resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, above all other, the great love of the Commonwealth, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of Rome, could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those Wars which their latter Emperors made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great Vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those ways, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIV.

The Romans win some Towns back from Hannibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The Siege of Capua. Two Victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the Gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the People of Rome strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of Cephise Fabius besieged. It was

well defended by the Carthaginian Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of Capua, if Marcellus from Nola had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that Fabius was purposed to give it over: saying, that the Enterprize was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But Marcellus was of a contrary opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the Siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) Marcellus, seizing upon a Gate, entered with his Army, and put all to the Sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to Fabius the Consul: who saved them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made Prisoners. If Fabius deserved commendations, by holding his word good unto these Fifty, I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of Execution, could be excused by Marcellus. It may be that he helped himself, after the Roman fashion, with some Equivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was Mount Marston, in Galesburg, taken by the Marshal Montcalm, when I was a young man in France. For whilst he entertained parley about composition, the besieged ran all from their several Guards, upon half duty desire of being acquainted with the Conditions proposed. The Marshal therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entered by *Scalade*, and put all save the Governor unto the Sword. Herein that Governor of Mount Marston committed two gross Errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parley, without pledges for assurance given and received. Some such oversight the Governor of Cassine seemeth to have committed: yet neither the advantage taken by Marcellus, or by Montcalm, was very honourable. When this work was ended, many small Towns of the Samnites, and some of the Lucans and Apulians, were recovered: wherein were taken, or slain, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Country grievously wasted by Fabius, Marcellus lying sick at Nola.

Hannibal in the mean while was about Tarentum, waiting to hear from those, that had promised to give up the Town. But M. Valerius, the Roman Proprætor, had thrust so many Men into it, that the Traitors durst not stir. Wherefore the Carthaginian was fain to depart, having wearied himself in vain with expectation. Yet he waited not the Country; but contented himself with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which he chose for his wintering place; and began to victual it, when Summer was but half past. It is said, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town: in which regard if he began his Winter more timely, than otherwise need required, he did not like the Romans; whom

necessity enforced, to make their Summer last as long, as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in Sicily; whither Marcellus the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speak hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were Q. Fabius, the Son of the present Consul, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time. The Romans found it needful for the publick service, to employ oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the War, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old Fabius became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: Eleven of the Twelve Lictors, which carried each an Axe, with a bundle of Rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to pass by them on horse-back; which was against the custom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bad the old Fabius alight, and come to the Consul on his Feet. The Father cheerfully did so, saying, *It was my mind, Son, to make trial, whether thou didst understand thy self to be Consul.* Cassius Albinus, a wealthy Citizen of Arpi, who, after the Battel at Cannæ, had holpen the Carthaginian into that Town, feeling now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came privily to this Consul Fabius, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old Examples: and to make this Albinus a pattern to all Traitors; using him, as Camillus and Fabricius had done those, that offered their unfaithful service against the Falsci, and King Pyrrhus. But Q. Fabius, the Father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the Romans, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the Town of Cales, and there kept as Prisoner, until they could better resolve what to do with him, or what use to make of him. Hannibal, understanding that Albinus was gone, and among the Romans, took it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize upon all the Mans Riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seem rather severe, than covetous, he sent for the Wife and Children of Albinus into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intention of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himself. Fabius, the Consul, shortly after came to Arpi: which he wan by *Scalade*, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of Hannibal's Soldiers lay in the Town; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust forth by the Carthaginian Garrison, when it was understood, that the Romans had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Soldiers held the Townsmen suspected;

and therefore thought it no wisdom, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the Arpines gave over fight, and entertained parley with the Romans: protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subject to the Carthaginians; against their wills. In process of this discourse, the Arpine Prætor went unto the Roman Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Town, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that Hannibal's men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leave their Companions, and serve on the Roman side, it was yet covenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to Hannibal. This was performed: and so Arpi became Roman again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tudertanus, one of the Prætors: and unto Cneius Fulvius, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of Capua offered their service, upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the general hatred of the Campans toward Rome, it served to discover the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from Hannibal, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from Carthage. The Conventines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, that had yielded themselves to Hannibal, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their Example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of a Publican, had made himself a Captain, and gotten Reputation by some petty Exploits in foraging the Countrey, was slain by Hanno, with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibal in the mean while had all his care bent upon Tarentum; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of Macedonia, which his Carthaginians failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to pass; and being loth to hazard his Forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence, he contented himself, with taking in some poor Towns of the Salentinians. At length, his Agents within Tarentum, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was of their Conspiracy, who lay at Rome, as Ambassador, practising with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his Company were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to Rome; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to Hannibal: and acquainting him with the manner of their Plot, made the same composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. Nico and Philomenes, two the chief among them, used much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night, as if they durst not take their pleasure by day,

for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their Game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasions. From the Camp of *Hannibal*, it was about three days journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his Neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order, he took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his Horse and Foot, and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourcore light Horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the ways, and killing any that they met, for fear left he, and his Troop following him, should be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* Horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the Evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the Fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet disclosed; and gave order, that some Companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their Booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night, *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the Town: where, according to the Tokens agreed upon, making a light to show his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the Watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another Gate: and whilstling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Boar, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the Wicket: and forthwith entered two young men, laden with the Boar; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largeness of the Beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Boar-Spear: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the Watch; whom when he had slain, he opened the great Gate. So the Army of *Hannibal*, entering *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Marketplace; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their General, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their Guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheer. All the Town was in an uproar; but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* Trumpet was unskillfully sounded by a *Greek* in the Theatre; which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and shewed what else he thought fit for the present. This done: and having gotten such spoil as was to be

had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addressed himself against the Citadel: hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation, it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravely falling forth, gave charge upon his Men: who fell back of purpose, according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drove him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could run; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadel stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall against the Town, whereunto it was joined by a Cawley. This Cawley *Hannibal* intended to fortify in like sort against the Citadel; to the end, that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few days went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Piece itself, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of Engines, to force the place. But whilst he was busied in his Works, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counsel. Now so far as the *Tarentine* Fleet lay within the Haven, and could not pass forth, whilst the *Romans* held the Citadel: it seemed likely, that the Town would suffer want, being debarred of accomod Trade and Provisions by Sea; whilst the *Roman* Garrison, by help of their Shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their Fleet could get out of the Haven, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town standing in plain ground, and their streets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over Land, and launch them into the Sea without. This he undertook and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garrison was reduced to great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise busied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* Forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereinto the loss at *Cannae* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were fain to take up young Boys, that were under seventeen years of age: and to send Commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of service whereunto they were bound by order of the City, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning to young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campanians* felt great want of Victuals, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloath of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoil, which the *Romans* had in forcing

going years made upon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. He gave them comfortable words; and sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day, against which they should be ready with all manner of Carriages, to store themselves with Victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of Grain, that had been layed up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed came no more than forty Carts or Waggons, with a few Pack-horses; as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the wretchedness of the *Campanians*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them, they were worse than very Beasts, since hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day, against which he made provision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius*, the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needful for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made enquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno*, with part of his Army, was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Waggons, with a great rabble of Carters, and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Camp; so that their good order was kept; all thought being for upon a great Harvest. Hereupon the Consul had his Men prepare themselves, to assault the Enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward to early in the morning, that he was there with the first break of day. By coming so unexpected, he had well-near forced the Camp on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the Fight continued, the less desire had the Romans to lose more of his Men in the Attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to go more leisurely and substantially to work; to send for his fellow-Consul, with the rest of their Army, and to lie between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campanians* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieve them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the Retreat, he saw, that some of his Men had gotten over the Enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore some English-bearers threw their Ensigns over the Rampart, willing their Men to fetch them out, unless they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a loss. Fear of such ignominy, than which none could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure so desperately, that *Fabius*, perceiving the heat of his Men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the Example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were slain above six thousand; and taken, above seven thousand; besides all the store of Victuals, and Carriages, with abundance of Booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pitiful Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of

all the love that he was wont to profess unto their City; and how he had made them, to affect it no less than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words; and sent away two thousand Horse, to keep their grounds from spoil; whilst he himself was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many Towns adjoining, to yield unto him. Among the Holdings of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being over-taken, suffered Death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eastern part of Italy, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the Death of their Holdings; and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the *Roman* Garrison was taken from them, to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their Gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reason; had not some Companies lain in their Town; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Nevertheless they helped themselves by cunning: inviting to their Gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand; against whom whilst they professed their service to *Asinius*, the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight; and recoiling from him, closed up their Gates. A little formality they used, in pretending fear, lest the Enemy should break in together with the *Romans*; in saving *Asinius* himself, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chief Men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they should yield to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this Disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good success, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters; whilst the Consuls, fortifying *Beneventum*, to secure their backs, addressed themselves unto the Siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great Enterprize. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Consul, was slain either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into an Ambush; or by some *Carthaginian* straglers, among whom he fell unawares. His Body, or his Head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to secure the back of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his Death happened in an ill time, to the great hindrance of that business. The *Volturnes*, or *Slaves* lately manumitted, forsook their Ensigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader: so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheless the Consuls went forward with their work: and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gave them an hard welcome; wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Consuls,

fuls, and had the better; inasmuch, that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went several ways: *Fulvius* toward *Cume*; *Claudius* unto *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compass about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a *Centurio*, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The *Fathers* were unwilling in such a time, to reject the Virtue of any good Soldier; how mean soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand: and he himself, being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up to him Voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a stout *Centurio*, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) slain, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a Roman Prætor, with eighteen thousand Men, was in *Apulia*, very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore hastened, to visit him: hoping to deal the better with the main strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those Forces, that lay in the Provinces about under Men of small ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his Men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Sages*, with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battel to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the Trap: whence he made him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers dead behind him.

These two great blows, received one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Nevertheless all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should go substantially forwards with the Siege of *Capua*; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls fate down before the Town: and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue forth of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed up, they sent Messengers to the *Carthaginian*: which round him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which Expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*, upon advertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as brave re-comforted. He bad them consider, how a few days since he had chased the Consuls, out of their Fields; and told them,

that we would presently come thither again, and fend the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned: and hardly could get back into the City, which for *Hannibal* himself, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendship, would hold out a long time: and thereby give him leisure, to do what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those *Eastern* parts of Italy; whilst the Roman Army spent it self in a tedious Siege. Thus he lingered: and thereby gave the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the Election of new Magistrates in *Rome*, whilst he himself pursued hopes, that never found success.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the Siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The Townsmen often failed out: rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* Horse (for their Foot was easily beaten) the Romans used to thrust out some Troops, that should hold them skirmish. In these Exercises the *Campan* usually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who seemed to take foil at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore desired, that some active and courageous young men, should learn to ride behind the Roman Men at Arms; leaping up, and again dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the *Vestels*, having each of them three or four small Darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon the Enemies Horse; whom vanquishing in this kind of service, they much disheartened in the main. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length; not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of unserviceable people on the Walls; which, with a loud noise of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himself to the *Campan*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he drove them at length back into their City. Nevertheless, in pursuing them to their Gates, he received a Wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his Grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his task, by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The Roman Camp was even at point to have been lost: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirty, were either gotten within the Rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slain upon it, fell into the Ditch; and filled it up in such sort, that their bodies served as a bridge unto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this Tumult caused some Fugitives, that could speak *Latin* well, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consul's name, That every one of the Soldiers should shift for himself, and fly betimes unto the next Hills, forasmuch as the Camp was already lost. All would not serve. The fraud was detected: and the Army, having seen there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it self;

so as little hope there was to raise the Siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it self: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well near lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadel, nor City of *Tarentum*, were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himself and his hard fortune, that of so many great Victories he had made no greater use: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, even to set upon *Rome*; and carry to the Walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatened *Capua*. This he thought would be a mean, to draw the Roman Generals; or one of them at least, unto the defence of their own home. If they rose from the Siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they divided their Forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campan*, should well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he despair that the terror of his coming might so astonish the Multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His only fear was, lest the *Campan*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent Letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*: who running as a Fugitive into the Roman Camp, conveyed himself thence over the innermost Trenches into the City. The journey to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good success, resting in the suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his Men, to have in a readiness ten days Victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Army over the River of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the Roman Generals, by some Fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate: which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the Enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out, and fend him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the Forces that at the present were in *Rome*: who since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needful to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their Siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, the choice of his whole Army: with which he hastened toward *Rome*, leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reason of his wound, to continue the Siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, having passed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats; and left nothing that might serve to transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastened he away toward *Rome*; staying no longer in any one place than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down, by the people of *Fregelle*: which as it stopped him a little on his way: so it made him the more grievously to spoil their Lands, whilst the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Messengers of these news came apace, one after another, into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pelted with Women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their Hair, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with Soldiers; it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this Trepidation, there came news, that *Q. Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was hastening to defence of the City. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his return home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the City in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equal power with the Consuls, during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so took they more careful and especial order, against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Town: whence he advanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way under the Walls; viewing the fire thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the Roman Story saith) was driven away, without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many Tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Consuls, to pass through the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colina*, where it was thought that their service might be useful, among broken ways, and Garden-walls lying in the Suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out, that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the Walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so

full of Carrel, and Husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd up; and the poor *Nu-midians* pitifully beaten from the boult-tops, with stones and other Weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate Multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordain'd, *That all which had been Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have Authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following, *Hannibal* pass'd over *Enien*, and presented Battell to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible shower of Rain, caus'd both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their several Camps: and that this happened two days together, the weather breaking up, and clearing, as soon as they were departed alunder. Certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten days provision, could not endure to stay there, until his Victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffer'd him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well-advised men: if they offer'd to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibal's* coming to the City, how great soever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of his Forces, which appear'd less than the first apprehension had form'd them, was much and soon abated. Hereunto it help'd well, that at the same time, the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the Death of the two *Scipios*, was sent out of the Town, and went forth at one Gate, whilst the *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panic* terrors, as they are call'd, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden conflagration; it is a good remedy, to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men have fashion'd it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his Soldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him, that could tell who had sent the As into the Camp. But in this present Example of the *Romans*, appears wial a great magnanimity: whereby they sustai'd their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their Enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their Valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteem'd him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamp'd, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity coming to his ear, incens'd *Hannibal* so much, that he made Port-felle of the *Silver-smiths* Shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own Title to the Houses within the Town, were no whit worse than any *Roman*

Citizen could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he rais'd his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceiv'd; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His Victuals were almost spent: and of those ends that he had propos'd unto himself, this journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could in the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein Wealth was to be gotten, he pass'd like a Tempest over the Countrey; and ran toward the *Eastern Sea* so fast, that he had almost taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was fear'd or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cur'd the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. Fulvius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation a-new, that who-so would yield, before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* Pardon proclaim'd, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken, by some *Nu-midians*: who running, as Fugitives, out of the Town, into the *Roman* Camp, wait'd fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their Packets. But it hapn'd, ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detect'd by an Harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno*, were taken and open'd, concerning a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions wheresoever they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those Victories at *Trubia*, *Therapene*, and *Cornae*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their Enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate Sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein (as afterward he protest'd) he was vanquish'd by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieg'd in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannoniens*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shew'd) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands

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hands of all such counterfeiter Fugitives, as carried such Messengers, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle break the hearts of the *Campani*: so that the Multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, caus'd them to assemble, and consult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators, and such as a few years since had been most forward in joining with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheer, he would drink to them such an Health, as should set them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemy fought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking Poyson. All the rest, hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open: whereat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entering, disarm'd the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and command'd all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid Irons upon them all: and commanding them to tell what store of Gold and Silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody: some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general Multitude; they were refer'd unto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly us'd by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of Death, by the Wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campani*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his Daughter in Marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more haughty in taking vengeance: for fear, left upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought becomful to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the pains, to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caus'd all the *Campan* Prisoners to suffer Death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he smuck off their heads.

This terrible Example of Vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campani*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Astellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatinens*, people of the *Campani*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear, and want of ability to resist. They were therefore us'd with the like rigor, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire to many houses, that a great part of the City was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argu'd that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaim'd unto any Slave, and other sufficient reward unto any Freeman, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campani*, being detect'd by a Slave

of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred Marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incens'd against this wretched people, held them in a manner as Prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caus'd them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolv'd in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffer'd before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an Harlot) were found not guilty of the late Rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their Wives and Children, sold for Slaves; and their Goods confiscat'd; others laid in Prison, and refer'd to further deliberation: but the generality of them, command'd to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day; and confin'd unto several places, as best lik'd the angry Victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffer'd to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious fire: but no Corporation, or form of polity, was allowed to be therein: only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent, to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important; hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his Oil being far spent; and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. X V.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in Sardinia, and Sicil, held War against the Romans in those Islands; and were overcome.

W Hilst things pass'd thus in *Italy*, the Com-motions rais'd in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end, by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* Rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in Arms, ere the *Roman* Forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harfecor*, with his Son *Hufwe*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian*, that promis'd the assistance of his Countrey. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this Enterprize so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better, if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would have suffic'd, if they could have hindr'd the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harfecor*, with his followers, might well enough have serv'd to drive out *Q. Mutius*, the Prætor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own Body, than in his Train. But whilst they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous: they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this Enterprize was such, as may seem to have discourag'd them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Afdrubal*, furnam'd the bold, with a competent Fleet and Army; assist'd in this Expedition by *Hanno*, the Author of the Rebellion, and by

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Merge, a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and near *Kinfaun* to *Hannibal*: it fo fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was caft upon the *Baleares*; fo beaten, and in fuch evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even fpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquifhed, ere thefe their friends could arrive to fuccour them.

Titus Manlius was fent from *Rome* with two and twenty thoufand Foot, and twelve hundred Horfe, to fettle the eftate of that Ifland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Confulfhip. It was a laudable cuftom of the *Romans*, to prefeve and uphold in their feveral Provinces, the greatnefs and reputation of thofe men, and their families, by whom each Province had been firft fubdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatfoever accident required the affiftance of a Patron: the firft Conqueror, and his Race after him, were the moft ready and beft approved means, to procure the benefit of the people fubdued. Herby the *Romans* held very free intelligence in every Province, and had always in readinefs fit men to reclaim their Subjects, if they fell into any fuch diforder, as would otherwife have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harfcoras* fo ftrong in Field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thoufand, whereof we have fpeakn before: He landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallus*: where mooring his Ships, he paffed up into the Countrey, and fought out the Enemy. *Hyofius*, the Son of *Harfcoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their fide. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battel to the *Romans* at his own difcretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Soldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and left in one day about thirty thoufand of his followers. *Hyofius* himfelf, with the reft of his broken Troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Ifland: whither *Manlius* purfued them. Very foon after this defeat came *Afdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to win all *Sardinia*, in fuch halfe as he might have done, if the Tempeft had not hindered his Voyage; yet foon enough, and ftrong enough to live the Town of *Cornus*, and to put a new fpirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himfelf back to *Calaris*: where he had not fayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (fuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his affiftance; their Countrey being wafted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refufed to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if he had fayed a little longer, *Afdrubal* would have fought him out with fome blemifh to his Reputation. But the fame of *Afdrubal* and his Company, appears to have been greater than were their ftrengh. For after fome trill made of them in a few skirmifhes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battel: wherein he flew twelve thoufand of the Enemies; and rook of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thoufand. Four hours the Battel lafted: and Victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iflanders; whole courages had been broken in

their unprosperous fight not many days before. The Death of young *Hyofius*, and of his Father *Harfcoras*, that flew himfelf for grief, together with the Captivity of *Afdrubal* himfelf, with *Mago* and *Hanno*, the *Carthaginians*; made the Victory the more famous. The vanquifhed Army fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in fhort fpace won the Town. All other Cities of the Ifle that had rebelled, followed the Example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Romans*: who impofing upon them fuch increafe of tribute, or other punifhment, as beft forted with the nature of their feveral offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome*; leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The War in *Siell* was of greater length, and every way more burdenfome to *Rome*: as alfo the Victory brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only fafers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the City and Dominion of *Syracufe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the Battel of *Canne*, the old King of *Syracufe* died: who had continued long a ftidfaft friend unto the *Romans*; and greatly relieved them in this prefent War. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus*, his Grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo*, his Son, that fhould have been his Heir, being dead before. To this young King his Succellor, *Hiero* appointed Fifteen Tutors; of which the principal were *Andromodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themifius*; who had married his Daughters, or the Daughters of *Gelo*. The reft were fuch, as he judged moft likely to prefeve the Kingdom, by the fame art, whereby himfelf had gotten, and fo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andromodorus*, waxing weary of fo many Coadjutors, began to commend the fufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and faid, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caufed others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to pafs in a fort as he defired. For *Hieronymus*, laying afide all care of government, gave himfelf wholly over to his pleafures: or if he had any regard of his Royal Dignity, it was only in matter of exterior fhew, as wearing a Diadem with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed Guard. Herby he offended the Eyes of his People, that had never feen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo*, his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, fuitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that, in courfe of life, he would revive the Memory of Tyrans dead long fince, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, luftful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: fo that fuch of his late Tutors as could efcape him by flight, were glad to live in banifhment: the reft, being moft of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his difpleafure, that feemed worfe than Death it felf. Only *Andromodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thrafio*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counfellors, but not of his Cabinet. Thefe, howfoever they agreed in other points, were at fome diftention about that main point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleafures, which was fet on change: but *Thrafio*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very ear-

earnelt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilt as yet it remained fomewhat doubtful, which way the King would incline; a Conpiracy againft his Perfon, was detected by a Groom of his; to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would fpeak any thing: but yielding (as it feemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture; he confeffed, that he had been fet on by *Thrafio*; whom he appeached of the Treafon, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All thefe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conpirators, walked boldly in the ftreets, and never fhunk for the matter: affuring themfelves, that the reftitution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all efaped, and foon after found means to execute their purpofe. The King himfelf, when *Thrafio* was taken out of the way, quickly refolved upon fiding with the *Carthaginians*; where-to he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firft they grow Mafters of themfelves, love to feem wifer than their Fathers, by taking different courfes. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceffity, had of late been fuch, as might have been termed exceffive, were it not in regard of his Providence; wherein he took order for his own eftate, that depended upon them. But the young Nephew, taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things prefent; and the weaknefs of *Rome*; the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much Money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to fhoulder up a falling houfe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entered into good correfpondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but grandchildren of a banifhed *Syracufian*. Thefe grew into fuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they lifted. So that when *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracufe*; his Meffengers were difmiffed with an open fcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him, the order of the Fight at *Canne*: that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himfelf: faying, That he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; fo wonderful was the Victory as they reported it. Having thus difmiffed the *Romans*, he fent Embaffadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a League: with condition, that a great part of the Ifland fhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he fhould reign over all *Siell*; and the *Carthaginians* reft fatisfied, with what they could get in *Italy*. At thefe doings *Ap. Claudius* did not greatly ftir: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that he behoved not the *Romans*, to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by neceffity; and partly (as may feem) for that the reputation, both of himfelf, and of his City, had received fuch blemifh, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much difcountenanced him when he came into *Siell*, and forbad him to look big. The Money that *Hiero* had beftowed upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceffity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him: it being refufed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their prefent fortune would allow. But inftead of re-

turning the Money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noifed abroad that he fhould do: the War againft *Philip*, King of *Macedon* (whereof we have fpeakn before) compelled the *Romans* to lay afide their vain glory, and fend word after him, that he fhould confider that Money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose Voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwife wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family, is taxed with pride) his Errand was changed, from a glorious attestation of the *Roman* Magnanimity; into fuch a pitiful tune of thanksgiving, as muft needs have bred sorrow and commiseration, in fo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paffime and fcorn, in *Hieronymus*, the new King.

But whilt *Hieronymus* was more defirous of War, than well relolved how to begin it: his own Death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the ftate of *Syracufe*; which thereby might have profpered more than ever, had it been wifely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we fpeak before, were fent about the Countrey with two thoufand men, to follicit the Towns, and perfwade them to fhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himfelf, with an Army of fifteen thoufand Horfe and Foot, went to *Leontium*, a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Ifland fall to him in all halfe, and accept him for Sovereign. There the Conpirators took him on the fudden, as he was paffing through a narrow ftreet; and rufting between him and his Guard, ftruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the found of that word fo joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the Guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Mafters Death. Yet for fear of the worft, a great largels was promifed unto the Soldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought fo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army, as in detestation of his bad life, fuffered his Carcals to lie unburied. Thefe news ran quickly to *Syracufe*: whither fome of the Conpirators, taking the Kings Horfe, pofted away, to fignifie all that had paffed; to ftir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andromodorus*, if he, or his fellows, would make offer to ufurp a Tyranny. The *Syracufians* hereupon prefently took Arms, and made themfelves Mafters of their own City. *Andromodorus* on the other fide fortified the Palace, and the Ifland; being yet uncertain what to do; between defire of making himfelf a Sovereign Lord, and fear of fuffering punifhment, as a Tyrant, if his Enterprife mifcarried. His Wife *Demarata*, that was the Daughter of *Hiero*, cherifhed him in his hopes: putting him in mind of that well known proverb, which *Dionyfius* had ufed: That a Tyrant fhould keep his place, till he were hated out of it by the people, and not ride away from it on Horfe-back. But fears, and better counfel prevailed fo far, that *Andromodorus*, having fleep upon the matter, difarmed his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunities. The next day he came forth, and made a fpeech unto the People: telling them, That he was glad to fee, how prudently they behaved themfelves in fo great a change; that he had flood in fear, left they would not have contained themfelves within bounds of difcretion; but rather have fought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that

since

since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ravish their liberty perforce, but to wad it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and rendered up the charge, committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Master, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (as in former times) to govern the City; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But such was his desire of Sovereignty; and so vehement were the indignations of his Wife; that shortly he began to practice with *Hippocrates*, *Epicles*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries: hoping to make himself strong, by their help: that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, had been with the *Syracusan* Prætors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to instructions of their Captain, had done him, whilst he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to return home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed: and with a Convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Lori*. This was easily granted; both for that the *Syracusan* Magistrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesy; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good Soldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made them: they were more mindful of the business, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult: especially of the *Roman* Fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusans* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his own, and of his Wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed it to all the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the evil which they had done, whilst *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the Tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the Daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were accessory to this dangerous Treason: and that the unquiet Spirits of these Women, would never cease to work, until they had recovered those Royal Ornaments, and Sovereign Power, whereof their Family was now dispossessed. These Daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were also condemned to die: and Executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia*, had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence: but *Heraclea*, the Daughter of *Hiero*, and Wife of *Scippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered together with her two young Daughters, in the hasty Execution of this rash judgment. Her Husband, *Scippus*, was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Ambassador to King *Pharao*, &c. he durst not return home, but stayed in *Ægypt*, as a banished man.

This consideration, when it was too late, together with some other pitiful accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cried out upon the authors of so foul a Butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate, and knowing no otherwise how to satisfy their anger; they called for an Election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slain: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the Election were present a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of Soldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicles*, Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the less that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Prætors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracusans* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vain, and seeing that the People stood in fear of *Sp. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old League of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practice. The *Leontines* had some need of a Garrison: and to them was sent *Hippocrates*, the Prætor; attended by such Fugitives, and mercenary Soldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of Hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, first word unto the *Syracusans*, that they had already broken the League: and that the Peace would never be kept sincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicles*, fearing to sustain the blame of his Brother's proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the War, than to excuse any breach of peace, went himself unto the *Leontines*, whom he persuaded to rebel against the *Syracusans*. For he said, that since they had all of late served one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death as well as the *Syracusans*; yea, or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented, to enjoy the freedom purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should bear Dominion over those that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that such their arrogance should be checked sometimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one Article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusans*. For it was agreed, That all which had been subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be Vassals unto the State of *Syracuse*. Against this Article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicles* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their Fathers had lost not many Ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been subdued by the same hand, which took liberty from the *Syracusans*. But seeing they had long since yielded unto *Syracuse*, and been subject unto that

that City, by what form soever it was governed; this claim of liberty was rather feasible than just. Nevertheless the motion of *Epicles* was highly approved: insomuch that when Messengers came soon after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to *Lori*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusans*, to make any bargains with them, either to *Lori*, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer, was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusans*: who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines*, their Rebels; with condition that when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forthwith took the business in hand; which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all, save the Castle, whereto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the Town of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains used after Victory; to seek out the fugitive *Roman* Slaves and Renegades, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Soldiers, he took to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slain Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Town to sack. These news met the *Syracusan* Army upon the way, as it was going to join with *Marcellus*, who had ended his business before. About Eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had been sent forth of *Syracuse*, under *Sofis* and *Dimonnes*, two of the Prætors, to serve against the *Leontines*, and other Rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Country: but the Soldiers that followed them, had those Diseases, with which all Mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-Soldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had been so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best, to turn their unequiet thoughts another way, and set them a-work in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So toward *Herbesus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischief, devising what further harm they might do, but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no less well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little less desperate than their present case. They infused forth of *Herbesus* unarmed, with Olive-branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the Vanguard, that had been well used by *Hieronymus*; and some of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*; who had taken them Prisoners in the *Italian* War, and lovingly dismissed them. These *Creteans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bad them be of good cheer; saying, that no man

should do them harm, as long as they could use their Weapons. Herewithal the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident ran swiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by Severity; which would not serve. For when they commanded these two Traitors to be laid in Irons; the Exclamation was so violent against them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what course to take, unto *Megara*; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* devised a trick, whereby to help himself, and better the uncertain case wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trusty *Creteans*; directed (as they made them) from the *Syracusan* Prætors, to *Marcellus*. The Contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the Sword among the *Leontines*: but that he farther behaved him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed; the uproar was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow-Prætor, were glad to forsake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracusans* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Soldiers, if the two Artificers of the Sedition had not saved their lives, rather to keep them as Plagues, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They persuaded also a mischievous Knave that had served among the *Leontines*, to justify the bruit of *Marcellus* his cruelty; and to carry home the news to *Syracuse*, as an Eye-witness. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with causeless indignation. In good time (said some) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would have dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilst they were thus discoursing, and devising how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates*, with his Army, came to the Gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unless for want of help, they would be betrayed to their Enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the Soldiers to force a Gate, was no whit greater than the headstrong fury of those within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entered, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the Sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers until night. The next day he went openly to work; and after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty to all Slaves and Prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himself and his brother Prætors, in Tide, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as Enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and an half of the Town, sent before him, some to require a parley. These were entertained without the Walls, by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were

were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuzans*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Town, might be suffered to return and enjoy their own; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, That if their Errand had been to him, he could have told what to say to them: but since it was directed unto others, they should do well to return, when those to whom they were sent, had the Government in their hands. As for the War which they threatened, he told them, they should find by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse*, was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he sent them gone, and returned back into the City. Immediately began the Siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easy winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of Walls, as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kind of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning, but did his best both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his labour was disappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill success of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the virtue of the Defendants, or any strength of the City, that bred such despair of hasty Victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes*, the noble Mathematician; who at the request of *Hiero*, the late King, that was his Kinsman, had framed such Engines of War, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Cannon, or any instruments of Gun-powder, had they in that Age been known. This *Archimedes* discouraging once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole Earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other Earth, or place of fire footing, whereon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works; which made the King intreat him to convert his study unto things of use, that might preserve the City from danger of Enemies. To such Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the Liberal Sciences, to submit learned Propositions unto the workmanship, and gain of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Author; who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed unto him to profane their Science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly task a man for wile as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published: and being once made known, to be undervalued, as falling within compass of the meanest wit, and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable Example of *Columbus* his discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely Example, we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon

our *English Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade, will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in Natural Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the less, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being devised, and bettered, by great Scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could flubber things easily over, and feed their Workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchemists, and all others, that have, or would seem to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kind of injustice, that the long Travels of an understanding Brain, beside the loss of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth, or yield less benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his Enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envy, have in it any thing allowable and natural, as have Anger, Fear, and other the like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serveth against those which would usurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Nevertheless if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of Mankind, after the example of him that *suffereth his Sun to shine upon the just and unjust*: it will appear more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the World, those good things that lie buried in their own bosoms. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare *Artem*, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: better it were that such a Jewel remain close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracuzans* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his own direction, that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved, even unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especial benefit unto his Country. For to enrich a Mechanical Trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certain of his *Quinquere* Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the Wall. Against these, *Archimedes* had sundry devices; of which any one sort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He took heavy stones and long pieces of Timber, like unto the Yards of Ships; which brake force of the Gallies by their force and weight. These

afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the Walls, lay open to a continual Volley of Shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the Prow, and hoisted up; shaking out all the water; and afterward falling down into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the air; where turning round a while, they were broken against the Walls, or cast upon the Rocks; and all of them were so beaten, that they durst never come to any second assault. In like sort was the Land-Army handled: Stones and Timber, falling upon it like Hail; did not only overwhelm the Men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day, get near unto the Walls; they should be (as it were) under the point blank, and receive no hurt by their terrible Instruments; which were wound up hard, to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives. For the shot came down right upon them: and beating them from all parts of the Wall, made a great slaughter of all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to stay by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of Timber, or a Ropes end, upon the Walls, they ran away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his Men, that fear; against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had stood upon the Wall, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight; being erected in the streets behind the Walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of Victuals, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate piece of work. For the Enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them; were not likely to soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be starved out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himileo*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*; and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make War upon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. He took many Towns; and many, that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus*, with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbessus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force, and sacked it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracuzans*; or else be-

cause *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His especial desire was to have saved *Agrippinus*; whether he came too late; for *Himileo* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian*, that was too strong for him. The circumstance that he used, in regard of *Himileo*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his Brother, had lately lifted out of the City, with ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; intending to join his Forces with *Himileo*. *Marcellus* tell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easy Victory, against the dispersed, and half unarmed *Syracuzans*. The Reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from Rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himileo*, joining with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure; and presented Battle to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Romans* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great Fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and virtual Fleet into the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed to again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himileo*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Romans*; and flew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus* leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the Siege, went unto *Leontium*; where he lay intensive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring, he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*; or to turn all his Forces to besieging *Agrippinus*, against *Himileo* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his Reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevail: and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an Enterprize, that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before, and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfil his desire. Especially he stayed to prevail by Treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the *Syracusan* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easy for them to do; because the Town would hearken to no parley. At length a Slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: where the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a Fish-boat that passed forth in the night. But when they were grown to the number of Fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance: all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the mean while, one *Damaspippus*, a *Lacedaemonian*, that had been sent out of the

Town, as an Ambassador to Philip, King of Macedonia, was fallen into the hands of Marcellus. Epicles was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the Walls. There one of the Romans looking upon the Wall, and wanting the more commendable art of Geometry, fell to numbering the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, judged it less than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted Marcellus: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that Ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force against Archimedes, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great Fleet was to be held unto Diana, which was to last three days: and that, because other good cheer was not so plentiful within the City, as in former times, Epicles, to gratify the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunity could not be withheld. Wherefore Marcellus, in the dead of the festival night, came unto the Walls, which he took by *Scala*. Syracuse was divided into four parts (or five, if Epicles were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore Marcellus had gotten some pieces, he had the commodity of a better and safe lodging, with good store of booty; and the better opportunity than before, to deal with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina*, and the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of Marcellus, that began to hearken unto composition; as being much terrified by the loss of those parts, which the Romans had taken and carried. As for the Weapons of Archimedes, little harm, or none they did, unto those that were sheltered under strong houses: although it may seem, that the inner Walls were not altogether unfortified of his help; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The Roman Fugitives, and Renegades, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the City; being sure to be rewarded with a cruel death, if Marcellus could prevail. Hippocrates and Himilco, were daily expected; and Bomilcar was sent away to Carthage, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere Hippocrates and Himilco came: who fell upon the old Camp of the Romans, whilst Epicles sallied out of *Acradina*, upon Marcellus. But the Romans made such defence in each part, that the assailants were repelled. Nevertheless, they continued to beset Marcellus: whom they held in a manner as freightly besieged, as he himself did besiege the Town. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and caused the rest to dislodge. The Romans were (though somewhat less) afflicted with the same pestilence, inasmuch that Bomilcar did put the City of Carthage in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great Forces were sent thither. This Bomilcar wanted no desire to do his Country service: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong Fleet: where he stayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the Winds did better serve the Enemy than him. Thither sailed Epicles out of Syracuse: to acquaint him with the necessities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the Roman Fleet, that

was ready for him, he stood off into the deep; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding Sicily farewell. Then durst not Epicles return into Syracuse, but went to *Agirgentum*: where he expected himself, with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The Sicilian Souldiers, that remained alive of Hippocrates his Army, lay as near as they could safely, unto Marcellus; and some of them in a strong Town three Miles off. These had done what good they could to Syracuse, by doing what hurt they could unto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the State of Sicily was given as desolate by the Carthaginians: they sent Embassadors to treat of Peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town: Hercuto Marcellus willingly gave ear: for he had stayed there long enough; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the Carthaginians might come thither strong again. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers, that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws, and belonging unto the Kings. Herupon they, to whom Epicles had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors chosen; and the Gates even ready to be opened unto Marcellus: when suddenly the Roman Fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate, persuaded the other Mercenary Souldiers, that the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the Romans. Wherefore they presently took Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prætors; whom they slew; and made Election of six Captains that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all, to the Souldiers; excepting only the Fugitives. The Treaty therefore was again set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion; which yet was delayed, either by some fear of the Citizens, that had seen (as they thought) proof of the Roman avarice in the sack of Epicles, Tyche, and Neapolis, the parts already taken; or by some desire of Marcellus to get the Town by force, that he might use the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject unto Rome. Mericus, a Spaniard, was one of the six Captains, that had been chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as usually is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other respects. With this Captain, Marcellus dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes; that went in company with the Roman Embassadors, daily passing too and fro. This crafty Agent persuaded Mericus, that the Romans had already gotten all Spain: and that if ever he purposed to make his own fortune good, either at home in Spain, or any where else; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himself to the will of the Roman General. By such hopes the Spanish Captain was easily won: and sent forth his own Brother among the Syracusan Embassadors, to ratify the Covenant with Marcellus.

This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the Syracusans, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to Rome. For the benefits of Hero to the Romans had been such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruin of his Country: much less, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister unto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poor

poor Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time; and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the Death of Hieronymus; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicles: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of Rome. They had lately slain many the principal of Epicles his followers; and many of themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascality, and some ill advised persons, joined with the Souldiers in hatred of the Romans; by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman General, in a Treaty of peace held with the Syracusans, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against Marcellus, at his return home. But the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the Syracusans with gentle words, and promises of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many ways important. Nevertheless, if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs, wherewith Syracuse was obnoxious, both by evil Neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed: we may truly affirm, that it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto Rome. For thereby it was not only secured against all foreign Enemies, Domestical Conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molested by the Disease of ambition; wherewith Marcellus his Dislike of ambition was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable; unless we should approve the answer of that Thief, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from a sick man, said, He never knewes drinking.

By the Treason of Mericus, the Roman Army was let into possession of all Syracuse: wherein, the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could have been hoped for, if they had taken Carthage it self; that maintained War by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith Syracuse was marvelously adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had eloped from Hippocrates and Epicles, into the Roman Camp. Among other pitiful accidents, the Death of Archimedes, was greatly lamented, even by Marcellus himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing Figures, that he hearkened not to the noise and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. Marcellus took heavily the Death of him; and caused his Body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tomb (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an Inscription of the proportion between them;

which he first found out. An Invention of so little use; as this may seem, pleased that great Artificer better, than the devising of all those Engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is between the judgment of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would think the Money lost, that had been spent upon a Son, whose Studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of Syracuse, all the Towns in Sicily yielded unto the Romans; except Agirgentum, and a few places thereabout. At Agirgentum lay Epicles, with one Hanno, a Carthaginian, and Mirmes, an African, that was lately sent from Hannibal. This Mirmes, by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten Carthaginian side; and withal made his own name great. By his persuasions, Hanno and Epicles adventured to meet Marcellus without the Town; and not to have themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the Romans, where they lay encamped; and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in Epicles and Hanno: especially in Hanno, that having been lately sent from Carthage, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by Hannibal; in that he had sent unto him this Mirmes, to be his Companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himself.

The indignity seemed the greater, when Mirmes, being to step aside unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the Numidians; advised (as directing Hanno and Epicles) not to meddle with the Enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would Hanno fight: and offered battle unto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the Roman Army was left behind in Syracuse, as need required: which made the Carthaginians the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howsoever the people of Carthage would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth, and ability, in matter of War. The Numidians, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains; and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vain-glorious Envy of Hanno carried him unto the Fight, upon a foolish desire to get Victory, without the help of Mirmes, their Countryman. Wherefore they sent unto the Roman General, and bad him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his Enemies that day; but only look on, and see the proud Carthaginians well beaten, by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For Marcellus finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set upon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into Agirgentum.

If Hanno could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not have hazarded a battle without need; the Romans would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their Sicilian War. For Marcellus, was shortly after to leave the Province; and soon upon his departure, there landed in the Island a supply of Eight thousand Foot, and three thousand Numidian Horse, that were sent from Carthage. The fame of this

new Army drew many of the *Stilicians* into Rebellion. The Roman Army, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannae*, took it very heartily, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home, and not suffered to return back to Rome with their General. *Mutinus* had pacified his Countrymen the *Numidians*; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hannibal*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been intire. *M. Cornelius*, the Roman Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacify his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland Towns that had rebelled; although he could not hinder *Mutinus* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindered the Country from revolting unto *Mutinus*. Above three score Towns, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which, *Agiruntum* was the principal; and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutinus* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hannibal*, instead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envy, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instructions from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*; not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibals*, to have share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: he took away from *Mutinus* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spiteful dealing, occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Countryman, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong, and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, the Roman Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutinus* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities: but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*; he thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and to forsake that City, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countrymen had lately done, content himself to see his Adversaries reap the bitter fruits of their own malicious over-weening: and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conspired against them, to deliver up *Agiruntum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advices. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutinus* had undertaken. For he, with his *Numidians*, did forcibly seize upon a gate; whereas they let in some Roman Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he

had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacify the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutinus*, forthwith betook himself to flight: and saving himself, with *Epistides*, in a small Bark, set sail for *Africa*; leaving all his Army and adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Masters of the whole Island.

Levinus, the Consul, having taken *Agiruntum*, did sharp execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for Slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to Rome the Money that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein Rome stood in no less necessity of gold than of steel: which may have been the reason, why *Levinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agiruntines*. Nevertheless, the fame of such severity, bred a terror among all the Dependents of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and six only staid to be won by force. These things done, *Levinus* returned home to Rome; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agiruntum*; that were a Company of Our-laws, Bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoil of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their occupation against the *Bruttians*, a villainish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutinus*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of Rome: where he lived in good account; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very special service. So by this Enterprize of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* waited much of their Forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this War, the entire possession of this Island; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the War passed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great Victory at Metaurus.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to Rome: where, for his good services done in the Island of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the War, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He stayed not long in Rome, before he was again chosen Consul, together with *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, who succeeded him in the government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making War against King *Philip* in Greece. Great complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusanians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alleging their great friendship to the people of Rome, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater Enemies to Rome, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned up the labours and dangers whereunto

whereunto they had put him: willing them to be contented themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to allege, the Senate made such an end of the Controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Commonwealth: blaming the too much rigor of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusanians* free from their subjection; but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls, *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, were appointed to make War, as their loss should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicily*. The Ille of *Sicily* fell unto *Marcellus*, which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague, to the end that the *Syracusanians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem himself to be afraid, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatched, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family; to the great benefit of his Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicily*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with pressing of Soldiers to the War; and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services; especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there Money enough in the Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who, in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the People murmured; and were ready to fall into sedition, had not the Consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the Multitude had already endured so much, as well it could undergo; and somewhat more than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintain the War against the *Carthaginians*, or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a strong Fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion, That, since the common Treasury was so empty, the People must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no persuasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, likeat was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the Money that he had; and that no Senator should keep any vessel of Gold, or Plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowl, wherewith to make their offerings unto the Gods: as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his Wife and Children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of Rome. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be

holpen, every one was contented that his private Estate should run the same fortune with the Commonwealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his prosper subistence. This Magnanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet; *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*; and *Levinus* toward *Sicily*. This Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakened, by the loss of *Capua*: which gave them cause to look unto themselves; as if in his help there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Towns that he suspected, and thereby to diminish his Army, that he should not be able to keep the Field: or else he must leave them to their own fidelity; which now began to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked; and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himself; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* Horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loss than the Town it self. *Blasius*, the author of this Rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect, without getting the consent of one *Dafnus*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafnus* in private; and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convicted, and charged of Treason, he stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault; that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of meer Malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to press his adversary anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reasons, that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Prefently after this, the Consul took by force, *Maronea* and *Miles*; Towns of the *Samnitians*; wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal's* men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once: but was fain to catch advantages where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown stronger in the field than he. The best way, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, to follow business of far less importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had been so long promised and expected. Thus they had done in better season, Rome it self might have been stricken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannae*. But since that which is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himself to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masimilla* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set sail for Spain: whether when

when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*; of which there had been so long talk. These news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrify the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best: the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother: *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonia*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long, since, near unto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great Marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonia* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As soon as he came, he offered battle to the *Roman* Prætor: who accepted it with more haste than good speed. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* Horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himself, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Centurions*, were lost: of the common Soldiers that were slain, the number is uncertain; some reporting seven, others thirteen thousand. The Town of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the Multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thuriens* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheer; for that he would shortly abate the Enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* army: and overtaking him at *Nimfro*, in the Country of the *Lucani*, fought with him a battle: which beginning at Nine of the Clock in the morning, lasted until night; and ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain Victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*: whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes: but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and fought to bring the Enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battle, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could win, like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Collegue, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the Command of those Legions that served under him the year before) to press the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might have no leisure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himself, to deal with *Hannibal* in open Field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battle, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight; but thought it enough to entertain his Enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong until the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brook the indignity of being daily brav'd. He therefore had his Men to be lusty, and to beat soundly this hotheaded *Roman* Captain, that would never suffer them to be at quies; until they once had cooled

well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battle: wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took six Ensigns, and flew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men as Peasants, and base Cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did so vex them, that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the Enemy, than such displeasure of their General; they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies hither, that had lost their Ensigns the day before, had them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; since all other Motives continued the same, and his Men had been heartened by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up with desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gave a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary, by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope: and the Enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battle *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so dear a rate, that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt the second night. For it eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battle, the difference was no greater, than even to recompense the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius*, the Consul, hereby got leisure to follow his business at *Tarentum*, without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius*, the other Consul, about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucani*, and *Vulcentis*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their Errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busie doers in the Rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* Thieves, which *Levinus* had lately brought from *Agatena*, was then also for on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serve to dived *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius, the Consul, having taken *Manduria*, a Town of the *Salernitan*, late taken before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needful to carry it, either by assault, or long Siege. Of the Garrisons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* Wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof, he gave notice by Letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was, and her brother made the Consul acquainted with these news: and said, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Mistress, to do what he would have him. The Consul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter,

matter, willed his Souldier to convey himself into the Town as a Fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own persuasions, partly by the flattering entreaty of his Sister: willed him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept Watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night-time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City: especially about those parts of the Wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself, with the choice of his Men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate; whereas the Army was let in. The *Tarentines*, and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as it hapneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democritus*, and *Philomenus*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage, in dying against the *Romans*. *Carbalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the Sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians* was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force, and not by Treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Inageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols, that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in rich habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry Gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to besake them to a Hill: which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first onrunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this: *The Romans have also their Hannibals*; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few days together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bewought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them

all offences past. These Letters were sent by two young men of the same City: who did their Errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made ready his Ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the Plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the famous Wolfingers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their Wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they lost a Company of such luck fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, Twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Came*, and those unhappy Companies, that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a fort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of Men, and impositions of Money: in every of which years, they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear, or rather the best which they could hope, was, to fall into the hands of the Enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently find home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never did return. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had molt compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of Twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans*, their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, so long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Towns make such declarations, and profess their disability of giving any farther help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to return home, and bring a better answer; forasmuch as this, was none other than Treason: to such as this, was none other than Treason: they had them to consider, that their people were not *Campanians*, or *Tarentines*, but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve: the Embassadors continuing to profess, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither Men, nor Money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other Eighteen Colonies did not imitate these Twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration

Nero: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livy* would not endure to hear of this. He said, it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a diftinct man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases, he resisted their desires: till by persuasions, and Examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himself to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such unthankfulness, to well-deferving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous Multitude. Neither was the late Example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to Prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the service of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were chosen Consuls. *Adrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only to have the ways of the *Alpes* thawed by warm weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* used at this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of these which they had, four served in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*; the rest were so disposed, in several parts of *Italy*, where he needed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution, and would not be tied to the punctual observance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not stir out of *Rome*, against so mighty a power as followed *Adrubal*; until he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serve under *Lucius Porcius*, a Prætor of that year, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an addition to the Forces of *Livius*; to whom the War against *Adrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salernitanæ*, near unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless the Consuls, by the especial instance of *Livy*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own discretion. For news came, that *Adrubal* was already passing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrey about *Genoa*, with their Neighbour people, were in readiness to join with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than he safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the City, each his several way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Pau-*

lus, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispart, and win the Victory betwixt; but rather they stood in fear, left all diligence, wisdom, and valour, should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not been slain; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst, the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith join, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happiness than could be expected, that each of them should return home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to find. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head ever since the battle of *Cannæ*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himself. For, whereas in that long and dangerous March, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpassable; *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Army: this *Adrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the *Pyrenees*, at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations, and the like, of which, fear presented many unto them; caused it: People of *Rome*, to wait upon their Consuls out of the Town; like a pensive Train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, upon whom in the like fort they had given attendance the last year, but saw neither of them return alive, from a less dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accustomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstain from giving, or taking battle, until he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory; or by seeing the overthrow of his own unjust Citizens, satisfy himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest, revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Adrubal* received in *Spain*, by *Scipio*, a little before he took his journey into *Italy*; such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livy*. Yet I think it not amiss to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his history, concerning that accident. *Adrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*, by reason of those Captains that were sent from the City of *Carthage*, to join with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, such far forth Traitors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before that good of their Commonwealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his counsels undertaken, it cannot be known: since of those books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining, only a few broken pieces. But by the spiteful dealing of *Hanno*, in *Sicily*, with *Adriaticus*, a better man of War than himself, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Island; we may conceive, that against the brother of *Hannibal*, it was thought needful, by these mischievous Partisans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more

more earnest Malice. Nevertheless *Adrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities as *Mutines* could not long digest. His Journey into *Italy* being resolved upon; he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*; and drove him out of his Camp, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could, or would, come to his assistance. The overthrow seems not to have been so great, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay open to chole that. Rather it appears, that *Adrubal* dealt like a provident man: and seeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, sent away all his Money, with his Elephants before him: but staid behind himself to sustain the *Romans* a while, until his Carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken Troops together; and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him; and so passed over *Tages*. Then taking unto him the Forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenees*: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Adrubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have stopped him on his journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Adrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the Guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the *Pyrenees* (as the defence of hard passages commonly fails to no good effect) he was not clear in his Voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his Money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any fort of resistance made; but he, and his Army, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to Winter in their Countrey, whilst that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountains likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his journey over the *Alpes*, were easily won to take part with *Adrubal*, when he travelled through their Countrey. For these poor men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perverted, that it was his purpose to rob them of their Cattel, and to make spoil of that little Wealth, which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate Rocks. But now in process of time they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mighty Cities, far disjoynted asunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea: and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way; they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection, upon greater cause, was afterwards found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joined with *Adrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Countrey. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Porcius*, with his two Legions: of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Adrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the Enterprize: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leisure, to make ready for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Adrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the *Alpes*,

was about to leave his winning Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to fit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero, the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battle to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious March from the borders of the *Salernitanæ*, and *Æquians*, into the Countrey of the *Brutians*, there to increase his Forces; which were otherwise too weak for the journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unprofitably with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him; and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed again to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Ausidus*, to *Cannus*; where he far down, not far from the place in which he had obtained his most memorable Victory. There also did *Nero* sit down by him; and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well, that his brother might, with little impediment, overcome the way to *Cannus*: where if he could once again deal with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* Forces together, he had reason to hope for such another Victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrey. If this had so fallen out, *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have needed to with any second Victory, in the naked Champions about *Cannæ*; if such an Army, as this which *Adrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did bear him out of *Italy*; which else no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their succour; he was advertised of *Adrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Adrubal* had left the Siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livy* the Consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joynted as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Adrubal* brought with him: it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avoid, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of so strong a War at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Associates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planers: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effect. It seemed apparent, that his Collague was una-

ble to stay the progress of *Afrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readiness, that could do service in such a needful case; excepting those that were already employed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himself to his own charge, which was the War against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more necessity required; and to carry part of his Forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Commonwealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust with that which was of the less importance. Six thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making them, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow-Consul. His Messengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to pass, that they should be ready to meet him, with Victuals, and all other necessities for his Army. *Livius*, the other Consul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Afrubal* within half a mile of him. In six days *Nero* had finished his journey thither; and when he drew near, sent Messengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livy* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert until dark night, and then enter secretly into the Camp: left the Enemy, perceiving this access of strength, should accordingly frame his counsels. This was done: and a token given, that the *Centurions*, Captains, and all Soldiers, as well Horse as Foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their own sort. Their Company was somewhat increased by Volunteers that joined with them on the way. Nevertheless, it was not needful, that the Quarter which received them, should be enlarged, since they had brought with them nothing but their Arms. The next day they held a Council of War: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few days after their weary journey, before they should be drawn forth to battle. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make use of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* should have notice of his absence. The Soldiers also of *Nero*, were full of Spirit; perceiving that the honour of the Victory was like to be theirs: so far as the battle would not have been undertaken, without their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Council brake up, that the sign of battle should be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat: or the *Roman* Pavillion.

Afrubal was no less willing than the *Romans* to come to battle: having long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his Men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance; it seemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and some of their Arms and Horles, looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no Prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their Forces to be increas-

ed. The Camp, as hath been said, was not extended: but the Trumpet, that sounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pizzor, did now, contrary to former custom, found twice in the quarter of *Livius* the Consul. Hereat *Afrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* Orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the best way, to go leisurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own Forces, he had not cared to hinder, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himself perhaps with over-strongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation; he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night: intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himself as long as he could, from necessity of battle. But whether it were so, that his guides did steal away from him in the dark, so that he could not find the way to the Fords; or whether his Carriages were too heavy, and hindered his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* Horles, and stayed him from passing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light Armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions, in good order, and ready for battle. *Afrubal*, seeing himself overtaken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gentils*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he stood himself, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*: his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his Elephants he bestowed in the fronts of his battels. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Livius* the Consul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the Victory seemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout Soldiers; and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the less, or were able now to do, being placed in the midst. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gentils*, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Afrubal* the more confident; who seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and hercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended, took a part of his Forces, and led them round behind

the Forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compassed, he fell upon *Afrubal*, and charged him in the Flank. Here began the Victory to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in Front, ran all along the depth of *Afrubal* his battel: and falling upon the Skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of that side on every side, the greatest part was slain. The *Ligurians* and *Gentils* escaped as they could: and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the rest were slain; some by the Enemies Weapons, others by their own Guides that rode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, began to wax unruly, and rush back upon their own battels following them: the guide had in readiness a Mallet, and a Chizzele, wherewith he gave them a stroke between the Ears, in the joint of the neck, next unto the head; wherewith he killed the beast upon the sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the Squadrons following them, is said to have been the Device of *Afrubal* himself; who died in this Battel.

Great commendations are given to *Afrubal*, both by *Polibius*, and by *Livy*. He is said at all times to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have striven with great patience, against many difficulties, wherewith he fell by the means of those Captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he saw the loss irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thick of his Enemies; where fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livy*, and of *Polibius*, do very much disagree. For *Livy* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no less an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fifty six thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken Prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had Captives with them, delivered, and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates, there were slain eight thousand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polibius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livy* reporteth it, for *Afrubal* came well stored with money. But *Polibius* (who had no desire to make this battel of *Metaurus* a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* slain, and two thousand of the *Romans* to have been slain. The number of the Prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battel. Whereby it may seem, that they were all *Barbines*: so far as that they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this Victory was no less in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever since it was known in what sort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* Forces, unto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that stayed behind, much

weakened, and without a General? Thus did they talk: yet referring their venture unto the success, with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean while the People filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Temples, with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in Council, waiting till ready at hand upon the Magistrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every ones help. In brief, they were all to full of Melancholly, that when first news of the Victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed: there was not only great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business; making contracts one with another (which they had long forbore to do) and attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Afrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* Prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had happened. These two Prisoners might have served well enough to certify *Hannibal* of this misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Afrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose Carcasses fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage*, wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Commonwealth; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the infelicity of revenge. The best Excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terror of such a Spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgave himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the balance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebb, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the Countrey of *Britannia*: and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend many places as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass in the utmost corner of *Italy*; it being a Countrey of much fastness, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his Forces united; or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their Harvest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius*, the other Consul, carried among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, until the end of Summer; there to let things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions

ons that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of a Triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well known, what interest *Nero* had in the late Victory: order was given, that not only *Li-ty*, with his Army, should come home; but likewise *Nero*; though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of Triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof *Livy* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the Victory was gotten; his Army also being present at the Triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on Horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers: by whom, the Victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Caelius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good service. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory, in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this year, which was the Thirtieth of the present War, until the Eighteenth year, wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruin, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himself upright. And surely very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*; whom *Livy* therein follows: That making War upon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained for many Victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, which were, neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they never fell to Sedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which *Livy* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soil of the *Bruttians*: which, when it was bemurdered in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and virtue, he kept his Army in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatness of reward and booty: since after the death of *Ardubal*, he made no invasion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himself still among the poor *Bruttians*. Where we must leave him until he be drawn into *Africa* by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman, made entire conquest of Spain.

I. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

MAGO, and *Ardubal*, the Son of *Gefco*, took upon them the charge of Spain, when *Ardubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, departed thence into *Italy*. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a Voyage to the *Balears*; there to levy a supply of men; and *Ardubal* withdraw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his business, and returned into Spain: where he met with one *Hanno* (the fame perhaps that had lately been employed in *Sicily*) who brought new Forces out of *Africa*, and came to succeed in place of *Ardubal* the *Barcine*. It is not unlikely that Spain was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needful from *Carthage*; when that Son of *Amilcar*, whose authority had been greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it self, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appear, that things did prosper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the Field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing alse to set upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the Country of the *Celiberians*, not very far from *New Carthage*: where, by Money, and other persuasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himself in the Eastern parts of Spain: attentive, as it may seem, to the proceedings of *Ardubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported by some Writers, to have sent part of his Forces into *Italy*, to the assistance of C. *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, the Consuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celiberians*: he sent *M. Syllanus*, the Proprietor, with ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some Fugitive *Celiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countreymen encamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew near to these *Celiberians*: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their succour, instead of heartning and re-enforcing them, became partakers of the loss. *Mago* saved himself, with all the Horse, and old Companies of Foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten days journey brought them safe to *Ardubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken Prisoner; though he kept himself out of the fight until all was lost. As for the *Celiberians*, they knew better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into the Woods.

It could no otherwife be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* stood,

flood, by the coming thither of *Ardubal*. Ten thousand Foot, and Eighteen hundred Horse, he did therefore send out of Spain (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his own Country: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon remained at *New Carthage*, intentive to the necessity and success of his Countreymen at home. But when he had word of the great Victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spain; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that served under *Hannibal*, and those that had been sent over into *Africa*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed *Ardubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal*, with his Army, was clofed up in a freight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themselves unto the Will of the Victors. That it was the success of things in *Italy*, which gave such confidence unto *Scipio*, it is the more probable, because he took not this great Enterprize in hand, until the Summer was almost spent. *Ardubal* therefore used the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Army into many Garrisons; hindered the Enemy from doing any great Exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother, *L. Scipio*, took by assault the Town of *Orma*.

Against the next years danger, *Ardubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor travel in strengthening himself for the trial of his last fortune in Spain. With seventy thousand Foot, four thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the Field: which number I believe that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his Roman Legions too weak to encounter with such a Multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to use the help of his Spanish friends. But the Death of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away by the Treason of such false Auxiliaries; made him on the other side very doubtful, of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Calpurn*, that was Lord of Eight and twenty Towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse for his service: he resolved to make use of those, and some few others, that might help to make a shew, and yet not be able to do great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, he sought out the Enemy; near to whom he incamped. At his first coming, *Mago* and *Masani* (a fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilst he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain Troops of Horse in covert: which breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly Retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betook themselves to plain fight. After this Encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*: there were daily skirmishes between the Horse, and light Armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Ardubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like

did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many days: *Ardubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the Wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far distance, many days together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same form; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before designed. But *Scipio*, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withal, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his Men, and Horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning, before day: and then sent forth his Horse and light Armature, to train out the *Carthaginians*, with their bellies empty: using herein the same trick, whereby he might remember, that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battel of *Trebia*. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the Wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Ardubal* sent forth his Horse in all haste, to entertain the *Romans*; whilst he himself arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the Horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since being overpressed on either side, they had a safe Retreat unto their Foot; and one Troop seconding another by course, returned to charge. This Fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his Men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noon he caused his Wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them; that came on leisurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercenaries, that stood in *Ardubal* his Wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the Latin and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose: they were forely pressed; and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the Spanish battel that was coming against them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Ardubal* his Army stood idle, until the Wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him, between the Roman Wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannae*. Wherefore he did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with Wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty; when the others began to faint with travel, and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gave not over,

ill they had forc'd the Enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Adrubal* did his best to have made an orderly Retreat; and afterward again, to have caus'd his men to turn head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the Victory to be exorcised from them: neither was it easy to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obdurate passion of fear, which hearkens to no persuasion. The Camp of *Adrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of Rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caus'd them to give over.

The same night, *Adrubal* gave no rest to his men: but caus'd them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his Spanish Soldiers. One *Astanax*, that was Lord of the *Turdians*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this Example; and soon after, two strong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems, that the perverse fortune of this late battle, whereupon *Adrubal* had set his rest; bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Adrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and march'd away, faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* follow'd the next morning; and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his Horse, caus'd them to be taken to make stand, that they were at length attacked by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all kill'd to rout, save only seven thousand, that with *Adrubal* himself, recover'd a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. This place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessities to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continu'd hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolv'd to make shift for one: and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not far thence; he took shipping, and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Adrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, to be siege their Camp (which was not taken in haste: for *Mago* and *Masimilla* play'd in it) whilst he with the rest of the Army, did what was needful in the Country abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masimilla* follow'd *Adrubal* to *Gades*; and their Army dispers'd it self; some flying over to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Ulterior*, *Cafula*, and *Astapa*; that made countenance of War against the *Romans*; of which only *Cafula* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garrison; consisting of such as had sav'd themselves by flight, in the late overthrow. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Cafula* follow'd long since unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a Wife in that City. For this was one of the last three Towns that held out, on the *Carthaginian* side. *Ulterior* had sometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the Death of the two elder *Scipios*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not only rebelled; but with great cruelty betray'd, and slew the poor men that escap'd thither from the overthrows. *Astapa* was a Town that

had ill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by spoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and took himself *Ulterior* and *Cafula*: *Ulterior* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Cafula*, by Treason of one *Cerdobellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was rais'd in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a fire guard; that should kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This provision being made; all the Inhabitants that could bear arms, rush'd forth desperately: and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the Town forthwith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whilst they rush'd over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Adrubal, being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visit'd in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Masæssis*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith betink himself, how to finish the War, by putting them to the like distress in *Africa*. Hereunto it seem'd, that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustain'd much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captain into *Africa*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his Forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made League with the City, in a time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, for which he intend'd in *Africa*; upon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lelium* his Embassador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring, that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*; easily persuad'd the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* request'd, that the *Roman* General should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was Neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquagena* Gallies he took Sea: and arriv'd in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Adrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been discrib'd by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven, they forbore to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He

He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excus'd himself, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismiss'd *Scipio*, with whom he readily enter'd into covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

I. II.

Funeral Games held by *Scipio*. A Duel between two Spanish Princes. A Digression, concerning Duels.

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Ulterior*, *Cafula*, and *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The Conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end: he performed at *New Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vows that he had made; and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with Funeral games, especially of those that fought at *Sharp*, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful, that he should trouble himself with preparing Slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were enough, that either offer'd themselves as Volunteers, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controversies, to trial of the Sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, *Corvus*, and *Orfus*, Cousin-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corvus* was the elder, and the elder brother's Son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the House, after the manner of our *Irish Tanistry*. But the Father of *Orfus* took lately seiz'd of the Principality: which thought himself received by the Death of his elder brother; yet this his Son would not let it go back; but claimed to hold it as Heir unto his Father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answer'd preposterously, That all their friends, and kindred, had already labour'd in vain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battle, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillful at his Weapon, easily vanquish'd the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such Combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*, by *Thersites*, *Heracles*, *Pellus*, and others: as also of two at the War of *Troy*; the one between *Parus* and *Meneleus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there Examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *David's* Worthies, against those that challeng'd them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight, between twelve of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjaminites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curiatii*, that were *Albans*. The Combat of *Manlius Torquatus*, and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challeng'd any

Roman; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought, between *Edmond Ironside* and *Camusen the Dane*, for no less than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the Reign of *Edward* the Third, who sustained the party of *Montfort* against the *Earl of Blois*, contending for the Duchy of *Britain*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, between Thirty of the *Britains*, and Thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Cadogan*, a brave Captain, and that Sir *Robert Knolles*; who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* Wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the Examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been Combats of bravery, and of *gayereté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of Combats; which are, either upon accusation for life; or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of Right*. Of this of the latter kind was that, of which we spake even now, between *Corvus* and *Orfus*. Unto these (methinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the Combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliath*; or that between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a Combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Bedfordshire*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a Combat performed by Sir *John Ashley*, and one *Carrington*: whom *Ashley* charged with Treason; and prov'd it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Montfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh*, of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accus'd of Treason: but, being beaten in fight, confess'd that he had belied him; and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our trial by battle do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquish'd, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved, I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accus'd of Treason, or, according to the Customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by Death) be overcome, he shall suffer the pains appointed for those Crimes. In Combats for trial of Right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion; as did *Paramor* and *Lewis*, or offered to do, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yieldeth, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the Combats, upon accusation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *campes close*; that is, within Rails. Now this trial by Combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of St. *Leues*, and *Philip* the fair, his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the ** Memoriall* of the Chamber of *Accompts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accept'd, and after, by consent of the Lord, were de-

ken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings fix pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this Custom grew the French Proverb, which they use when a man hath had an hard or unjust judgment; saying, that he was tried by the Law of Lorry, or Berne; *ou le bairu pue l'omande*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battel, that great learned man Yvo, Bishop of Chartres, did often complain, and especially against the French Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert, Arch-bishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgment of their Churches, that had ratified such Challenges of Combat. But this liberty, and kind of trial, was retrencht by Saint Lezeus, and the Arch-bishop of Sens, so that no man should decree, or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings; as to the Lord of Carages against *Jagues le Gris*; and to Julian Romero, the Spaniard, against *Moro*, his Countryman: wherein Sir Henry Knevet, Father of the Lord Knevet now living, was Patron to Romero, that had the Victory, and lastly to the Lord of Clobf. Now in those Challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death, (and in those only) the Rule held; That the defendant should tenu de proposer ces desseins per une demonst; The Defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did *faiblement confesser le crime*; *flently confess the crime*. But after such case as Francis the French King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie unto the Emperor Charles the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personal Combat: every party Champion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giving of the Lie Mortality it self; holding it matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put up, what the great Emperor, Charles the fifth, had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a Challenge of Combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, or the Objection and Retraiture upon Champions, or the Objection and Retraiture of capital Offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these days, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal Combats: the giving of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the French Gentlemen after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a Custom: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea, there are (among many other no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held, a far greater dishonour, to receive from an Enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword: the one, having relation to a Slave; the other to

a Soldier. I confess, that the difference is pretty: though, for mine own part, if I had had any such Italianated Enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions, who are commonly, of all other, the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who pretend death on the points of their Swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsely. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed, and sworn to pay the Monies, and other things they borrow, do they break their word and promise, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Liers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of Word, or Bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay Money by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein he failed; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what the professedion of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary Complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid good morning, or salute, other than a courteous and courtlike kind of lying? It is (saith a wise Frenchman, deriding therein the Apish Custom of the Country) *une marche & complex pas ensemble le se mequer, mentir, & pper les uns les autres*; A kind of Merchandize, and complex made among them, to mock, belie, and a rise each other; and so far now-a-days in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted, either dull, or Cynical. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complemental lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and fear: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a Vice, of all other, stiled the most villainous. But now for the Lie it self, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That who so gives another man the Lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more heinously promised, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himself a Liar. On the other side, He that gives any man the Lie, when himself knows, that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say, that the Sun shines, when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me, I lie, for it is mid-night; to persecute such an one to death, for making himself a foolish Ruffian, and a Liar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the Lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life, gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeness to tax any man in publick with an untruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered) but all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were more, to admire and imitate a French Custom, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsel

of

of God. But you will say, That these discourses favour of cowardize. It is true, if you call it cowardize, to fear God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wife, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies Sword we shall find ten thousand Seven-penny-men (waged at that price in the Wars) that fear it as little, and perchance less, than any professed Sword-man in the World. *Diligentissima in tela sui Fortitudo*; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it self: It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pona: sic nec fortem pugna*; sed causa: As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr; so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause. In which whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Country: as he may justly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private Combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our own consciences; *animas, in vulnere ponere*; And to draw our Souls in the Wounds and Blood of our Enemies. Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn in generous and noble Spirits the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries? I say, that I do not; if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternal Law: and the Laws of all Christian Kings and States, do favour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the Assailant. You will secondly ask me, Whether a Noble man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Carrels*, by one of like quality, be not bound, in point of honour, to satisfy the challenger in private Combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, seeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror; and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to second the conquered victim in malice: I say, that he is both base, and a fool, that accepts of any *Carrel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, have seldom taken any such advantage over men of quality: who upon even terms have slain their private Enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; so did our Noble men and Gentlemen in former Ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the King, to approve themselves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law: so did they disdain to submit themselves to the shameful revenge thereof; the fame revenge (because it detesteth Murder) that it hath declared against a common Cur-purse, or other Thieves. Nay, let it be granted that a Pardon be procured for such offenders; yet is not the Man-slaver freed by his Pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by Battel, upon his Appeal, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I use his own words) That if the De-

fendant (to wit, the Man-slaver) be convinced either by Great Assize, or by Battel, upon that Appeal; the Man-slaver shall die, notwithstanding the Princes Pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to Justice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen shall be repaired in Honour, whose Enemy, taking the start either in words or blows, shall lay on them an infamy unfixable? I say, that a Marhal's Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves, for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands and for all things else, by which the lives of our selves, our Wives, and Children, are sustained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may be Felony, to take by violence even that which is our own: why should we not submit our selves to the Judges of Honour in cases of Honour; because to recover our reputation by wrong hand, may be Murder? But yet again it may be objected, That the loss of Honour ought to be more fearful unto us, than either the loss of our Goods, of our Lands, or of our Lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear unto us, other than a kind of hifory, or fame following actions of virtue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In these he that is employed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of virtue; because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equal in persons and arms: Neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to the Commonwealth.

Now that a Marhal of England hath power to save every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any ill words that we have given, and to confess that we have done him wrong to whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himself of them upon adveitment; hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable Example of a most worthy Gentleman, *Monsieur du Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since, by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgment of the Constable, and Marshals of France, was this: In the open Court, wherein the Constable gave judgment, *M. de Plessis* was set in a Chair under the degrees where the Constable and Marshals sat: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a Sword, with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like Cudgel, or Baffinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which Weapons he delivered into *M. de Plessis*'s hands, submitting himself to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those Weapons; the Constable and Marshals having formerly left it to the will of *Plessis* to use his own discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now

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Sir Thomas Smith in his Commonwealth of Engl.

whether the Baron had reason to please himself, as one before-hand in point of honour, who struck *M. de Pleſſis*, like a Ruſſian, coming behind him, and (having advantage of company, and his Horſes ready) ſlided himſelf away on the ſudden; but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himſelf in this ſhameful manner; or whether *Montſieur de Pleſſis* (of whole valour no man doubted) had not juſt cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure have beaten or wounded his Enemy, but forgave him; let any wife man judge. To this if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion; that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no diſgrace unto him: I answer, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diſgrace, in reſpect of the force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſins to God) makes all repentance ſhameful; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for ſome ſort unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntary repentance it ſelf, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakneſs. Certainly, as wiſe men, and valiant men, do rather deride petty injuries, or ſudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrel, do commonly ſuſpect their own valour; and rather deſire, that thereby the World ſhould believe them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelves. For he that knows himſelf indeed to be a valiant man, ſcorns to hunt after the opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhals of France have, hath alſo a Marſhal of England, or his Deputies; by whole judgment, in all diſputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preſerved; we may therefore alſo ſubmit our ſelves to the Judges of honour, in all diſputes of honour, as we do ſubmit our ſelves in all controverſies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the infliction of this Court of Chivalry in England, in France, and elſewhere, was no leſs charitable than poliſtick. For the blood of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *Honey-bees*, as thoſe Bulls doth, which Ring but the fingers, or the lace: but it produceth that monſtrous *Beaſt*, *Revenge*; which hath ſtung to Death, and eaten up of ſeveral Nations, ſo many noble Perſonages, as there is nothing more lamentable; nor more threatening the Wrath of God upon ſupreme Governors, than the permiſſion.

His Maſteſty therefore (which *Henry* the Fourth of France alſo endeavour'd) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deed in Scotland, which the moſt renowned of all his Predeceſſors could never do: in beating down, and extinguishing, that hereditary proſecution of Malice, called the deadly feud; a conſeſt, which ſhall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly Power, for evermore. And we have cauſe to hope, that his Royal care ſhall be no leſs happy in preventing the like miſchief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of Duelliſts.

Unto this that I have ſpoken of lying, and of man-lauſhter, it muſt be added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of re-proof and vengeance proportionably, more or

leſs, in their ſeveral degrees. There is much difference between Lies of neceſſity, upon breach of promiſe, or complemental lies; and ſuch pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by falſe Witneſſes: the former fort, being excuſable by weakneſs or love; the latter, being altogether deſecable. No leſs, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in an open field, with even Weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo*, or *per inſidias*; though our Laws do not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſaking his own privilege, commandeth, that the guileful Murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guileful murder performed by the Sword, nor by overt violence: but there is a guileful murder alſo, by poiſoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For ſuch diſtinction is found, between committing preſumptuouſly upon a man, *to ſlay him with guile, and lying in wait for blood, privily*, for the innocent, *without a cauſe*, upon hope of ſpoil, after *the ſame manner as the net is ſpread before the eyes of the birds*. Francis the fiſt, Queen Mary of England, and the King's Maſteſty now reigning, have given notable teſtimony of their Juſtice, upon three Noble men, who committed guileful murder. Of the fiſt kind, King Francis upon the Lord of Talar: who being (ſaith the French Hiſtorian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & ſupporte de pluſieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient lineages, and ſupported by divers great alliances, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in eſpecial favour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hang-man*. Queen Mary, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other reſpects very dear unto her. His Maſteſty, upon a Baron of Scotland; whole houſe was no leſs ancient and faithful, than himſelf valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poiſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artifices, every Age hath had too many Examples. Of guileful killing by the pen (that I may not ſpeak of any English Judge) the Author of the French Recherches gives us two notable inſtances: the one of the Elthars, who (ſaith Paſquiere) *ſit mourir Montaigu grand Maître de France, pour contente l'opinion de celui dont il eſtoit lors ſecrétaire; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut p. n. & eſtrangle*; *Who cauſed Montaigu, great Maſter of France, to die, to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time Elthars worſhipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himſelf was ſoon after hanged and ſtrangled*. The other was of the great Francis the fiſt, upon his Chancellor Poyer: who, to ſaſtifie the King's paſſion, practiſed the deſtruction of the Admiral Chabot, a marſt moſt noble deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men, ſo in Kings, the paſſion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the King's affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with ſome Offences which he had formerly committed. The Admiral, preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in France, and in the defence of Marſailles againſt the Emperor, gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave Commiſſion to the Chancellor, as Preſident, and other Judges, upon an information of the King's Advocate, to queſtion the Admiral's life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large confidence, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly

to content the King; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning; with others, with ſo ſharp threats; and with the reſt, with ſo fair promiſes; as, albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure; yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed, and got others to ſubſcribe, to the forfeiture of his Eſtate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to prevail againſt his Life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King having falſhood in ſo great a Magiſtrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (ſaith Paſquiere) à tout Juge pour demorer juſticier enſoy, & ne laſſer ſuſciter la conſcience dedans les autres; & une imaginative faveur, qui pour fin de ieu le ſuſmerge; & ſerv leſſon to all Judges, to dwell always in themſelves, and not to juſtifier their conſciences to ſtand upon the waves of imaginative favour, which in the end overwheles them*. And as for the Admiral: though it might have been answered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamity, as undeſerved, that he was tried, according to his own deſire, by the Laws of his Countrey, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the King's Juſtice, ſurmounting all other his Paſſions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

†. III.

The laſt Acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is choſen Conſul.

THE laſt buſineſs that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the Rebellion of the People, and Mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously ſick, in ſuch ſort, that the rumor of his Death ran current throughout Spain. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, petty Kings, that had forſaken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio a-while before, to take Arms againſt the Romans. They were vainly perſwaded, that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all Spain. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatness of their hopes, they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Suſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the Romans, and waſted their Countrey. Part of the Roman Army lying at *Sacro*, inſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of their Roman Conqueſts, as might ſaſtifie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the Death of Scipio was reported; they thought, that the time ſerved very well, to enrich themſelves with ſpoil of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed; and, which was greater of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their fury; they choſe out of their own number, two baſe fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to be their Commanders. Theſe took upon them all the Enſigns of Proconſuls, or Proprætors; as if their Election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the Death of the two Scipios. But whilt they were deviſing, what Exploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combustion, as was expected; there arrived more certain news, that Scipio was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from

their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeemingly to be glad, that they had no further over-thought themſelves, led them to *Carthagina*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, Scipio had reſolved to do exemplary Juſtice on the principal Offenders; and to put the whole Multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt Mandonius, and Indibilis. He cauſed *Albinus* and *Atrius*, with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their Lodgings; He called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus*, and his Companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all, as Traitors. This done, *Albinus*, and *Atrius*, with the other Priſoners, were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman Cuſtom toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their Oath of Obedience a-new; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

Mandonius and Indibilis, continued in Arms; notwithstanding that they had certain word of Scipio his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the Roman Souldiers; they ſtood in fear, as being Spaniards, and greater Offenders, of harder meaſure. Scipio went againſt them; and found them in a Valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them; and ſending *Laſinus*, with all his Horſe, to ſearch a compaſs about the Hills, and charge them in Rear; he overthrew them. Indibilis and Mandonius had after this no hope remaining, to preſerve themſelves and their Eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. Mandonius therefore came to Scipio; and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf, and for his brother Indibilis, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledg themſelves leſs free Princes than they formerly had been.

Afterward Scipio went toward *Gades*; and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*, who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the People of Rome would ſend him to make War in Africa. Unto *Mago*, that lay in *Gades*, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spain alone, he ſhould thence depart with his Fleet into Italy; and there was an Army of *Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was Money ſent unto him from Carthage; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common Treſury, or the Temples. In his Voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagina*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt; and was ſo beaten to his Ships, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the Robberies and Spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him to enter again into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became Roman. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithstanding all the Excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended Voyage; bidding Spain farewell for ever.

The *Life and City of Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeed him therein: and himself with ten Ships returned home. At his coming to *Rome* he made full for the honour of a Triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as received that dignity after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this refusal: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joined with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custom of those times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were fabled by no such religious impediment, from being far, and long absent. Hereby it came to pass, that *Scipio* desiring to have the War transferred into *Africa*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so far off.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leave to make War in Africa. His preparations. Of Manilla who joined with Scipio. The victories against Asdrubal and Syphax.

P. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should be allowed, to bestow part of the Money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the Treasury; upon the setting forth of solemn Plays, that he had vowed to make, whilst he was busy in his *Spanish* Wars. This helped well to revive the Memory of his Victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the War, which he intended to make in *Africa*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* Embassadors avail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deservedly; saying, That they were the most happy of all their Countrymen, since they being present, had seen him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embassadors, were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though costly it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well deserved. Nevertheless, when *Scipio* proposed, that *Africa* might be decreed unto him for his Province: there wanted not many, even of the Principal Men, that vehemently gainst him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who seems to have been troubled with that dislike; which too often causeth men renowned for long approved virtue, to look askant upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kind. He alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chief were, That the Treasury was unable to sustain the charges of a War in *Africa*; and that it was extremely perilous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled, unto the defence of *Rome* it self; if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his Brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said)

be greater in setting *Italy* free from Enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africa*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spanish* Wars, as of less moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage*; nor to withhold to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having suffered *Asdrubal* to pass into *Italy*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithstanding the good success of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africa* to be that year a Province: which the Consul nevertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted upon this one point: That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive War: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by help of Money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague, would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africa*, for defence of his own home: and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he proposed the matter again unto the Senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding: so far much as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who resented in this honorable man a little spice of that arrogancy, which, in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himself wholly unto the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby he obtained such much, That the *Life of Sicily* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

Want of Money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the War, by him intended upon *Africa*. Herewithal it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the suddain from the *Baleares* to *Genna*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon *Italy*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with civil Wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesome business, though it occupied more of his time, than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconsuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy*, and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) too laden with the booty that he had taken; and given to the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disabill him: and though after a while, there came some letters from *Carthage*, together with store of Money, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into

into *Africa*, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have been pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lucina*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punic*, and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelessness; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the fame for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great pestilence, infecting both the *Carthaginians*, and the *Roman* Camp, is said to have been the occasion of this years idleness: which fell not out much amiss for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelously empowered by this War; and had already cried the utmost way to delay the charges, which grew importunate. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loss; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, unto the detectors of Lands concealed.

Of this, or other Money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make prets of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he overmuch labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councils of Estate; that the buse, or obdurate heads of a few, do carry all the rest. And many times, men make a surrender of their own judgments, to the wisdom that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often find himself deceived: the counsel of those many being wholly directed by the temper of a few, that over-throw the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature sorted well with the business, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* above seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the several Towns; Corn, Iron, Canvas for Sails, Axes, Bead-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements, fir for building of Ships, many thousands of Targets, Helms, and Spears of all kinds: every place furnishing him with that commodity, which it best could afford. Unto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of five and forty days, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanced, twenty *Triremes*, and ten *Quinquemes* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into *Sicily*. In *Sicily* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Canna*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy censure. They had served under *Marcellus*, and *Levius*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africa*;

where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his Horse, he prested three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young Men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen; which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilst he was providing, to have things in a readiness for *Africa*; the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts Men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri* (for there were two in the Town) being taken Prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison: which sent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest their own paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Consul *Scipio*. The Townsmen, were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only against those of the Garrison, but much more against *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoiled by these barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate, to make present amends to the Goddes for this Sacrilege: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint; comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders, whom they cast into Prison, and used according to their desires: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her Money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully harkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to run on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of *Scipio*, as against the disloutness of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicily*, neither mindfull of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into *Sicily*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Island; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Ædiles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his Journey; and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africa*; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of War. He took a great booty: and struck

$$L_{\text{rel}} = 3.$$

* Appian.
Alexan. 4
Bell. Puni

Lib. lib.

But *Scyphus*, in whose great aid and succour was reported more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Macanilla*, sent an Embassage into *Sicil* about the same time, in which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excus'd himself of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chuse but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and Reigned; and for the defence of his beloved Wives Country, if it woud be invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain neutral: so long as the *Romani* and *Carthaginians* held War abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hailestone *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perfavision could have done: For the promised assistance of *Scyphus* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness of many Adventurers to leave therefore the failing of that hope was not so great a change, as in common opinion was thought it be: but was to prevent all discouragement, and for the War undertaken immediately on foot, and the Embassadors he dismissed in all haste, with Letters from their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what he had promised he had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make good. Having sent them away, He called his Souldiers together, and bad them make ready for the voyage; which he intenc'd no longer to defer. For, said he, *Macanilla* hath been with *Lelæus*; and *Scyphus* hath newly sent to me; greatness wondering upon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will provide for themselves, if I fail in their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors; whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syraculæ*. And left any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his Fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requesting by Letter *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; haisted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the dividing of the Legions between them; which to do he was hind for defence of the Island; and to march to carry with him into *Africk*. Whither he afterwards transported, it is not certain. For Historians reckon only ten thousand foot, two hundred and twenty thousand Horse, three hundred thousand and thirty thousand, Horse and Foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters be-
longing

This Roman Army landed in Africa, near unto a
 Fore-land then called the *fair Promontory*; which
 how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what
 point-of the Compass I cannot precisely affirm;
 because it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape
 or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*
 and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*, or whether
 that of *Sylla*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*,
 and to the West. The coming of *Malcaniss* unto
Utica at his first arrival, helps to confirm the opinion
 of *Nylander*: who thinks the *fair Promontory*
 to have been the fame, that was also called *Mer-
 curies Cape*, since with little difficulty *Malcaniss*
 might come thither from the lesser *Syrus*, where-
 about was his common abiding. But forasmuch as
 without any memorable impediment, soon after
 his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that
 stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River
Bagradas: it may rather seem, that he landed with
 in the Promontory of *Apoll*; whence the way to
Utica was not long. This is also strongly proved
 for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day,
 five hundred Horse to trouble him in his disem-
 barking. Neither was it hard for *Malcaniss*,
 that roved about the Country with a Troop of
 Horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed
 far from the place to the which he usually resorted,
 like as beforehe had met with *Lelins* in *Hippo*, that
 was farther off: as it would have been for *Scipio*,
 with his Army and Carriages, to over-come the
 trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great com-
 pany to *Utica* by Land; when he might have dis-
 embarked nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass
 as a conjecture, that *Scipio* came first of all to *Em-
 poria*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrus*;
 since he gave charge to the Masters of his Ships,
 at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to flape their
 course for that coast. The Country thereabout
 was very rich, and fit for sustentance of an Army:
 neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well pro-
 vided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps
Malcaniss had signified unto *Lelins*, when he spake
 with him at *Hippo*; thinking that the *Romans*
 howsoever they made brave promises, would not
 come strong enough to fight at head. But when
 he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only
 he served to invade the Lands of *Carthage*, but
 threatened a Conquest of the City, and whole Eftate
 then might he better advise them to set Sail for
Utica, and make War upon the Enemies at their
 own Doors.

[illegible]

make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the Troop of *Carthaginian* Horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*; wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand Prisoners; all which he conveyed aboard his Hulks or Ships of burden, and sent them back laden into *Sicily*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Nimidian* Horse; whose service being fitter for the Field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Malanisla* before him: who rode up to the Gates; and, by making a Bravado, trained out the imprudent *Hanno* forth; that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romani* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romani* entred pell mell into the Town; which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, * of which ^{Lib. 6. cap. 2. & 3.} mention hath been formerly made; and faredown before it. Forty days he spent about it: affailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his Engines of Battery, wherein he had plenty; yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortify his Winter Camp; which would be well fared against the year following. Whilst thus needfully urged him to leave *Utica*; and thence of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better success, caused him to stay there; *Adrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Adrubal* had made a Levy of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romani*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse: which joining unto the Forces of *Adrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dilodge. He chose for his Winter-camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His Foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joining to the Continent by an Arm of Land: his Horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottom of the Creek he moored his Ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole Camp he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the year, when it should ferve him again to fight. Of Cattle and other Booty *Malanisla* had brought in great store; by driving the Country, before the coming of *Adrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some; and great store was sent him from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Likewise Apparel for his Soldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to ferve turn; for that it was a matter of more cost. The Ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his Booty, as he could best spare; especially with his Captives, to be sold for Slaves. *Adrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romani*; either for that they wanted the severe instruction, which the *Romani* used in discipline of War; or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action. Q. Q. Q. When

and provoked him to Battle in those Plains. That if they could do so, they hoped to make his Council of War repent as greatly the refusal of Peace, as did *M. Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained that to besiege him? and that they themselves were well able to do by Land, and *Carthaginian* Fleet should do by Sea, and making way for the purpose. By such discourses that they comforted themselves; recompensing in conceit the loss of their hopes, partly with that of Victory to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, confuting about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in their flame negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of Peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle but made preparation out of hand, and did so to do somewhat against *Utica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready; and appointed to take the same piece of Ground, where he lay against *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest he being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Utica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behind him in his Camp. He called his Men that night to sup well and betimes, that they might be ready for the Journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit unto the defence of his Camp; all the rest of his Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles, and an half: whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed unto *Laelius* and *Masaniila*, whom he sent before him to fix upon the Camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning that the Camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to have taken hold; or casually upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off; whereas if it first appeared in the Camp of *Adrabal*, it would be suspected as the doing of Enemies; and give *Syphax* warning to look unto himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly: that *Laelius* and *Masaniila*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the Camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himself, imputed unto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, some, starting half asleep; and others, that had risen up late at drinking; ran out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the rumolt, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were; nor give remedy to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire fell upon the Enemies Sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masaniila*, that best knew the Country, did great execution upon them; having laid all the ways by which they foretold that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, thought none other than that it was a pitiful mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the

Scipio, putting himself into the next Town that was well fortified; thought there to find the *Romans* weary, until the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Town; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place, very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight or to yield. Un-to this Disputation, he well foresaw that the arrival of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the Victors favour by delivering him up; he thrunk away betimes and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the Town, which he left, it opened the Gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming; and thereby preserved it self from all manner of loss. The two next Towns adjoining would needs be valiant, and make countenance of War: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soldiers. This done, he returned to the siege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were fore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victory, which they largely hoped for, they heard news of such a lamtable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hasty provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to fend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the loss of this Army, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially if *Syphax*, would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, They should bend all their care this way: levying in all haste another Army; and sending *Embassias* to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abon*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortuate Commander, *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisco* was implored to raise new levies of Men; and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with *Embassadors* to her Husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could, of his Subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured for with her Husband, that at length the won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*; were brought over to serve in *Africa*. Of these were made such brave reports; as fit their courage, and the Arms which they used, were not to be refuted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole Country of *Spain* had been twice conquered, first by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these Tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* *Embassadors* helped with a lye; saying that there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence the people of *Carthage* and their friends, gathered such spirit, that in thirty days they made up an Army consisting well near of thirty thousand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great *Fields*, about five days journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this came from *Utica* thither, to visit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with some part of his Army; to make a shew of continuing the Siege. Two or three days, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Asdrubal* to follow the Example of the *Roman Fabius*; and seek to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a far worse Commander, or else it was not in his power, to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth day the Armies met in Battle: wherein the *Romans* were marshall'd by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; having their *Italian* Horse in their right wing; and *Malansia* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left, and the *Spaniards* the Barrel. The Victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Malansia*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even till they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserv'd of them; than upon any likelihood or conceit of Victory. This their obstinacy was beneficial unto those that fled; for that it

hindered the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Adrubal* and *Syphax* escaped: *Adrubal*, to Carthage; and *Syphax* home, to his own Kingdom: whether his Wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsel about the prosecution of the War. It was resolved upon, as the best course. That he himself, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Malania*, with his *Numidians*, and *Laelius*, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after *Syphax*, not permitting him to take rest within his own Kingdom, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice it seems that *Malania* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a Victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own Kingdom, usurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no less concerned the Romans at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Laelius* was sent away with *Malania*; and *Scipio* stayed after *Syphax*, carrying the War from Town to Town. Many places yielded for fear: many were taken by force; and all the Subjects of Carthage wavered in their fidelity; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the War in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their Enemy: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Towns: neither durst they make bold to trouble their own Subjects with any violent exaction of Men or Money: who nevertheless of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them, to find for *Hannibal* out of Italy: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, that Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a Fleet against that of *Scipio*; that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and easy to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himself was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principal care, to fortify by all means the City of Carthage: upon the safety whereof they said, that all depended; adding, that whilst they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doublet) would present them. These counsels were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the Roman Fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless it was considered, that hereby they should only protract the War: without any way advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of Victory; no, though it should fall out, that all the Ships at *Utica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediately come over into *Africa*, as the last refuge of Carthage. The Council was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some to fortification of the Town: some to make ready the Fleet: and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embark themselves for Italy. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a City in those days very strong; and standing in prospect almost of every part of Carthage. This place, or rather some defensible place adjoining, he easily took; the Garrison forsaking

it, and running away, as soon as he drew near. But whilst he was about there to encamp, and fortify himself against the City; he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*. What this meant, he readily conceived: and stood in great fear, lest his own Ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily laden with Engines of Battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assailing the Town) should make bad resistance, against a Fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he hasted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his Carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time; if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligences as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado: preferring themselves in order of battle, as if the Romans would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: He thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea; it should little avail the *Carthaginians*; if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Estate by Land. Wherefore he took his Ships of burden, and, fasting them together with Cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a fourfold bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting Weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left; whereas his Frigots, and other small Vessels might run out, and back again, upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planks; using the Masts and Yards of his Ships instead of Rafters, to join all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge itself not be torn asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the Romans, that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assailing of a Wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their Weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do. But the Roman Frigots and Long-boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small loss which followed. They that stood upon the bridge, were neither able to relieve them: nor yet could freely bestow their Weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before, for fear of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the Enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron Chains. These they threw upon the Masts and Yards, which served as Arches to join the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one Ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next rank of Ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away six Ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to Carthage. Their well-

willcom was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, only this Exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about Carthage, *Laelius* and *Malania*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reitred *Malania* to his Kingdom, without further contention: the *Malagis*, his Subjects, joyfully receiving him; and forsaking the Ulurper. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of Men and Horles, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Adrubal* and *Sophoniba*, he prepared again for War. But beside the infatigation of his beloved Wife; the loss of the *Malagis* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Laelius* and *Malania*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no less unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in possession, is the title unto some part never to unjust. Hereunto alludes the Fable of the young King; which thought that she had vomited up her own guts; when it was only the garbage of some other Fowl, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young King, believed the Kingdom of the *Malagis* to be part of his entrails: *Laelius* and *Malania* will shortly give him somewhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so far. It concerned the Romans to dispossess (if it might be) that King; whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good Offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Malania* knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortunes of a battle is enough, to translate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*: who came against them with no less an Army than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order; according to the skill which he had learned of the Roman Centurion, long ago sent unto him out of Spain, from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men, how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a Rable of all sorts, gathered up in haste: and few of them had seen the War before. Encamping near unto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troops of Horle on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to displease his men, by taking any foil at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his Horle, which were the best part of his Forces, and therewith over-charged *Malania*, whose numbers were far less. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troops of Horle; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their Battle standing now more firm than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Malania* likewise, and his Troops, grow confident

upon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the *Numidian* Horle, that they began presently to disband. Fain would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end, made head in person against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast from his Horle, which received a wound; and so taken Prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled: and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. *Malania* told *Laelius*, That this Victory should make an end of the *Numidian* War, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta*, the chief City of the Kingdom; whether he himself desired to be sent before with the Horle, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Laelius* agreed. *Malania* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parley: wherein by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to give his favour, that was like to be to his King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophoniba* yielded her self into his hands; and vehemently besought him, that the might not be delivered up unto the Romans. Her Youth, and excellent Beauty, so commended her suit, that *Malania* forthwith granted it: and to make good his promise, married her himself that very day: thereby to prevent *Laelius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his Wife. But *Laelius*, when he came thither, took the matter heinously; so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax*, and other Prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-entreated by *Malania*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax*, and other Captives immediately; following shortly after himself, with *Malania*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great joy in the Roman Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the Field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Adrubal*, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortunes; ministering to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the Roman friendship, but to make War upon them unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his Wife had moved him so to do: calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, That *Malania* was no wifer than himself; since he had now taken the same woman to his Wife, who would shortly draw him to the same course. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Malania*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was no longer, ere *Malania* and *Laelius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Malania* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophoniba*: letting him understand, that the Romans had title to her head: and that she was a mischievous Enemy of theirs. Wherefore he entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the

the memory of his great services already done; (for which he should be highly rewarded, to his own contentment) by committing a great Offence upon little reason. *Maianilla* bluffed, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*; whom he nevertheless entreated, to think upon his Faith given to *Sophoniba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his, that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes then used to have in readiness, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live): and tempering a potion for *Sophoniba*, sent it unto her with this Message; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his Wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, the only said, That if her Husband had no better Token to send unto his new Wife, the must accept of this; adding, That the might have died more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her Funeral. And herewithal the boldly drank off the Poyson. Thus *Livy* reports it. But *Appian* varies from this: and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the pre-contract between *Maianilla* and *Sophoniba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Laelius* and *Maianilla* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophoniba*, for her own private, sent Messengers to excuse her Marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Maianilla* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to Wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perfwasion *Sophoniba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*: he fell out about her with *Maianilla* at his return; and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Maianilla* said, she was his own Wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said, it was no reason, that *Maianilla* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom the might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her; wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithal he sent to fetch her away: and *Maianilla* accompanied the Messengers, as it were to deliver her; but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poyson, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body; which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Maianilla* his love, and the ready consent of *Sophoniba* to marry with him; add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the

Lib. 28. want of all other evident cause (which *Livy* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*; under whom he had been trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Maianilla*, and comforted him as well as he could; lest his Melancholly should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his no-

ble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King; and gave unto him a Crown of Gold, with other Royal Ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more cheerful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour, though *Maianilla* well deserved: yet would not the Tide have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Countrey, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seems not unlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in these Wars, and sustained himself, with his Troop of Horse, in such fort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper Inheritance, by the love of his own Subjects, without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdom, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in safe, to make a Conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withal among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masæsis* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of King, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching upon his Neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they, the Son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some piece of his Father's Kingdom, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithal, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was punctilious herein; and answered very gravely, That it was not their custom to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they Lib. 13. made it a matter of State: and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary Prerogative, that they impured as a singular benefit unto Kings, that no way depended upon them, the satisfaction with any other favour or profit these re-

S. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce: and break it.

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*; and understood that *Maianilla*, their mortal Enemy, had got possession of his Kingdom. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes*, in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither Forces, nor

Courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto him thirty Embassadors, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Council, to make suit for Peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the feet of him, and of those that sat in Council with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio*, and the rest, that, in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a Monument of their Clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barbians*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his Company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for Peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power: for they would not have made such adoration unto the *Romans*, in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had Money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrustful the Walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africa*, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace; yet having the Conquest, as it were, in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace, which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making War, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these: That they should render up unto him all Prisoners and Fugitive Slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Island between *Italy* and *Africa*: That they should deliver up all their Ships of War, save Twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of Money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three days: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Maianilla* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdom, as if the War had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent

with *Laelius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these Victories filled men with joy; and gave hope that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an Holy-day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their Gods. *Laelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Maianilla*: who gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their African War, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his Subjects, and Prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him; who by rendering them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his Reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Maianilla* in Complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him; they called him King again; and released his *Numidians* that were Captives; and sent him two Purple Cafocks, that had each of them one gold button; with such other Presents, as in time of their Poverty might serve to testify their good will. Scarcely were these and *Laelius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire Peace. These Embassadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without; until *Laelius* being sent for, came back from *Offia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The Errand of these Embassadors, was Peace: but the meaning of them, and of their City, was only to win time, and get respite from War, until *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or to obtain Peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more easie Conditions. Wherefore they made an idle Discourse of the League that was concluded between them and *Lucius Cornelius*, at the end of the former War. This League, they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force: neither had there since been any War at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that, adventured in like sort, without Commission, to pass the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so: their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Cornelius*, might hereafter stand in force, as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cause to wonder at this Tale; hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jest of a War, that had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made with *Lucius*; and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gain time, until they might repair the War. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Laelius*; without any conclusion at all of Peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiving advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed be-

unto conclusion. This may with good reason be believed: since it was not unknown, that the War continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertain issue of one Battle between Hannibal and Scipio: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in Africa were no better than quite lost.

Matres thus hanging in suspense, before the Carthaginian Embassadors came back from Rome: a Fleet out of Sicily, wherein were two hundred Ships of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for Africa to visit the Roman Camp, was overtaken by foul weather at Sea; and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of Carthage, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in Appian, and may gather out of Polybius, a great dearth of Victuals in Carthage: which caused the People to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them; saying, that the danger of Famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires: the multitude in Carthage understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery: and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the Rascality, together with Women and Boys, to be meddling in uprons: the clamorous of the Boys being in such Tumults no less violent, than of the Men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under Asdrubal, to gather up the dispersed Roman Ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the station where their Camp adjoynd) and bring them unto Carthage: which was done. Scipio was hereat much offended: not only for the loss, and for that the Town was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he foresaw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the War, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors unto them: both to require satisfaction for the injury done, and to deter them from entertaining any other hope, than in the Peace which they had so much desired. These gave the Carthaginians to understand, That Letters were come from Rome unto Scipio, with allowance to conclude the Peace, upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) we bid it strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, and kissed our Feet, after an unusual manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfectly broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal that thus emboldens you. Yet were we not averse, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians: where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Africa, and ready to give us Battle: yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a Man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome; what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be believed,

or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye benefitful use, to move compassion? Surely ye have already wasted all your forces of persuasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, wherewith at the present ye are capable. It is no marvel though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his Faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all justification of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the Roman Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearsal of that point which was yielded unto them; as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrel. But the Carthaginians took this in ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the Men, who had used unto them such infant Speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by Hanno, whom Appian (I know not why) calls Hanno the great; or by the very reverence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberal words. So they were diffused in friendly sort; though it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Convey home: though with little intent of good unto their Persons. Asdrubal was then in the midway, as Men sailed from Carthage towards Utica. He, whether only desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by public order, to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River Bagradas. Their Convey, having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good Voyage; and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in safety; since the Roman Camp was even in sight. The Embassadors took this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Asdrubal fell upon them in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose; which was, to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquere, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gally of Asdrubal; they slip away, and made him overshoot himself. Yet he gave them chase; and had well near surprised them. But they discovered some Roman Companies on the shore over against them, and therefore adventured to run their Vessel aground: whereby they saved their own Lives; though a great part of their Company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the War; that thereby they might be driven to study nothing else, than how to get the Victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for Peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Truce: had they not been given to understand, that Hannibal was already Landed in Africa, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perwaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions

conditions, than were those that Scipio, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what fort Hannibal spent the time after the Battle of Metaurus. The doing of Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago called out of Italy. How the Romans were diversely affected by Hannibals departure.

Ever since the loss of that Battle at Metaurus, Hannibal, remained in the Countrey of the Brutians; waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Consuls that succeeded unto Claudius and Licinius, by whom Asdrubal was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did Licinius the Colleague of Scipio, ought worthy of remembrance against Hannibal: being hindered by the pestilence that was in his Army. Sempronius the Consul who followed Licinius, and Cn. Servilius Capius, who followed Sempronius, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with Hannibal, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief Enemy was become, not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon Africa, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of Mago, the Brother of Hannibal: who took exceeding pains among the Ligurians and Gauls: to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in Italy, that began to wax cold. Mago solicited also the Hetrurians; and found them to ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entered their Country strong, it might have proved no less needful for Scipio to return home out of Africa, than shortly it was for Hannibal, to make speed unto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Consuls, or Proconsuls, with an Army, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gauls; and a third among the Ligurians: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side Mago would break out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge Hannibal with any great power.

As for Mago, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the Insubrians, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Proconsul, and P. Quintilius Varus one of the Praetors. With these he fought a Battle, wherein though his virtue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such fort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore Quintilius the Praetor, taking unto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard; as if at that brunt the Victory should have been carried before them. But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the Service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, scent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and

were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the Numidians got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the Troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shower of Darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these Mago employed some of his Gauls, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But these Gauls discharged their parts very ill: They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When Mago saw that his Men began to shrink, He put himself in the head of his Army; and held them to well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his Thigh; wherewith shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his own Men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: so the Romans obtained victory, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand Enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the Proconsuls Legions: also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark, that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any Prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of Italy, if the State of Carthage could longer have permitted these valiant Sons of Amilcar to abide therein. But Mago withdrawing himself (by easie journeys, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadors from Carthage attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and Hannibal should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of Italy, since Carthage it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarked shortly his Army; but died of his wound about Sardania, in the way homewards.

About the same time Hannibal received the like command from Carthage to return into Africa. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were delivering their Errand. When their message was done; He told them, That this was yet plain dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply, that should have enabled me to manage the War here. Scipio therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the beels: it is Hanno, that hath wrought this noble feat; and overbels the House of the Barchines, for lack of other means to do it, with the ruin of Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubting that, which after came to pass: wherein he embarked, besides his own Men, as many of the Indians, as were content to

be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that thrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this Expedition: of whom such as he could take he flew; nor sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the shore: accusing both Gods and Men; and cursing his own dulness, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, nor bloodied as it was, directly unto the Walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgiving unto their God's; and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for joy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his coming into *Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought unto them a great mass of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* Prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendered back unto the *Saguntines* that had furnished it. Upon like consequence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those Monies, that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private Men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement, laid upon those twelve Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very mozt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the Battle at *Metamura*; and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few days since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For berinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syllax* and *Ardubal* no speciality of such great worth, as might promise the like success against another manner of General, followed by other manner of Men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a

rascall multitude of half Scillions, that were good for nothing; being himself a fit Captain for such Soldiers. Likewise *Ardubal*, the Son of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was only good at leaving himself by a swift retreat. But now there came an Army, of Men hardened from their Childhood with incredible patience, felled many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the spoils not only of good Soldiers, but of brave Captains, by them slain. Such talk told of the People of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in Battle, with many that had slain *Roman* Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their own hands, with many, that had been first in getting over the Trenches of several *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the Siege of Towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as had ever served in War, and following the dreadful Name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal in *Africk* prepares to fight with *Scipio*; treats with him about Peace in vain; leists a Battle at *Nadagara*, and persuades the *Carthaginians* to sue for Peace. Of the Peace granted from *Rome* to *Carthage*.

Hannibal disembarked his Army at *Lepcis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat far from the Enemy; that he might furnish himself with this and the like needful helps, against the day of Battle. From *Lepcis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the *Inland* Country; gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syllax*, was laid to have in those days the best Horse of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easie for *Masanißsa*, by their countenance and help to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* Town thousand Horse. *Aprian* further adds, that *Mecetulus*, (the same who had made himself Protector over *Masanißsa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought unto *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermis* the Son of *Syllax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assail the places that yielded obedience to *Masanißsa*. This *Vermis*, as we find in *Livy*, came with more than sixteen thousand men (for he lost more than fo many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base, as to make humble fly unto the *Romans* for Peace; whilst they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by War.

But

But when they behought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further procrastination, to do what he could out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Army: but since he was General of their forces, He thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to their Embassadors: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masanißsa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business a part. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masanißsa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdom. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces would little avail him; if *Hannibal* should catch the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking fresh order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own Kingdom; with four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them safe into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion, *M. Bæbius*, one of the late Embassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them, and detained them; sending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coin, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, He made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the Sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do, they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies alunder, as Men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their

prædise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revenged minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who instead of trusting them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, He gave them liberty to depart; and sent them away safe unto their General. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to have an Enter-view, and personal conference; and signified so much unto him, by a Messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that he would meet him shortly in place convenient. The next day *Masanißsa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him removed unto a Town called *Nadagara*; near unto which he sat down, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a Water that might opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginians*, That the time and place did fully serve, if He had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the Enemy: where he encamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his Men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their Water somewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a Troop of Horse, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a peice of ground, which was before well searched, for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage* and for *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countries of *Sicily* and of *Spain*, about which their Fathers and themselves had driven, were no sufficient recompence of so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, that it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their own Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obfinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his own years, and long trial of Fortune both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are subject. For (said He) mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *Hannibal*, who after my victory at *Cannæ* won the greatest part of *Italy*: and deified with my self, what I should do with your City of *Rome*; which I hoped verily to have taken.

R r r r 2
Once

Once I brought mine Army to your Walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage; but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant us Peace. This may serve as a document of Fortunes instability. I fought with thy Father Scipio: He was the first of the Roman Generals, that ever met me in the Field. I did then little think; and the time would come, that I should have fought myself, as now at the present, with his Son. But this is even one of Fortunes Payments, whereby she hath many. And thou must have experience of the like in thy self, who knowest how soon? Think upon M. Attilius. If he would have hearkened unto such persuasions, as I now use to thee; he might have returned home to Rome an happy man. And so might thou do now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How sayst thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and whatsoever Islands else are situated between Italy and Africk, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left unto the Romans, to bear Dominion therein? Thou shalt have Glory enough by effecting this much, and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for as our own quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little; I must desire thee to ponder well how great we hazard thou must undergo, for the obtaining of a very little more, than that which thou must have without contention. It is now in thine own power, to lay hold upon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but till to morrow night, and thou must take such Fortune, as it shall please the Gods. The issue of Battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steel will each of us bring into the Field: but of the Victory, neither of us hath assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make Peace: And do not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in this Treaty: It is I Hannibal that now desire Peace with thee; which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Country. And thinking it expedient I will always maintain it: like as I have maintained unto my Power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the War by me begun. Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicily and in Spain, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Memories*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their Confederates, had caused them to put on those Arms; which the Gods had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of Fortune: he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For *was it not plain*, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed were already won from them by the Romans? If laid he, these Conditions had been propounded whilst as yet ye detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the Case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of thine former demands; to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to deal graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining Peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in Honour, not to let them be gainers or losers by the wrongs

which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that, besides those offers which thou hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom for all Prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thousand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliver Hostages for assurance of fair dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their spoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embassadors? Not so: But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done: then will I take advice with my Council what answer to give you; otherwise, you may even prepare for War, and blame your own selves, for that I have denied you Peace.

Hereupon they brake off; and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than War; bidding their Soldiers prepare for a Battel, wherein should be decided the quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The next morning, at break of day they issued into the Field: a notable Match and such as hath very seldom been found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the Battel at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided in to their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not far behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary custom of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces between the *Hastati*, that is to the *Hastati*, they should not come upon the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as they were in File. This he did because of the Elephants; whereas Hannibal had made use of the Elephants; whereof Hannibal had made use. For of those Beasts the danger was less, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velines* or those of the light stature, that were to begin the Fight, He gave direction, that when they found themselves overcharged, either by the Enemies, (or which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those Lanes that were between the Maniples and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third Battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples which he desired to keep open. His Italian Horse he placed in the left wing under C. Lelius. In the right wing was *Malcanis* with his *Nimidian*s. He himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; using words not many, but very forcible. He bad them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into *Africk*. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the War was at an end; and that their Victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whether they would fly. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own standing Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them shelter; if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory; unless they would live like wretched

wretched slaves under most merciless Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting Victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourscore, in Front of his Battel. Next behind these, he made his Vanguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Balcaris*, and *Moors*. Then followed his Battel; which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more interessed in the quarrel than were those Mercenaries; though not so good Soldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King Philip. More than the space of a Furlong behind these came his Rearward consisting of those brave Soldiers which had served him in his Italian Wars; and were the only Men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to Lelius, in his own right Wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. *Tychicus* and the *Nimidian*s he placed in his left Wing against *Malcanis*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodness. For *Tychicus* and *Macedonians* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Malcanis*. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be levied in the haste of a few days; and the remainder of those that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his Companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their Saddles. All that he could have done, was to flay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vernina* the Son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few days after, with sixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse: the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brook no delay: Hannibal must be fain to comfort himself, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian Soldiers; whose virtue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their several conditions: promising unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards threatening the Carthaginians with inevitable servitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-soldiers, by the many Victories which they had obtained against far greater numbers. He bade them look upon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like to him, as that huge Army which they had slaughtered at *Carna*. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio, even the Father of this Man, whom they had hitherto of all compelled to run away. He told them that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them the very worst of the Roman Soldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry Battels could no longer be trusted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the rest, they were young men, the Sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of those weapons, by which their Fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose virtue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of Men worthy.

Such exhortations did the two Generals before the Fight. When they drew near together: the *Nimidian* Horsemen on both sides began to stir

first. The Trumpets, and other Instruments of War, sounded to Battel: and Hannibal commanded his Elephants to break upon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) those that stood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear, and ran upon their own *Nimidian* Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Malcanis* eysing this, gave charge upon the same *Nimidian*s; and not suffering them to really themselves, drew them made a great spoil of the Roman *Velines*, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples; but without any harm to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open Divys; according as Scipio had well provided. Divys, according as they received many wounds, and growing therewith furious could no longer be governed: but ran back upon the right point of their own Battel, and beyond that into the open Field. Herewithal they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gave to Lelius the same advantage, that *Malcanis* had against the *Nimidian*s; which he used in like sort. In the mean while the Battels of Foot advanced, and drew near together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a Weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time firmed both in audacity, and in quickness to have the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the Roman discipline after a while, prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the Battel of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their Fellows; and shewed themselves ready, if need were to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new levied Carthaginians and Africans, when they saw their hired Soldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The Carthaginian Battel was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat: and yet withal forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this; Fear and Indignation caused those that were at once charged by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own Fellows, to turn their Arms with an heedless fury against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten down and slain, through their own indifferency, by their own Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to overbear this great medley of Enemies, that was made a great slaughter between the Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians; which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily fly. Such of them as escaped, ran towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, and would not fire one foot, to help or save these Run-aways. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his Battel, and save themselves in the open Field. The ground, over which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with Hannibal, was covered with such thick heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and so

slippery with blood : that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, left the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Army, which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him : He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hæstati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite unto the main battal of the *Hannibals*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii* : he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hæstati*, and made of them his two Corners. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal* : who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work, till now, seemed to have been only a matter of patience ; in regard of the sharp Conflict, that was maintained between these notable Soldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before : They were also far the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh ; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot ; but rather chose to die upon the ground, whereon he stood. So that after a long time, it was uncertain which part had the worse : unless it may seem, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink ; forasmuch as the return of *Excerpt. Macanissa and Lælius*, from pursuit of the Enem-
Polys-Lis-mies *Horle*, is said to have been most happy, and in a needful time. These upon the sudden charged the *Hannibals* in Rear ; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to rout.

In this Battel there died of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards : on the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken ; of whom, *Sopater*, Captain of the *Macedonians*, was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius* ; and was acknowledged, as *Livy* reports, by *Scipio* himself. But the Enemies were too strong for him in *Horle* : and being enjoyed, and as he was by the fate of *Carthage*, to take batel with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels. He saved himself with a few *Horle*, and flaid not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage* ; from which he had been absent six and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, he said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other course to take, resolve to send Embassadors again ; and try the favour of *Scipio*, whose arms they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica* : where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies, and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, he thought it best to make towards *Carthage* : rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius* ; whom he willed to meet him there by Land. Then sending *Lælius* a way to *Rome*, with news of the Victory, he set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by Ten Embassadors from the City : who bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to use the pitiful gesture of Suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City : and viewing it more in bravery, than with

meaning to attempt it ; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom, in person, he set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the news, that *Verrinus*, the Son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more *Horle* than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Verrinus* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence, how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of *Horle*, was sent against him : which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few ; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken Prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day ; which the *Carthaginian* lost, by default of *Horle*. But *God* had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this Victory, though it were not great access unto the former ; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage* : whose behaviour, though it was more pitiful than it had been before ; yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this War, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the War against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italy* : was bold to pass over into the Isle of *Sicily* (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal*, by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africa*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africa* : and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire ; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul, might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him : Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather, first upon the Coast of *Trinacria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia* ; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the Victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the War was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus*, the new Consul, so passionate, in desiring *Africa* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this : and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio* ; if the War continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved : and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal, in that he was contented to leave unto them their Liberty, and their own Laws, with- out

out appointing any Governor over them, or Garrison, to hold them in subjection ; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africa*, such as they were at the beginning of this War. As touching the rest, he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or Truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto, if they would yield, then required he, That immediately they should deliver up unto the *Romans* all Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, that they had of theirs : likewise all their Gallies, excepting Ten : and all their Elephants : That they should make no War at all themselves out of *Africa*, neither yet within *Africa*, without licence of the *Romans* : That the Countries, Towns, Goods whatsoever, belonging any wife unto *Malanissa*, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him : That they should find Corn for the *Roman* Army, and Wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, until the Peace were fully concluded : That they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year ; and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages, such as *Scipio* would chuse, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.

With these Conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing ; and therefore one *Gisco* stood up to speak against them, and exhorted the People, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Orator, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured ; as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up, and spake unto them : saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the Customs of the City would allow ; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace ; and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves ; had the demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio* : to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pound weight of Silver, in recompence of Damages, and Injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three months : in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadors to them sent ; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their Errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious Counsels. *Asdrubal*, furnished the *Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadors ; who related unto the Senate, and People, these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Philip*, King of *Macedon* : who, together

with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the Election of new Consuls, then in hand, was finished ; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadors called into the Senate : who first answering unto some Points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved ; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Aurelius* : who being one of the three Embassadors, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows ; and there leying Men, made War upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countreymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in *Africa*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio* ; might be released, and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Varus*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured too many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might ; which else were like to be brought under the King's subjection. As for *Sopater* : he affirmed him to be one of the King's Council, and very inward with him, one that served not for Money, but carried Money with him, and four thousand Men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these Points when the *Macedonian* Embassadors could make unto the Senate no good answer ; they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That War he fought, and War he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points he had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans* : first, in that he had wronged their Confederates ; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them with Men and Money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece*, and the *Eastern* Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadors in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entered into the Senate ; and *Asdrubal*, above the rest, was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadors to *Carthage*, upon the like Errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Roman* side, saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsell. But if *Hanno* and himself, might have had their wills ; the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the Peace which they now desired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour, by which always they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadors : all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified ; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their file. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans* ; if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what Gods they would swear to keep the Peace hereafter : *Asdrubal* made answer, Even by the same Gods,

Gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus, the Consul, interposing the authority of his Office, would have hindered the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of Peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making War in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Sovereign Command of *Rome*: and by them referred wholly unto pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates sent unto him from *Rome*, of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Countrymen, which were Prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransom, and carry home with them some, that were their especial friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors, would chuse, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the Ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in Commis-

At their coming into *Africk*, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegados, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's, than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their Money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the Pension was annual, and to continue fifty years; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collecting of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* Yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Afrubal* *Heldus*, and told, That it worst of all befel them to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; he answered, That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but sometimes from extreme indignation. Yet, said he, My laughter is more reasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept, when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants; and when ye bound your own hands from the use of Arms; without the good leave of the *Romans* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under; and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little Mo-

ney is wrung out of your private purses, ye have there of some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your misery, for which ye have shed these tears. Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of curing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous Disease, accused that Physician, whose noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the Remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masaniſſa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations, not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those Towns of King *Syrax*, which the *Romans* at that present held: wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Namidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*: where when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio*, with some part of his Army, took his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than his Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entered the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syrax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and died soon after in Prison: or whether he were dead a while before, it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous Custom of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contemptuously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had always made fair and courteous War. But hereof we shall have better Example, ere the same Age pass. It was neither the person of *Syrax*, nor any other glory of the Spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous War past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner without hope, that ever they should see *Italy* free. This made them look cheerfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio*, the Title of the *African*: filling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honourable kind of Surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the Title of Countries, where in they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in virtue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

Exempli
propheta.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip, the Father of Perseus, King of Macedon; His first Acts, and War with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians overrun Peloponnesus. Philip, and his Associates, make War against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

Phil. in-
tro-
Sertori.

OF the great similitude found in worldly Events, the limitation of matter hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependence upon the will of man, we are left to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the Kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threecore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended Conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks*, with such numbers of men, as might have seemed irresistible. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine War devoted upon that Conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor*, with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*, or *Cyrus*, with his well-trained Army, had made the attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and virtue of their Men, rather than the greatness of their names, against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer, as did the old *Lion*, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea, and kicked by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the Virtue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be sold by any of less noted Excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerdach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus*, the *Epirot*, had dash'd his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entered into War against the *Romans*. This War he undertook, as it were, for his minds sake: having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended Conquests, of *Sicily* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own virtue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. For since the they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even King of *Greece*, could in a *Spanish* pretended invincible Navy, to what should hinder them from the conquest of those unwelcome Provinces, which in compass of twelve years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion, by some good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow of it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation. When therefore the first Punic War was ended, which followed soon after the Wars of *Pyrrhus*, and of the *Tarentines*; then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to enquire to ascertain any good occasion, that should be on that coast offered. They had also then a strong preparation of very skilful Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So that time it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Tata* made at the same time cruel War upon the *Greeks*: waiting their Country, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter, the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that War which they made with

§. I. I.

Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* War. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indifference of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them being now the Subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his Reign, and his first Actions.

It was like to prove a busy time in the world, when, within the space of four years, new Kings began to Reign in the most of all Countries known; and three of them young Boys, in three of the greatest Kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, unto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his Brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the Great. *Ptolemy Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his Father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being sixteen or seventeen years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achaens* and most of the *Greeks*; by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Dyon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedaemon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Antiarabes* then began his Reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycargus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedaemonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achaens*, a Kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the state of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, it was, that open War broke out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and the rest, we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his Reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achaens*, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easy subjection unto *Cleomenes*: was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartans*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Ætolians* were no Men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than War. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messinians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Elans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, then it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achaens* were called by the *Messinians* to help: which they did more willingly; because the *Ætolians*, passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. *Old Aratus* could ill abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most ungrate-

fully they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Achaens*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon these their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay a few days until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prator of the *Achaens* for the year following. But his anger was greater, ^{Lib. 4. d.} ^{2. b. 5. d.} and he shewed himself a man no fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of an Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a great part of the Country, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achaens*; they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messinians*: with whom, by Licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again; having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulf of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Elans*. There joined with them in this their second Invasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of War unto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Phorbus*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilides*, or *Scerdiletes*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havoc in the Country now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because Men were desirous to satisfy themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedaemonians*: who were thought under-hand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despite of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedaemonians* had been so affected, and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they flew thick friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appease them of the intended Rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgment: but entreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: nor for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did misunderstand the *Lacedaemonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his Letters unto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could allege any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rebium* for that purpose:

purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certainty, they adjourned the Council unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law was withstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had delivered it, made election of *Sopas* to be their Prator; that was Author of these invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only Man, in a fort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these additions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared busily for the War against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilides*, with fair words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, so much as the *Ætolians* had confused him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the War in their own Country, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messinians*, and *Lacedaemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce War unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point; and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the War. The *Messinians*, for whose cause the War was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders; and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedaemonians*; the chief of them studied only how to manage that Treason, for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting till when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to Reign over them again; and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings: but were contented with the rule of *Epirots*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had prepared them: And hence they referred all their Councils; being perhaps not a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction on had the more assent, but the contrary side was the more passionate; and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For

it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended: fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able Man to reform them into their greatness and lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well deserving verne, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Heracles*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Achaens*. Thus were they transferred, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassy to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation and hot there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that speak against the *Ætolians*, the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedaemonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achaens*; who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was to be nice, and so regardless of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King; that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agisippus* the Son of *Agisippus* the Son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to Reign over them, as their apparent to his Grandfather. This *Agisippus* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian, and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the Son, how young soever, should have his Fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedaemonians*, though standing in need of a Man, were so punctual in observation of the Law; that they made this Child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of Heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycargus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Epirots* a Talent; and thereby made himself be favoured King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Heracles*. This *Lycargus*, to gratify his Partisans, and to approve his worth by Action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of Peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedaemon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedaemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed War against the *Achaens*.

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwise, than the *Achaens* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messinians* would not stir: all the burden must lie upon themselves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Elans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedaemonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long

ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Acheans*; for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sicyon* two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greediness of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the Citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private Houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wafting all the Territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacy. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten that the Enemy grew bolder with time than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society. In vain. For the *Acheans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his War, they had covetously withheld part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driven to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the Money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*; and that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Acheans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirus* joynd all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the Seige of a Frontier piece; which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty days, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirus*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming; it was thought that he might have made an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon final Towns or Forts: and not seldom, that the impunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the Seige of *Turnay*; at such time as the French King *Leaves* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Tervin* was lost, and that of his Cavalry wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earl of *Essex* with seven hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Brittain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to Paris.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracia*, did wonderfully embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to overrun *Theffalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, He took, and ra-

zed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrymen at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambracia*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phœtie*, *Metropolis*, *Oenide*, *Pænnium*, *Eleus*, and divers other Towns and Castles; of theis: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achaean* Embassadors: news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardaniens* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. These *Dardaniens* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*; and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a Journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Country; as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismiss the *Achaean* Embassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So He took his way home: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Phærias* with no more than one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Dofon*, in the Wars of *Cleomenes*; and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready, at their first request, to take part with *Philip's* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardaniens* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army; and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirus*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they required with all extremities of War, among which, the most notable was the ruin of the famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War until another year was laid aside: *Philip* stole a Journey into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, and about four hundred Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*, He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achaean* Soldiers ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Country, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Acheans* themselves

themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him surprised, and all made Prisoners, or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation: as likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He wan *Phlois*, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He wan it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unreasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of Weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Town was preserved by the King from sack; and given to the *Acheans* of his own meer motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lefion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how easily he had taken *Phlois*. This Town also he gave to the *Acheans*. The like liberality he used towards others; that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to Husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*, where he gave no sacrifice to *Jupiter*, feasted his Captains, and refreshed his Army three days; then he proceeded on to the spoil of those that had taken pleasure to share with the *Ætolians*, in the spoils of their otherwise deserving Neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of Slaves, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could be found in rich Villages. Thence fell he in hand with the Towns, whereto a great multitude of the Country People were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his Journey, by sending Embassadors to yield before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wills, took courage to set themselves at liberty, by seeing the King so near; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Ætolian* Captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wan more Towns in the Country, than the sharpness of Winter would suffer him to stay these days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, until they had covered themselves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their Lives and Arms. Having performed so much in this Expedition, the King repofed himself a while in *Megalopolis*; and then moved to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatened to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with Money: so was he neither free from dan-

ger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which *Uliurpers* are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himself to have best right unto the Kingdom, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites: and afterwards to confirm himself, by propounding unto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common-wealth. He wan to his party some two hundred Men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori* as they were together at Supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his House: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predisposed; they lo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Acheans* a banished Man, and hated of his own People. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his Fellow-King young *Agepolis*; whereby he made himself Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should have been apprehended by the *Ephori*: But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to flee for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the People, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own furnishes against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He took better heed unto himself: not to amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expel him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agepolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three *Uliurpers*, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whosoever was towards more private Citizens: as in the War against *Philip*, He behaved himself as a provident Man, and careful of his Countries good.

§. II.

How *Philip* was misadvised by ill Counsellors: Who afterwards wrought Treason against him, and were justly punished. He invaded the *Ætolians* a second time: And forced them to sue for Peace: which is granted unto them.

WHilst the King lay at *Argos*, devising upon his buisness for the year following; some ambitious Men that were about him, studied to diligently their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Dofon* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest Men for governing of his youth. The

fast Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that understood to make them forlake their alliance with the *Ætoliens*, and joyn with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, He would *Amphidamus* to let them understand. That if he would render unto them freely all Prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all foreign invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the *Caffle of Tebeo*, and made a new invasion upon their Country; then began the *Æleens*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætoliens*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and fend him Prisoner into *Aratus*: But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was fabled) marveling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Æleens*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*; *Apelles*, his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his Son together, had hid devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: and long of them he said it was, that the *Æleens* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati* (that Father and the Son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Æleens* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonians*; and this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very forward to this match, nor the *Æleens* in hearkning to the Kings offer, was a false counsel; he; deviled by *Apelles* himself, upon a false ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage sent for the two *Arati*; and bad *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you fuch ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Acheans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the King; that whenever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own or a man of worth; He should forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the bufines. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few days: wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him about the King. He was not forgetful, to examine him there the

conspiracy of the *Arati*: which when he found
better than a meer device against his honourable
friends; he entertained them in loving manner
before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was
hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long ac-
quaintance and daily employment, no remission
therein could be discerned.

The unrelentful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to pass; began (as commonly Ambition useth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again; and as before being cheekt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he hath prepared a snare for the *Arati*; so failing of them he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought he had taken the Swallow which drave away from out of the Chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the Air by the Bird that was too strong to be caught and held by the feibill workmanship of Cob-webe. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Anigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander*, Captain of the Guard, were faithful men and such as would not be corrupted. The other two *Leontius* Captain of the Targueries, and *Megalæus*, chief of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This Politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put fomes Creatures of his own into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumination and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more finenes; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of War; and one, whom for his many virtues the King might ill spare from being always in his presence. By such art he thought to have removed him as we say, *Out of Gods Blessing into warm Sun*. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himself; and fought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prator of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King. He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the Money and the Corn, wherewith he should have been furnished by the *Achaens*. This made the King understand his own error; which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He perswaded the *Achaens* to rejoin their Parliament from *Aegium*, to *Sicyon* the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his Son: perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, of whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of these worthy men, he easily obtained what he would of the *Achaens*. First, talents they gave him out of hand, with greater of Corn; and further decreed, that for loss of him as he himself in person followed the Wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten Talents a Month. Being thus enabled he began to provide shipping that to he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime People, to his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see thee
go forward to well without his help; even
the ministry of those whom he most hated.
Wherefore he entred into conspiracy with *Antiochus*
and *Megaleas*: binding himself and them
by oath, to crols and bring to nought,
well as they were able, all that the King should
take in hand. By so doing they thought to bring

le to say, that very want of ability to do any
thing without them, should make him speak them
fair; and be glad to furnish himself in their di-
rections. The King it is like had frod in some
awe of them whilst he was a Child; and therefore
these wife men perfwaded themselves, that, by
looking big upon him, and imputing unto him
all that fell out ill through their own misgov-
ernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a Child
still. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to
take order for the provisions, which were to come
that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid
behind the King, to play their parts; all more
mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleets Army being in a readiness: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his Forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Ætolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achaens*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. He himself with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephalonia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very servicable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates: and might bevery useful to him, if he could get it. While he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen Ships of War from *Sceardalide*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acer-nanians*, and *Messinians*. But the Town was ob-finate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the Wall, where he threw there hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the Targetiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his Covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his best; and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foyle, and many slain; not of the worst Souldiers, but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treason of their Captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this: but there was no remedy; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier unto the Townsmen to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. While he stood thus perplexed, and uncertain what course to take: the *Messinians* and *Acer-nanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Country. The *Messinians* al-liged, that *Lycurus* was busy in wafting their Country: upon whom the King might come un-awares in one day; the *Erelian* Winds which then blew, serving tidly for his Navigation. Hereo also *Leontius* perwaded; who considered that those Winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they drain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-days) and make him spend the Summer to small purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed. He flewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* over-run all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, while the King withdrew his Army far off to seek small adventures. Rather he said, that the time now served well to carry the War into *Ætolia*; since the Prætor was gone hence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurus*, he was not fitrong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achaens* were appointed to make head against him. Ac-

According to this advice, the King sets sail for *Ætolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætoliens* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and joyed with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon the bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland Country; and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; he passed on to *Thermum*; which was the Receiptplace of the *Ætoliens*; and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fertility, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow, steep, and difficult ascent. There did the *Ætoliens* use to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their Election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil: whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompensed. So he loaded his Army: and confining all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætoliens*; in remembrance of the like their courtesy, shewed upon the Temples of *Dion* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionless) more for the Kings Honour have been forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Antiochus* da *Gange* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*. That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætoliens* laid for him: which that they would do he believed before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell upon his skirts: but he had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Ætoliens*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the Enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Ætoliens* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Siratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great Feast unto all his Friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his Fellow *Megalas*. They came, because they could not chuse: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. Grieved then to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings business; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dispense in their Faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drink, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uproar; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King tending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megalas*, and another with him, came

The King began to rate them for their disorder; and they, to give him froward answers: insumch as they said at length, that they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targetiers at his heels; and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megalas*, yea, and to cast him into Prison? Why, said the King, It was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both fild and angry; seeing himself out-trownd, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megalas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hindrance of the Kings Victory at *Palesa*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no less touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megalas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak: that he, and *Crimen* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crimen* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megalas*. This was done upon the way homeward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of business this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well they could; with ill success: yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the Fields: and having beaten the Enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of Cattel, Slaves, and other Country-spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*: that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætoliens*. They had gracious audience: and he would them to deal first with the *Ætoliens*; who, if they would make the same request, should not find him unreasonable. The *Ætoliens* had sped ill that year: neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season they had been grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the center of their own Country. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in Arms against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out; since they were not strong enough to keep the Field, but had already suffered those miseries of War, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætoliens* readily entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty days with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to entreat his presence at a Diet of their Nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whether if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst

Whilst these things were in hand; *Leontius* and *Megalas* thought to have terrified the King by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device proved to no good effect. The Souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors; without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the Souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult fought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew, as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalas* were fore afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self, to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their Treason; requesting him speedily to repair to *Corinth*, where he might find between them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business, undertaken by him and his treacherous Companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him; and received from him their dispatch in every business. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnify the virtue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his especial care, that Money, and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King, for very need, to sell his own Plate, and household vessels: thinking to resolve these, and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish*. Hereof if the King would give assent, then taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Euboea*, to the City of *Corinth*, where *Philip* then lay; he was met with in great Pomp and Royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megalas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falldown. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time; for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was not a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his Attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him, save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megalas* to look unto himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion*, his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targetiers, as it were to do some piece of service; but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a Messenger presently to his Targetiers, to signify what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf.

They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the Debt of *Megalas*, if that were all the matter, they said, that they were ready to make a Purse for his discharge. This affection of the Souldiers, made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere Letters of *Megalas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætoliens*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King underflood more perfectly the falldown, not only of *Megalas*, but of *Apelles*: whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megalas*, that was fled to *Thess*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, and his Son, and another that was inward with him, to Prison: wherein all of them shortly ended the lives. *Megalas* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life, and flew himself about the same time.

The *Ætoliens*, as they had begun this War upon hope of accomplishing what they lifted in the Nonage of *Philip*: In finding that the vigor of this young Prince, repented with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very defructious to make an end of it. Nevertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the Kings Targetiers; they began to hope a-new, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this ungovernable Nation; He thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning, and continuing the War, should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgment one *Prionius*, a Companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*, and suffered Death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his Imprisonment: yet now they think the man worthy to die, that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* was some bordering Towns; from which the *Dardaniens*, *Ætoliens*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make Roads into his Kingdom. When he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætoliens* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, with others from *Prionius* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Byzantium*, re-continuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This falshood had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to set the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of War, but presently there were found Intercissors, who plying the passion of *Greekish* blood,

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blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly Offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad fought to bind unto them those people, that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward sort, especially the *Ætoliens*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *The love of Greece* would be sufficient to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as soon as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the Embassadors as he had done the former year: That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: but that the *Ætoliens*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the midst of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by Letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable Victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battel at *Teraymene*. These Letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*; and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætoliens*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus*, an *Ætolian*, make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing War between themselves: without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look *Eastward*, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Country should be at peace within it self: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*. Such advice could the *Ætoliens* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatening them at hand:

but being soon after weary of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*; whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for Damages past.

§. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of *Demetrius Pharius*, enters into League with *Hannibal*, against the *Romans*. The Tenor of the League between *Hannibal* and *Philip*.

THIS being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip*, to prepare for the business of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battel of *Cannæ*: after which he joyned in League with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their Enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hero*, a far weaker Prince, have both secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætoliens* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon Conditions that might easily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenor of the League between Him and *Carthage*: which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used; though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busie piece.

THE

THE OATH AND COVENANTS

BETWEEN

HANNIBAL, General of the CARTHAGINIANS,

AND

XENOPHANES, Embassador of PHILIP, King of MACEDON.

THIS is the League ratified by Oath, which HANNIBAL, the General, and with him MAGO, MYRCAL, and BARMOCAL, as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with XENOPHANES, the Son of CLEOMACHUS, Athenian, whom King PHILIP, the Son of DEMETRIUS, hath sent unto us, for himself, and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo: before † The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolaus: before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before The Gods accompanying Arms, the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth; before Rivers, and Meadows, and Waters; before all the Gods that have power over Carthage; before all the Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL, the General hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Army: Be it agreed between You and Us. That this Oath stand for Friendship and loving Affection, That We become Friends, familiar, and Brethren, upon Covenant, That the safety of the Lords, the Carthaginians, and of HANNIBAL, the General, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, using the same Laws, and of the Ulicans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Towns and Nations with which We hold Friend-

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ship

ship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shall hold Friendship, or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King PHILIP, and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their Associates. In like manner shall King PHILIP, and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Associates, be saved and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Africans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Soldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter join with us in Italy. We shall not take counsel one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readiness and good Will, without deceit or subtilty, We shall be Enemies unto the Enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which we have already League and Friendship. We also shall be Enemies to the Enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already League and Friendship. The War that We have with the Romans, have Ye also with them, until the Gods shall give us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid Us with those things whereof We have need, and shall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Us their help in this War against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer Friendship, We shall make Friendship in such wise, that Ye shall be partakers of the same Friendship, with Condition: That they shall not have power to make War upon you: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over the Corycraans, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render unto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such Peace made) shall make War upon Ye or Us; We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities and States, with whom We hold already League and Friendship. To this League if We or Ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

§. IV.

§. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural Vices, being therein seduced by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punick War. He joins with Aratus: and grows hateful to the Achæans.

HERETO Philip had carried himself as a virtuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his Wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punick War, proceeded from a Royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own Estate, adding therewithal Reputation to his Country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by DEMETRIUS PHARIUS: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him, even as he listed. For the Virtues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair show he might breed in men such a good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should abuse himself in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the Greeks, that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto Apelles had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at better times. DEMETRIUS PHARIUS could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coachman, with the Reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted ARATUS: which the violence of Apelles could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the Messenians, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a foreign War) unto domestic objects: than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found ARATUS busied among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the Messenians as repaired unto him. He asked the Governors, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws, to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble. Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few: as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrans. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the King's assistance; they

thought it best to go roundly to work, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governors therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the Multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion the People took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seems, that it would be easy to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs, their guardians, were slain. But his falsehood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger ARATUS forbear, to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old ARATUS aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of Ithome, that was over Messene. There he pretended to do Sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use; for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilst he was thereto sacrificing, and had the Enralls of the Beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to ARATUS, and gently asked him, whether the Tokens that he saw therein did signify, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have schooled him a little; were it only for desire to make amends, for the angry words newly spoken by his Son. But as ARATUS stood doubtful what to answer, DEMETRIUS PHARIUS gave this Verdict: If thou be a Souldier, thou must go thy way, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Ox by both his Horns. Thus he spake, resembling Ithome and Accorinthus, unto the Two Horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needs hear the Opinion of ARATUS: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his Faith unto the Messenians: But if, by seizing upon Ithome, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by ANIGOMUS, which was his credit, then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his Friends become his Enemies.

To this good advice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing between him and the ARATS; whom he thought more froward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For as he likewise discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in referring to his house, he had been dishonest with his Son's Wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of Cleomenes, his own Countreyman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That unonself counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirotes* were his followers and dependents; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he seized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid Siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of these doings; but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not fearing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus instead of influencing the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required; he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*: *M. Valerius*, the *Roman*, came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirotes* against him, but procured the *Ætoliens* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrences whereof we have related before, in place where it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the Office of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them, as before. They undertook him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an Enterprize. In this attempt upon *Messene* he lost *Demetrius Phorius*; that was his Counsellor, and Flatterer, not his perverter; as appears by his growing daily more nought in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he vexed against those, that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministry of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, he poisoned also the younger *Aratus*; hoping that these things would never have been known, because they were done secretly, and the poisons themselves were more sure, than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Heros*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the Gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*, which is like enough to have been true; since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The loving Memory of *Aratus*, their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but work in the *Achaens* a marvellous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the Murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to suspect, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætoliens* were a most outrageous people, great da-

rrers, and shameless robbers. With these the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the *Ætoliens* should have the Country and Towns; but the *Romans* the Spoil, and carry away the people, to sell for Slaves. The *Achaens*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make freight alliance with the *Ætoliens*, as knowing their unenvil disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greeks* account all other Nations, except their own) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedæmians*, to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætoliens*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late War. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaens*, his Confederates, sufficed to retain them: especially at such time as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the *Dymeans*, by an ineffable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætoliens*, and redeeming their people wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away Captive, and sold abroad for Slaves. Thus might he have blotched out the memory of offences past; if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwise broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ashamed, he took *Polyxenus*, the Wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the second time: for of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of *Philopœmen*, General of the *Achaens*: and *Machinidas*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. A Battle between them, wherein *Machinidas* is slain.

It happens often, that the decay of one eminent man discovers the Vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopœmen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achaens* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their Neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to *Antigonus*, at the battle of *Sellasia*, against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward until now, he had spent the most part of his time in the Isle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy, to have his follow-

ers well mounted and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them in all exercise of service, that he made the *Achaens* very strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no less care to reform their Military Discipline throughout, whereby his Country might be strong enough to defend it self, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the *Achaens* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, householdstuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant; by so much were they like to prove the better Soldiers; and furbur in behaviour unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off: that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hasty Expeditions; whereat *Aratus* had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of Shield, with good Swords, and strong Pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the form of their embattailing; not making the Files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight Months were spent of that year, in which he first was Prætor of the *Achaens*; when *Machinidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, caused him to make trial, how his Soldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machinidas* was the Successor unto *Lyorgus*; a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achaens*, that were favourers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Ætoliens*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achaens*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all, or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwillingly. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Mastery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machinidas* to be idle; but made him always ready to fall upon his Neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his Attempts. At the present he was stronger in Men, than were the *Achaens*; and thought his own Men better Soldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the Country of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done be-

fore him; yea, and perhaps to get the *Laconians* of *Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantineia*; where was fought between them a great battle. The Tyrant had brought into the Field upon Carts, a great many of Engines; whereby to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* lent forth his light Armour a good way before him; so as *Machinidas* was fain to do this like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaens*, and of *Machinidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being far advanced each before their own *Palans*, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoiled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machinidas* his Engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing Execution, in most of the battles fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Soldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by Free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victory; many Companies (if not all) of foreign Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows, will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more Subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The Stipendiaries therefore of the *Achaens*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machinidas*, that shortly they betook themselves to flight; and could not be staid by any persuasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battle of the *Achaens*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanor of *Machinidas*, and found in him that Error which might reform the Victory. The Tyrant, with his Mercenaries, gave chase unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battle his *Lacedæmians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Achaens*; that were already disheartened by the flight of their Companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Soldiers than the *Achaens*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battle; and had no sooner the foremost of them re-

covered

covered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achaens*, who drove them headlong into the Ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopemen* getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopemen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machinidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a Bridge that was over the Ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lusty Troop of Horse about him he made towards the Bridge: hoping to find the *Achaens* in disorder, and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopemen* ready to make good the Bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his Company, rode along the Ditch-side; and searched for an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopemen* therefore leaving the charge of the Bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the Ditch itself, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battle of the *Lacedaemonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaen* Mercenaries, probable it is that the loss was not greatly cared for, since that War was at an end, and for their Money they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.

Philip having Peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamum, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Limages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the *Achaens* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline, and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of War inferior to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonians*, He made no great use of them: But when he had once concluded Peace with the *Romans* and *Atolians*, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Cartaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achaens* would have done him service; they must, by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamum*, who had joyined with the *Romans* and *Atolians* in War against him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers virtue. His fortune began in *Philetarus* his Uncle: who being gelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a Child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great Men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto Wives or Children. He was entertained into the Family of *Docimus*, a

Captain following *Antigonus* the first; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his Money and accomps. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant: He fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamum*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Town and Money, together with his own service, He offered unto *Seleucus* the first, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* Battle. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus* having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philetarus* or his Money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamum* with the Country about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had two Brethren: of which the elder is said to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetarus* left his Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the Son of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the dissension, between *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the Sons of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a Battle with *Hierax*, near unto *Sardis*; and won the victory. At which time, to animate his Men against the *Gauls* that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word *Victorie* upon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off; and when the hot Liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had clearly taken the print of the Letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foretelling that the gods would be assistant in that Battle.

After this victory, he grew a dreadful Enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over-much drink; and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was Son unto *Attalus* the youngest Brother of *Philetarus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper efforts He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocians* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Achaens*: who setting up himself, as King against *Antiochus* the great, Reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own City of *Pergamum*; but by help of the *Trojan* age, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, He recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without invitation, and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his War against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Hellepontus*: where, in feasting themselves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharp exaction whereof, they

they had no more respect unto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their Neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the Posterity of such as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the foolish reign of the *Perfians*; or in the busy times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their Line had married with *Astolus*, Sister unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the Son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, elysing his time while the *Macedonians* were at Civil Wars among themselves; recovered his Dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Perfian* Empire; and are said to have issued from the Royal House of *Achaemens*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Phylomachus*, a King that assisted *Primus* at the War of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the fit of itself. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the Great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calpurnius*, one of *Alexander* Captains, made an Expedition into their Country; where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they stultified, as did the rest, until the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by Attalus King of Pergamum, and by the Rhodians.

P *Prusias* as a Neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself, by taking to Wife the Daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entered into a strict Confederacy with the *Atolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Atolian* War, and was devising with *Antiochus* about sharing between them two, the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemy Philopater* a friend unto them both was newly dead, and had left his Son *Tol Epiphanes* a young Child his Heir; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father in Law to come over into *Asia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciams*, and bestow it upon him. *Prusias* had no right unto the Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it: but it was fitly desired for him; and therewithal rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well deny to help his Son in Law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst he lay at the Siege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprize. He gave dilatory; but otherwise gentle answers: making them as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing less.

At length he got the Town: where, even in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed to regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his Neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodians*: who had made vehement intercession for the poor *Ciams*; and were advertised by Embassadors of purpose sent unto them from *Philip*, That, howsoever it were in his power to win the Town as soon as he lifted: yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, He was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency the Embassadors said, that he would manifest unto the World, what slanderous Tongues they were; which noised a broad false reports, as went of his falsehood and oppressions. Whilst the Embassadors were declaring at *Rhodes* in the Theatre to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had lacked and destroyed the Town of *Cas*, and made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great disdain, no less were the *Atolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* and *Chalcidum* (which he had withdrawn from them: Confederacy to his own) what little trust was to be reposed in the Faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moved with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchasing with much liberality, the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens virtue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the *Atolians* he had cause to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late War with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, He easily drew into a freight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Upon confidence in these his Friends, but most of all in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open War. It had been unseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to lessen upon *Asia* was manifest, and his falsehood no less manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from *Cios*, and fought with him a Battle at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly escaping to Land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the Battle took Harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks upon the shore: Yet inasmuch as he had suffered far greater loss of Ships and Men, than had the *Atolians*; and since he durst not in few days after put to sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to Sea, him in his Port; the honour of the Victory was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards engaged and won some Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to delight his opponents; or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The hopeful desire of conquest, it is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Mine: and

finding the Earth so stony, that it resisted his work: He nevertheless commanded the Pyoniers to make a noise under ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised great Mounds about the entrance of the Mine, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went marvelously forward. At length he sent word to the Townsmen, that by his under-mining, two Acres of their Wall stood only upon wooden Props: to which if he gave fire, and entered by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The *Prætorian* little thought, that he had sowed all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-fac'd, and gave up the Town as lost, which the Enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himself in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian War, seek master of quarrel against *Philip*. The Athenians, upon slight cause proclaim War against *Philip*; moved thereto by *Attalus*; whom they flatter. *Philip* wins divers Towns: and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Ambassador. The furious resolution of the Aboydien.

These Asiatick matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make a noise in Rome; and fill the Peoples heads, if not with a desire of making War in *Macedon*, at least with a conceit that it were expedient for to do. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greeks* were fædious and seldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonians*, though length of time and continual dealings in Greece ever since the Reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals; yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally footstool a Barbarian: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels; and they that had been most beholden unto him, were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of Greece would not long detain the Roman Armies; especially since the divisions of the Country were such, that every petty Estate was apt to take counsel apart for itself; without much regarding the generality. But the poor commonality of Rome, had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous War with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick all their Money: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present Money, but much of it in Lapid: it befell them to rest a while; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by

how much they were the less able to bestow. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had sent Embassadors to solicit them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*; or that *At. Lædus*, their Agent in Greece, had sent Letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous Enemy, that solicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person or sending Embassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold War with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, especially with the help of the *Ætoliens* their good Friends, and (in a manner) his own professed Enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the War, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those, that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new Enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them: for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have straitened his forces to the utmost in making War upon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of Peace which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the *Romans*, because of the written Covenants of Peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby such Articles of Peace can be held inviolable, save only * by the water of *Syris*, that is by Necessity: which whilst it binds one party, or both unto performance, making it appear that he shall be a loser who flatters from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* never harkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had Peace with *Carthage*, then was this River of *Syris* dried up: and then could his swear, as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, * *Plat. Amph.* that they own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make War upon him. The Voyage of *Scopas* into *Africa*, and the present War against *Attalus*; were matter of quarrel as much as needed or if; this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entering into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the days of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous Superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those

that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer Error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet as it had been for some heinous Crime, they were put to death. All their Countreymen at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by War upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonian* to help them, they entered into *Asia*: who waited it with Fire and Sword; and carried thence away with them a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy success against *Philip*, and entreating him to visit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because he understood, that the Roman Embassadors, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodiens*. Landing in the *Prætorian*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoicing that he continued Enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the War. The *Athenians* came forth of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their Wives and Children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in every loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himself, they omitted no point of observance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius*, the youngest of them, should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydos*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with Rome: and the Town of *Abydos*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Here to *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made War upon him: and that he did only require them with the like. Do you also (said *Æmilius*) require these poor *Abydians* with such terrible War, for any like invasion by them first made upon you? The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he rudely made answer to *Æmilius*; It is your Youth, Sir, and your Beauty; and (above all) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: if ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom and Name of *Macedon* is in matter of War, no less noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Ambassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful Oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable Conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governors and Ancients of the City, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out

that he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obdurate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodiens* sent thither only one Quadrireme Gally: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; far too weak an aid to make good the place. The Roman Embassadors wondered much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much upon themselves.

These Embassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Prilemy* Epiphones, King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Ægyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his Reign, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesy for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was, That out of *Egypt* they had lately been supplied with Corn, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This Mislage could not but be welcome to the *Ægyptian*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Council for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with Corn: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition, concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the Errand was for the most part complementary: so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius*, the youngest of them, should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydos*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with Rome: and the Town of *Abydos*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Here to *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made War upon him: and that he did only require them with the like. Do you also (said *Æmilius*) require these poor *Abydians* with such terrible War, for any like invasion by them first made upon you? The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he rudely made answer to *Æmilius*; It is your Youth, Sir, and your Beauty; and (above all) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: if ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom and Name of *Macedon* is in matter of War, no less noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Ambassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful Oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable Conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governors and Ancients of the City, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out

their Gold and Silver to Philip: about which whilst they were busy, the Memory of their Oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their Women, Children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Athyenians* three days leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

§. IX.

The Romans decree War against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time, both in quality and estate.

THIS calamity of the *Athyenians*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearly resembled; though *Rome* was not a-like interested in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five months, but in the short space of five days sailing. Thus *P. Scipio*, the Consul, told the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The Example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged, to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such Arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastened away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in readiness, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, for their constancy (as was said) in not changing their Faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them; though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves, that any Greek Town, refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the *Eastern* parts; had reason to give thanks unto those that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, that *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these busy-headed *Athyenians*, who falling out with the *Acanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, about a matter of *Megaram*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus*, and other their Neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Scipio*, the Consul, were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*; and landing about the River of *Ajpas*, between *Dyrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him, and craved his help; whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was so far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius*, with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: only some Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Isle of *Euboea*; and some bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*; used to take their Ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Towns. The Robberies done by these Pirates, and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily preferred them. As for the *Athenians* themselves; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the Conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily*: to make war upon the great *Perjan* King; and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest: had now no more than three Ships, and those open ones, not much better than long Boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis, in Euboea, taken and sacked by the Romans, and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempts to take Athens by Surprise: waileth the Country about: and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis, the Tyrant of Lacedaemon, and his Wife. Philip offers to make War against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again: and provides against his Enemies. Some Exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes join with them. Great labouring to draw the Aetolians into the War.

Philip, returning home from *Athyens*, heard the news of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment; or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: He received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius*, with his *Romans*, finding no such work at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad; purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a Scare-Crow, to scare the *Athenians* grounds from spoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded

by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Townsmen, who repose themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* having advertisement, failed thither by night, for fear of being detected; and, arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it (unless he should have left the heartless *Athenians* to their own defence,) he set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all provisions for War, which were plentifully filled. Neither were he and his associates contented with the great abundance of Spoil which they carried aboard their Ships; and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but to their delight and harred unto the King, they overthrew, and brake in pieces the Statues unto him there erected. This done, they hastened away towards *Athens*: where the news of their Exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about some twenty miles thence: whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty friends, back at work in ransacking the Town, and loading themselves with spoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed Foot he had with him, and three hundred Horse: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched thence away speedily towards *Athens*: thinking it not impossible to take his Enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post, that stood Scour for the City upon the borders, had not deserted him a far off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was midnight when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadel to sound the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busy preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the Walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of haste,) yet having in the Town some Mercenary Souldiers, which they kept, of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to issue forth at a Gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his Example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his Valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drove them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his Courage transported him further, than discretion would have allowed, even to the very Gate. But he retired without harm taken; for that they which were upon the Towers over the Gate, could not use their casting Weapons against him, without endangering their own people, that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple

of *Hercules*, a place of Exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, near adjoining unto *Athens*: of which he spared none, but sullered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the Sepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Aegina*; too late, in regard of what was already past; but in good time, to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achaean* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achaean* were devising upon War, which they intended to make against *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*: who being started up in the room of *Machonidas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his Mercenaries; and of his Subjects had no regard. He was a cruel Oppressor; a greedy Extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one, that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his Wife *Apgea*, was very fitly matched with him: since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the Men, than hers in fleecing their Wives; whom the would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had taken the *Athenians*, with all their *Treasures* and *Apparel*. *Livius*. Her Husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made lively representing her; and apparelled it with such costly Garments as he used to wear. But it was indeed an *Engine*, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose Money he was desirous; he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apgea* stood, and there use all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with Excuses; then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apgea* (who sat by in a Chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that rose up, and opened the Arms, as it were for embracement. Those Arms were full of sharp Iron Nails, the like whereof were all sticking in the Breasts, though hidden with her Cloaths: and herewith she gripped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Aetolians*, as *Machonidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopamens* Vertue he stood in fear; and therefore durst not provoke the *Achaean*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cyclades*, a far worse Captain, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopamen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved Occupation of War: then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory: and wasting all the Fields, made them distrust their own safety in the Towns.

Against this Tyrant, the *Achaean* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them; and had set down, what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this business; forasmuch

much as he alone would ease them of this War, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whilst he was upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns ungarded. In which respect, he thought they would be pleased, to send a few Men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Isle of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the War against *Nabæ*. Immediately they found out his device: which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War against the *Romans*. Wherefore their *Prætor Cycliades* made him answer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War against *Nabæ*; he brake up the Assembly, with every mans good liking: whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Nevertheless he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philotes*, one of his Captains, that with two thousand men, had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Haven of *Pyræus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plenty, of their own; or, having long ago been Matters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but caused his Men to break the very Stones, that they might be unserviceable to the reparation. His loss at *Cbalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made provision, both against the *Roman* Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardanians*, with other his bad Neighbours, which were likely to inflict him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassy; requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

Sulpicius, the *Roman* Consul, encamped upon the River of *Asius*. Thence he sent forth *Aspilius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of *Macedon*. *Aspilius* took sundry Castles and Towns; using such extremity of Sword and Fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Town which he wan by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his Spoil, he was charged in Rear, upon the passage of a Brook, by *Athenagoras*, a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of these Enemies, took Prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their Camp. The success of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet served to draw into the *Roman* friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. These were *Plauratus*, the Son of *Scordiloides*, the *Illyrian*; *Aminander*, King of the *Atthamanians*; and *Bato*, the Son of *Lengarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*.

They offered their assistance unto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That he would shortly make use of *Plauratus*, and *Bato*, when he entered into *Macedon*: but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Thessaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to stir them up against *Philip*.

So the present care, was wholly set upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Roman*, and *Atthamanian*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first: and said, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of Peace between his Master and the *Ætolians*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause; to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to defence of the *Ætolians*: and yet notwithstanding, had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making Peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busy, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants: but now both *Syracuse* and *Messina*, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alleged many Examples; adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who, if they drew such Masters into *Greece*, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom, if at any time, upon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the Peace which still continued; although the same *Romans* were then against it, who fought to break it now.

It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good Answer to these Objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereof this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Ætolians* were set on by them to speak next: who had store of Eloquence, and matter of Re-creation enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Ambassador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few days past, made War upon the Gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pitiful rehearsal of their own Calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feel the same that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it self, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the Gods, were like to have felt; if the Walls and the *Roman* Arms had not defended them.

Then

Then speak the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made Peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselves, by alleging that the *Romans*, being bused with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them and convenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and Victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired: were themselves carried unto the War by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why *Dorymeachus* the *Ætolian* *Prætor* shifted them off awhile with a dilatory answer: though he told his Countermen, That by referring themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in general terms: That overmuch haste was an Enemy to good Council: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a Decree, That the *Prætor* might at any time call an Assembly of the State, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The *Ætolians* invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman Fleet.

Philip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their sollicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His Son *Perseus*, a very Boy, was sent to keep the straits of *Pelagena* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Council, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings Son, how young soever, would both encourage his followers, and terrify the Enemies; by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his Father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of Enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodiens* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his Journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Dafareti*, a People in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Thracia*, about the Mountains of *Canda*

via; that running along from *Hemus* in the North until they join in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of Battle. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open Field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his Horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazard all at it upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targeteers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the Targeteers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush; having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targeteers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to trie the fortune of a Battle: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that *Pyrrius* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those Beasts before. But now the same *Romans*, (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrius*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying to near the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his Men to fetch in Corn out of the Fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Foragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his Horse and light-armed Foot, with which he occupied a place in the midway, between the Foragers and their Camp. There he stayed in Cover with part of his forces; to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Country, to fall upon the stragglers: willing them to put all to the Sword, and let none run home with news

to the Camp. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the Fields, lighted all or most of them upon the King and his Companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his Horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful: He himself with the Legions followed. The Companies of Horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvassing the Field, took their task where they found it. But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himself. They had the disadvantage: as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might have been, if the King had well bestowed himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedily about a poor gleaming: the *Roman* Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their Horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as Men that lie in wait for others, are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marshes and Bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings Horse was slain under him: and there had been cast away, if a loving Subject of his had not alighted: mounted him upon his own Horse; and delivered him out of peril, at the expense of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashness; and the Consul, with as much dulness; for this days service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these Enemies without any blow: since when all the Fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other side it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Camp, at such time as he fled thither half amazed with fear of being either slain or taken; they might have won it. But that noble Historian *Livy*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Camp; and could not be so astonished with the loss of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himself; He was advertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the *Streighs*. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* going the tooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome Neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the Consul; requesting a day

of truce for burial of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his Camp to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down Trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square Battel of Pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their Arrows were of small force against the *Roman* Shield. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of Stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand; partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the Fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilst he himself went against the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had referred himself and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardaniens* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no less buse on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He persuaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim War, joined his forces with *Aminander* the *Zibemianian*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They took and cruelly sacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more wary than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his own mountainous Country.

About the same time; the *Roman* Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewise the Town of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given to *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given to the *Romans*; and the People for Slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered: either by foul weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

§. XII.

Vilius the *Roman Consul* wastes a year to no effect. War of the *Gauls* in Italy. An Embassy of the *Romans* to *Carthage*, *Malanilla*, and *Vermina*. The *Macedonian* prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and *T. Quintius Flaminius* is sent against him.

THIS the time ran away: and *P. Vilius*, a new Consul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a Mutiny of his oldest Soldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Canna*: as may seem by their complaint, of having been long absent from *Italy*; whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Vilius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his day is lost: whereof the mis is not great; since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Livy*, hath adorned this *Vilius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Livy* himself, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may reasonably believe, that *Vilius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Adrubal*, had been able to force; was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved her self, taking warning by her Neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that had staid behind *Adrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captain of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*; giving them to understand, That, if they were not weary of the Peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made War in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seem otherwise to have favoured a little of some fear) That of the Fugitive Slaves belonging unto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this Errand, had further charge to treat with *Malanilla*, as also with *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*. Unto *Malanilla*, besides matter of complement, they were to signify what pleasure He might do them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their War against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King; and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and fild, That having been, and being still (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire Peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to

make Peace with him, was wholly committed unto these Embassadors upon such terms as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could find; and would in that point; the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Malanilla* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse; but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadors, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and, without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of Peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*, they laid Siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a Battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this Battel: and the fruit of the Victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easy to those, that afterwards should have the manning of War among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellor whom they hated; as also to assure unto himself the *Acheans*, by rendering unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and traying his People, but by fortifying the passages that led thenceunto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Vilius*, having unprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a Journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with Victuals, determined at length to try a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province, whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

§. XIII.

The *Romans* began to make War by negotiation. *T. Quintius* sends a passage against *Philip*. *Thessaly* wrested by *Philip*, the *Romans*, and *Ætolians*. The *Acheans* forsaking the *Macedonian* take part with the *Romans*. A treaty of Peace, that was vain. *Philip* delivers *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the *Romans*.

THE *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give Battel to the Enemy, as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they belighted his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the fable

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Greeks the Art of Negotiation; wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and flood indeed, * many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punic War. This had been the Commonalty averfe from the Macedonian War, and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the Enterprife, to make ufe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the flow pace wherewith their bufiness went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the lefs need to rely upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand foot and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius* the new Consul into Macedon. Their Navy, and other means could well have served for the setting forth, and transportation of a greater Army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many, and too far from home) have bred some Jealousie in their Friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some Friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their Enemies more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the Forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadours; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against *Antiochus* who invaded it; or else that they would not take it unaccountedly, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which more concerned him. Their Answer was remarkable: They said, that it was not their manner to use the aid of their Friends longer than their Friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it: That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, though he were their good Friend; against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but that they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadours, and (as common Friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to persuade an accomodation between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves towards their good Friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally, at their entreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of Friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius having away from Rome, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in Spain and Affrick. He found *Vilius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the River of *Asius* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into Macedon through the poor Country of the *Dassaretians*; or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mispent their time, and been forced to return back without profit for want of Victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*; then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and which, by long dependance upon the Macedo-

nians, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of *Asius*, running along through that Valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep Marish and unpassable Bog; a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main Rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayed to climb in the Mountains; but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eafie; He was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing, for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore to deal with some of the *Epiriots*, (among whom he had many Friends) that he and the Consul had a meeting together: But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to let all Towns of Greece at liberty; and to make amends for the Injuries, which he had done to many People in his late War. *Philip* was contented to give Liberty to those whom he had subdued of late; but unto such as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors, he thought it against all Reason, that he should relinquish his Claim and Dominion over them. He also said, That as far forth as it should appear, that he had done wrong unto any Town or People whatsoever, he could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the Judgment of some free State, that had not been interested in those Quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no Judgment or Compromise, forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had always been the Invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own Defence. After this Alteration, when they should come to particulars, and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty; the first that he named were the *Thessalians*. These had been Subjects (though conditional) unto the Macedonian Kings, ever since the days of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded what sharper Condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flung away, refusing to hear any more of such Discourse.

After this, the Consul strove in vain, two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that Passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take, there came to him an Herdsman, sent from *Choregus* a Prince of the *Epiriots*, that favoured the Romans, who having long kept Beasts in those Mountains, was thoroughly acquainted with all By-paths; and therefore undertook to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This Guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great Reward, in case he made good his word; had such Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the Hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them because at their

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Backs) they raised a great Smoke; whereby they gave notice of their Success unto the Consul. Some Skirmishes, whilst they were on their Journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*, thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third Morning he saw the Smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his Men had attained unto the place whither they were sent: He pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished to the *Macedonians*, that they brook themselves to flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the Danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the Passage must needs hinder the Romans from pursuing him; he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken Troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and Provisions; if not rather perhaps of his Reputation; for that the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their Party against the Enemy upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better persuaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they could not be persuaded thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient Habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great Compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him; so that a little hindrance did serve to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of Macedon.

The *Ætolians* and *Abammanians*, when this fell out, were even in readiness to invade *Thessaly*; wherunto the way lay more open, out of their several Countries. When therefore they heard for certain, that *Philip* was beaten by the Romans, they foreloved not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaming after their Harveft, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the Romans a few days since had made them to be very desirous, wasted by the fame Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* wan *Phaleria* by assault; *Metropolis* and *riera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged, and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian Garrison therein. *Philippolis* at the same time, having somewhat recollected his Spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his Victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*, brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an haven Town of *Phecia*, on the Gulf of *Corinth*; which Coun-

try being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the People, as because it lay conveniently feared between *Thessaly* and other Regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phecia* he van by assault; many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consul's Brother, being then Admiral for the Romans in this War, joynt with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* Fleet. They van two Cities in *Eubœa*, and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchreæ*, an Haven and Arsenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This Enterprife did somewhat help forward the *Æthiopes* in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to pass, that *Cenchreæ*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly, should be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the Romans.

But there were other Motives inducing the *Æthiopes* to prefer the Friendship of the Romans, before the Patronage of *Philip*, whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being entangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such Councils, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous Practices to make himself their absolute Lord; his poisoning of *Aratus* their old Governour; his false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epiriots*, and other People their Confederates, and his own Dependants; together with many particular Outrages by him committed, had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary Evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his Assistance. But since, by the Virtue of *Philopemen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as without the *Macedonian* help, they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how evil he was; and thereupon renounce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected; and therefore he sent *Murders* to take away the life of * *Philopemen*. But failing in this Enterprife, and being directed, he did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopemen* wrought so with the *Æthiopes*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonians*. *Cyclades*, a principal man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*, and *Æthiopes* chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in Society with the Romans.

These News were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the Romans and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Æthiopes*, to treat with the *Æthiopes*, making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored unto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonians*. A Parliament of the *Æthiopes* was held at *Sejym*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty Cause. Therein the Romans and their Adherents desired the *Æthiopes* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the *Æthiopes* of their Alliance with the King, and of their Faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate Request of

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* *Plut. in vita Philopem. l. 29.*

Philip's Embassadors, did no way advance his Master's Cause: rather it gave the *Achaean* to understand, That he who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratify them in any reciprocal Demand. Yet were there many in that great Council, who remembering the Benefits of *Philip* and *Antigon*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late Injuries, and expectation of like, or worse from him in the future, prevailed against the Memory of those old good turns, which he, (and *Antigon* before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as Baits, whereby to allure them into absolute Subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least Importance, that the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much Altercation the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his Enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* they forthwith entered into Society; with the *Romans*, (because no League would be of force, until the Senate and People had approved it) they forbore to decree any Society at the present, until the return of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitan*, *Dimeas*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many Respects they were bound; rose up out of the Council, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with Honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thank, that all the rest of the *Achaean* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the Affection of the Citizens discovered it felt plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his Hands, if they might have any small assistance. *Philoetes*, a Lieutenant of the King's, lay then in *Corinth*; which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*: Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude ready to join with him, he easily compelled the *Achaean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his Reputation, so it gave him hope to obtain some good end by Treaty, whilst as yet with his Honour he might seek it; and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conful would shortly be chosen, who should take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to predispole things unto a Conclusion, for his own Reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sabbath, in the Bay then called the *Alban*, or *Lamian* Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulf of *Ziton*, in the *Argen* Sea, or *Archeipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Antenor* the *Albanian*, an Embassador of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Achaean* and *Achaean*. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captains, and *Cydnus*, lately banished for his take out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore; though learning (as he said) none but the *several* Gods; yet misdoubling some Treachery in the *Achaian*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*

were, That he should for all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all Prisoners which he had of theirs, and *Renegado's*; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatsoever about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemy* then King of *Egypt*, after his Father's death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Towns, and Temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodian* would have his Garrisons out of divers Towns about the *Hellefpont*, and other Havens of their Friends. The *Achaian* desired Restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*; about the one of which they might not unjustly quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their consent. The *Achaian* took upon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*; willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them whatsoever he held that had ever at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content, but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Thessaly*, corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by distributing, when he was vanquished, those Towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapert *Achaian*, *Philip* commanded his Galley to row near the Shore. But they began to ply him afresh, telling him, That he must obey his Betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of Arms. He answered them, (as he was much given to gybing) with sundry Scoffs, and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Conful understand what manner of Companions these *Achaian* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them, as likewise the rest of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoil from spoil; yet could he get no better an Answer, than that they would *Exempt* *Joener* take *Etolia* out of *Etolia*. *Titus* wondered *Philoetes* what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custom, as often as War happened between their Friends, to hold up the Quarrel, by sending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he said it was strange that the *Achaian* should be so careful thereof, since divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Gracians*; wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make Slaves of those *Achaian*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat smiled; and was no whit offended to hear the *Achaian* well railed up; touching whom, he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty; *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatness of the *Romans*; though he would also consider what might befall his own Dignity. But that the *Achaian*, *Rhodian*, and other petty Estates, should thus presume under Countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might, he should be heretofore compelled; it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous Intolerance. The *Achaian* he charged with much Ingratitude, reciting against them some Decrees of their own; wherein they had laden both *Antigon* and him, with more than human Honours. Nevertheless he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom,

if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodian*, his late War, (he said) was only defensive, they having been the offenders; or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping *Perseus*, his Son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather law; neither did he see why they should rather law; neither did he see why they should rather law; whereas they complained, That spoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove and pleasant Walks thereabouts; what could he do more than send *Gardiners* thither with young Plants, if one King of another would stand to ask such recompence. Thus he jested the matter out, but offered, nevertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Peraa* to the *Rhodian*; as likewise to *Attalus* the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then Possession. Thus ended that days conference, because it was late; *Philip* requiring a Night's leisure to think upon the Articles, which were many; and he ill provided of Counsel wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsel, said *Titus*, you may even thank your self; as having murdered all your Friends, that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night, excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Achaian* of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired Conference in private with the *Roman* General. The Sum of his Discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give to the *Achaian* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Achaian*, that he would grant some part of their Demands; and to the *Romans* whatsoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his Associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get Possession of all which he now rendered up. The noise that they made came to *Philip*'s ear; who thereupon did fire a third day of meeting, and protested, that if he could not persuade them, he would suffer himself to be persuaded by them. So the third day they met early in the Morning; at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto offers of Peace, and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwise that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to *Rome*, where he would refer himself to the courtesy of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintus* would have it, who stood in doubt, lest a new Conful might happen to defraud him of the Honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent thereto; forasmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for service in the War; and since, without authority of the Senate, he should be unable to proceed resolutely either in War or Peace. Further he willed them to send their several Embassadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their Prejudice. Among the rest he persuaded King *Ammander* to make a Journey to *Rome*, in person, knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the concurrence of so many Embassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure, that his own Command of the Army in *Greece*,

might be prorogued. And to the time end he had dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*, who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alleged unto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate, which was more desirous of Victory than of Satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in undertaking to set *Greece* at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected, unless special care were taken, that the King should be disposed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility, that the Senate agreed to have it even so as they had desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration, they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yield up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*? Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the King had given them no Direction or Commission what to say or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philip*'s desire of Peace, wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors have truly said, That neither the *Achaian*, *Achaean*, nor any of their Fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any Claim to either of these Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achaian* had some right, (though their right were no better, than that having stolen it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by Bargain unto another) *Philip* had already confessed to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alleged, even against the *Greeks* in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintus* his Friends, that so he might have had the Honour to conclude the War, if a Successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue General, neither his Friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the return of the Embassadors unto *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of Peace.

Philip seeing that the *Achaian* had forsaken him, and joyned with their common Enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many years past, since the *Lacedaemonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achaian* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted in a manner wholly in his Mercenaries, for he was a Tyrant, though stilling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achaian*, and therefore seemed unto *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands, in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philoetes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Master's purpose to make a freight alliance with the *Lacedaemonians*, by giving some Daughters of his own in Marriage unto *Nabis* his Sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some Scruple

ple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves, he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoetes* dealt with the *Argives*; but found them to averte, that, in open Assembly of the People, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philoetes*, without more ado, to make over the Town, which he was ready to receive. *Philoetes* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*; who for very long had forsaken the *Achaean*, to take his part. Early in the Morning, the Tyrant made himself Master of all the Gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their Goods confiscated. The rest of the chief Citizens that staid behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of Money was laid upon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long upon the matter; or plaid the thieves, in purloining their own goods, they were put to the Whip, and besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Laws: namely such, as might serve to make him gracious with the rascal Multitude: abrogating all Debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it had been an old custom of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, he sent the news to *T. Quintius*; and offered to join with him against *Philip*. *Quintius* was glad of it: so he took the pains to cross over the *Streights into Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some civil touching *Argos*), and the Tyrant lent unto the *Romans* six hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also he agreed with the *Achaean*, upon a Truce for four Months, reserving the final conclusion of Peace between them until the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIV.

The Battle at Cyncephale, wherein Philip was conquered by T. Quintius.

T. Quintius, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his Negotiation of Peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

Quintius had in his Army about six and twenty thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Quintius* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessaly*; and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the City of *Pherae*: where the Vant-couriers on both

sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof unto their several Captains. But neither of them were over-hasty, to commit all to hazard upon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a while: returning finally back into their several Camps, with little advantage unto either side. The Country about *Pherae* was thick set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens, and Mud-walls; which made it unproper for service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove back unto *Sestus*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*: where he might be plentifully served with all necessaries. *Quintius* conceived a right meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of Hills; which hindered the one from knowing what coursed the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not far asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long Fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply, that if the resistance of the *Aetolians* had not been deperate, the *Romans*, their fellows, had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Quintius* himself was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a Battle in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the Enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: inasmuch as he embattled his Men; and climbed up those Hills, which for that the troops thereon had some resemblance unto Dogs Heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cyncephale*. As soon as he was on the Hill-top; it did him good to see, that they of his own light-armed were busie in fight, almost at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to chafe his ground, as might serve best his advantage: inasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use: the roughness of the place among those *Dogs-heads*, as they were called, serving nothing apply for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless he found convenient room, wherein to marshal the one part of his Army; and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the rest; embattalling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this, he perceived that his Horsemen, and light-armed, began to shrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legion, by force whereof they were driven to recoil. He sent forward to help them; and they no less hastily drew unto him for succour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climb the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx*, to charge those

Pikes, and entertain them. Here *Quintius* found an extreme difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battal of armed Pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern Wars; and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targetiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undivided. The *Macedonians* were embattalled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the Pikes of the first rank, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with Ten Enemies at once; and not able to come nearer unto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Quintius* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, that they which were appointed by *Philip*, to make his left Wing, were not able, through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right Wing of his Battal to march up the Hill, against these ill-ordered Troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terror. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispart what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their Weapons useless. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having fix and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targetiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes; whereof he himself had embattled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left Wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty; or seven and thirty Files, might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targetiers, or light-armed.

Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and forty Paces; that is, very near a quarter of a Mile in length. Such a space of open Champain, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoin this close battal of the *Phalanx*; was not every where to be found. Here at *Cyncephale*, *Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his Men: the rest were fain to stand still, and look about them; being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the *Dogs-heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in masting those Enemies, whose feet were in a

manner bound by the difcommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to beaze themselves unto flight. A *Roman* Tribune, or Colonel, seeing the Victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensigns, or Maniples; that is, (as they might fall off) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpful to making of the Victory complet. He considered, that *Philip*, in pursuing the right Wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far; as that himself, with his fellows, in mounting the Hill, to charge the left Wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings Head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand; and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rear. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed, save the first five, were accustomed, when the Battels came to joyning, to carry their Pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies, to thrust on their foremen: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*; that it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts, looking fundry ways, because he expected, that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form; as also at the same time he embattled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their Weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, that *Alexander*'s men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the Enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their Weapons, and fled. The King himself had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside, with a Troop of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his Men casting down their Weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently becock himself to fight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battel, about seven hundred: of the *Macedonians*, about eight thousand were slain, and five thousand taken Prisoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius falls out with the Aetolians; and grants Truce unto Philip, with Conditions, upon which the Peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with Antiochus.

THE *Aetolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves; and desired to have it noised through all Greece, That the Victory at *Cyncephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They

They had gotten indeed the most of the booty ; by taking the Macedonian Camp, whilst the Romans were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition ; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece ; who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battle, *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a City of *Thessaly* ; which he presently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers, to burn all his Letters, and passages of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their Neighbours, did make delay of opening their Gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Town of *Leucas* bordering upon *Acarnania*, was taken by the Roman Fleet : and very soon after all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip* ; gave up themselves unto the Romans, hearing of the Victory at *Cyncephale*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the Conquest of *Peræa*, a Region of the Continent over-against their Island ; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks* : forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans ; but with an Army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the *Acheans*, and other their friends, gave battle to *Dimerates*, the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the Victory, and consequently recovered the whole Province. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom ; waiving and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all haste, of six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horses : wherewith coming upon them, he drove them, with little or no loss of his own, and great laughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one Enterprize, he had success answerable to his desire : but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity ; and therefore sent in all haste *Limæus* and *Demophilus*, with *Cycladus*, the banished *Achean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus*, and some of his Roman Colonels : by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had Commission to refer all unto *Titus* his own discretion ; as *Philip* himself in few days after did. There was granted unto them a Truce for fifteen days : in which time, the King himself might come and speak with the Roman General. In the mean season many suspicious rumours went of *Titus* ; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chief Authors : who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where pro-

fited them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent Letters unto his Associates ; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the Kings arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every Estate in particular. The poor King *Aminander*, befought them all, and especially the Romans, that they would think upon him ; and considering his weakness, which he confessed, make such provision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians* : who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates, to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely : added, That in the main of the purpose which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived : for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of Rome, or with the fair promises made by *Titus* himself unto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of Rome, or with the laudable customs which they generally held : for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seek the utter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made War with them ; until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable Example : adding, That Victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement unto moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of Greece : it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdom of Macedonia should be greatly weakened and brought low ; nor that it should be utterly destroyed : forasmuch as it served as a bar, to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other savage Nations, which would soon overflow the whole Continent of Greece, if this Kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto those demands wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty ; then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians* : if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure, to take counsel apart for themselves, as they thought good. Then began *Phœnus*, an other of the *Ætolians*, to say, That all was come to nothing ; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no less than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babbling ; saying, That himself would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither : whom *Titus* used friendly : and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a Council the day following : wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands ; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phœnus*, the *Ætolian*, inflicting over him, said it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of the Towns (which he there

named) bidding him speak, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himself, said, it should be otherwise ; These were *Thessalian* Towns, and should all be free : one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phœnus* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to defraud them of the Towns that had sometime belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Covenant between them and the Romans, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the Romans to have nothing, save the Pillage and Captives. It is true, that there had been such a Condition in the former War : but it ceased to be of any validity, as soon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand ; asking them, whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Towns in Greece, which he had let in the Romans by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages between the Romans and the *Ætolians* : neither had they great reason, to fear any hard measure ; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalf of those *Thessalians*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their Gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves ; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for four Months.

The chief cause that moved *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custom by him before alledged ; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive ; even the consideration, that his Successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his Letters, together with Embassadors from the Macedonian, and sundry States of Greece, came unto Rome, new Confuls were chosen : who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the Peace ; alledging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of *Philip* offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the Letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side ; and the importunity of the Confil on the other ; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as soon as the Army was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an assembly of the people ; by whose sovereign authority it was concluded, That Peace should be granted unto the King. So Ten Embassadors were sent from Rome over into Greece : in which number were they, that had been Confils before *Titus* : and it was ordained by their advice, That *Titus* should go through with the business of Peace. Thesewould very fain have retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias* ; until the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed fo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendered unto the *Acheans* ; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in Greece, returned unto liberty.

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Isthmian Games*, he should withdraw his Garrisons

out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held ; and consign them over to the Romans : That he should deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all *Renegado's* : Likewise all his Ships of War, reserving to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every Oar : Further, that he should pay a thousand Talents, the one half in hand, the other in Ten years next following, by even portions. Hereto *Livy* adds, That he was ^{Liv. 33.} forbidden to make Mar out of Macedonia, without permission of the Senate. But I find not that he observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred Talents he had already delivered unto *Titus*, together with his younger Son *Demetrius*, to remain as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of Peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to Rome : when it was promised, that the Money, and his Son, should be restored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this Money were reckoned as part of the thousand Talents, I cannot find, and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those four hundred Talents, was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus*, unto *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia* : giving him time to understand, what agreement was made with *Philip*, in behalf of the *Greeks* ; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratify this *Bithynian*, his Son in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their Nation did. What effect these Letters wrought, it was not greatly material ; since the Romans were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such way, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All Greece rejoiced at the good bargain, which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themselves aggrieved, that they were utterly neglected ; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the Macedonian ; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the Romans : who seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus* ; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had born unto him ; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Army, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have an hand in the Execution ; yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the Murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture ; the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans ; in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found fraying from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was decreed within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the Murderers delivered into his hands ; and for five hundred Soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred Talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with Excuses ; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the *Acheans* and *Ateniens*, informing them what had happened : and requested them not to take it amiss, though

This good will of all the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their War against *Antiochus*, than could have been the possession of a few Towns; yea, or of all those Provinces which were named in their Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof; no sooner were these *Jewishmen* Games at an end, than *Tirius*, with the *Romans* that were of his Council, gave audience to *Hegesias*, and *Lyfias*, King *Antiochus*'s Embassadors: whom they wished to signify unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with War:

The business being dispatch'd, it remained, that all care should be us'd, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to pra-dipose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad: I refer unto another place.

*The Wars of the R
Adberents.*

*What King's, of the Races of Seleuc
Great.*

S Elucius Nicator, the first of
of Asia and Syria, died in
hundred twenty and fourth
was treacherously slain by
Ptolemy Philo-
nus, at an Altar called *Argos*; hav
been warned before by an Oracle
Argos, as the fatal place of his de
ver have read that any Mans life
ferred, or any mischief avoided
dictions of such Devilish Oracles
lieve, That many such predictions
then Gods, have been antedated by
by others: which devifed them af

by, *Antiochus Soter*, the Son and Heir of *Antiochus*, was, deeply beloved of his Father, rendered up unto him his own Army, when he understood how much the King was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Antiochus* had great cause to fear, that *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by his Ceffor. But *Antiochus* was contented, either with gifts, or perhaps with money; containing himself within the bounds of *Ceraneus* enjoy that quietly, purchased in *Europe* with the blood of his Countrymen. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that altered his mind, and married with the Queen *Siratonica* in his yett out of modesty he forbore to enter his Father was dead. So that perhaps his love was partly, if not chiefly, his not prosecuting that revenge; yett should have urged him. After the Wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lucarius* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, led him by the fame *Nicomedes*. With a great Battel : wherein though our enemies had all advantage against his, yett his Elephants, which he took of their Horses and them, he won the Battel in hand an enterprize against the *delphins* : but finding ill success in the issue he soon gave it over. To this King

ter it was, that *Berovius* the *Chilidae*
Grechid. History of the Kings of *Affrica*; that
Ed. 2. Fol. hath since been excellently falsified
Met. in *Annus*. He left behind him one *Pro-*
Pasen. *tiobius Theos*; and one Daughter,
 that was married unto the King, of
 died about the end of the hundred
 ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning
 following, in the fiftieth or one and
 the Kingdom of the *Greeks*; when he
 ninety-two years.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos* or the
vain and impious title given unto him

§. I

What King's, of the Races of Seleucus and Ptolemy, reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

of the *Milefians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless, War with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to Wife *Berenice* the Daughter of *Ptolemy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, Saint *Hierome* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings Daughter of the South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement: and that which followeth.*

Protemy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Arfinoe*) a very excellent Prince : whose favour, the worthiest of that Race, *Is* He, that built and furnished with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn, and to honour the more, He sent unto *Eleeazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews*, had formerly been very great : for He had set at liberty as many of them, as his Father held in slavery throughout all *Aegypt*; and he had sent unto the Temple of God in *Hierusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleeazar* yielding to the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* Copy; which *Protemy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons, that could be found at

among all the Tribes. In this number of the seventy
two Interpreters, or (as they are commonly
called) the *Seventy*; *Jefus* the Son of *Sirach*, is
thought by *Generatur* to have been one: who that
he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficient-
ly proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasti-
cisticus*. The whole passage of this business between
Philadelphus and the High Priest, was written (as
Jofephus affirms) by *Ariftarchus* that was employed
therein. Forty years *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was King;
reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned
with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of
his People; and highly magnified by Poets, and
other Writers. Towards his end he grew more
voluptuous, than he had been in his former years;
in which time he bestowed, that he alone had found
out the way how to live for ever. If this had been
carried into his honourable deeds, it might have
been stored with the most glorious, the Gods with
which he was often troubled, was enough to reward
him his own error. He was the first of the Kings
derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entered in
to League with the *Romans*: as also his Ordering
was the last among those Royal Families, which
by them was rooted up.

The *Papils* term those Books, wherein they have com-
piled; and yet borrow *Midrashim* at Colen. An. dom. 1627

Antiochus Theos had another Wife, called *Laudice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the Daughter of this *Ptolemy*. After his second marriage, he used his first Wife with no better regard, than if he had been his Concubine. *Laudice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge; until her own Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: at what time the poysoned her Husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Seleucus* her Son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a Son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justin* reports, that *Berenice* faved herself, together with the young Prince her Child, awhile in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her Brother *Ptolemy Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slain before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father that had fifteen years been King, began his Reign. His Subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature, which they did covered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own Country, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear Arms against *Ptolemy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Egyptians*; who took *Laudice* the Kings Mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*, went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own Subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had been much better, by well defending, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself; and, putting to Sea, met with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked Body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his Subjects understood, in what sort the Gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new Man, offered him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him with such spirit; as, thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Egyptians*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it was at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemy* in a great Battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwreck. Having therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemy would soon be at his Heels; He wrote unto his Brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, yet extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gauls*; whereupon he set forwards to help his Brother; or rather to get

what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolemy* being advertized: and having no desire to put himself in danger more than needed; took *Truce* with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* War, but his Brother *Antiochus* came upon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and faved himself, with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the Battel. Thus did Gods justice take revenge of those murders, by which the Crown was purchased; and sealed (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was glad to hear of his Brothers death; as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his Mercenaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergeum*, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious *Barbarians* took Counsel against him; and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal House to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should best be pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himself with Money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as rendered little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army; and prepared once more to try his fortune against his Brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the safest way for himself, to make his profit of their discord: which is no great marvel; since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gauls*, his own Souldiers, than of the Enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* was much in *Asia*; whilst *Antiochus* went against his Brother. In the second Battel, fought between the Brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or the Hawk, (which surname was given him, because he fought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his Brother, and from his own *Gauls*. Having fetched a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his Father in Law King *Artabanus* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in ourward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bellow himself upon *Ptolemy*: his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus*, his Brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close Prison: whence though by means of an Harlot he got out; yet flying from his Keepers, he fell into the hands of Thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his Wars with his Brother. He therefore made a Journey against *Aspasius* eviler of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his ill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered to closely to him, that he was taken Prisoner. *Aspasius* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home

home, he break his neck by a fall from his Horse, and so ended his unhappy Reign of twenty years. He had to Wife *Laudice*, the Sister of *Antiochus* one of his most trusty Captains: which was Father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he himself styled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By great trouble of the world the third, surnamed *Cerannus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Cerannus reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Antiochus* the first, that was King of *Pergeum*. Being weak of Body through sickness, and in want of Money, He could not keep his Men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by Treason of *Nicanor*, and *Aspasius* a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slue the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus his Reign. Of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and Philopator, Kings of *Egypt*. War between Antiochus and Philopator. The Rebellion of Molo; and Expedition of Antiochus against him. The reconcomence of Antiochus his Egyptian War: with the passages between the two Kings: the victory of *Ptolemy*; and Peace concluded. Of *Achæus*, and his Rebellion; his greatness, and his fall. Antiochus his Expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings Reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

Antiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his Reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his Minority, He was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious Man; and one which maligned all verue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himself; the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his Reign, *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his Heir *Ptolemy Philopator*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembered. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*; who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene*; by taking to Wife *Berenice*, the Daughter of King *Mages*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the deer of gods, was given him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Perfia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousness of Money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of twenty Talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Jolephus* a *Jew*; unto whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and Cu-

roms, that belonged unto him, in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Celestria*, with *Palæstina* and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the Battel at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The Victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding Ages between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucids*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *St. Hierome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* Reigned six and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that, which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach* his Book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his Father: or that those eight and thirty years, were the years of *Jesus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did other whiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*: *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War against the *Egyptians*; for the recovery of *Celestria* and the Countries adjoining. This Council was very unseasonably given; when *Adolus*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into Rebellion, and fought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more forward than wise, maintained fifty, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whilst He in person made War upon one, that was like himself a King. No Man durst gainstay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel; whilst in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings Expedition unto *Celestria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laudicea*, and so over the Defarts into the Valley of *Marsyas*; between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Arabian*, that served under *Ptolemy*. So he consumed the time there awhile to nons effect: and then came news, that *Xenatas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Adolus* thereby became Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenatas, whilst he was yet on his Journey, and drew near to the River of *Tigris*; received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear Arms against the King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his Enemy: left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp; and with all the flour of his Army went over *Tigris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his Horse to give impediment; but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so be stopped,

He himself dislodged, and took his Journey towards *Hemila*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrustful of the faith of his own Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenetas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenetas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume, that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the Sword. Wherefore he suffered his Men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp; or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the Journey, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings Men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer, that they had spent at Supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few about him, didighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tigris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took; and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country down to the Red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*. He halted unto *Susa*: where at his first coming he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Marijass*: filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counsel what to do, in this needful case; and was well advised by *Epienes* the best Man of War he had about him, to let alone this Enterprize of *Celestria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This Counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epienes* diffinied by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the Journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrustful his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, or any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him, to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this; He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which, by some error, took alarm at his return; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battle to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few Men, or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the Army, which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight

of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* thorned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments prevented the Hang man with their own Swords.

After this victory came joyful news, that the Queen *Laudice*, Daughter of *Mithradates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a Son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King; and therefore he purposed to make what use he could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Eastern parts of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his Frontiers; were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour; as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropariens*; having the greater part of his Kingdom, situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever Conditions pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this Journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was unto the People; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for fear of him, to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done; he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art, in ridding his hands of a Man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to do them hurt, were as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved; when once they were secure of him. Yea his Wife and Children, lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the Wives and Children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we speak before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diamond upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the Enterprize; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* notwithstanding the notice which he had taken, of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all; and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the Traitor: who being already doted, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Celestria*; or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemy Philopater* in those parts.

He

he began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near unto the mouth of the River *Orontes*, which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with Bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus* the great, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*; but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemy Evergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had to pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolemaea*. Such is the vanity of men that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their Names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their Vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodorus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Celestria* in the behalf of *Ptolemy*, was now grown sorry that he had used so much faith and diligence in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercenary, he began to have regard unto his own profit; which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up to *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyros* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was devising about this Treason, and had already sent Messengers to King *Antiochus*, his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemy*'s Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way, and afterwards got Possession, not only of *Tyros* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Havens, but of so many other Towns in that Countrey, as emboldened him to think upon making a Journey into *Egypt*: it fell. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time, *Ptolemy* himself being loth to have his Pleasures interrupted with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together to make provision as busily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the War; and nevertheless, at the same time to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good Agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Bizantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*, according to the usual courtesie of the Greeks, desiring to take up the Quarrel. These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*; who entreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treaty lasted, great Preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War, wherein these two Counsellors perfwaded themselves reasonably, that the Victory would be their own, if they could get for Money a sufficient number of the Greeks to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet; whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the Disposition of *Ptolemy*, but because the *Rhodiens*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his Fellow. *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself at the long Siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win; and being desirous to refresh himself and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on, granted unto the Egyptian a Truce for four Months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed,

but only to lull his Enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself, and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose Treason daily grew more open and violent. The flame negligence which he thought the Egyptian would have used, he used himself; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful, for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless he gave audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*, pleasing himself well to dispute about the Justice of his Quarrel, which he purposed shortly to make good by the Sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in Possession to *Seleucus*; and that this Bargain was afterwards ratified by general Consent of all the Confederates after the Battle at *Issus*. But *Ptolemy*'s men would acknowledge no such Bargain. They said, That *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, had won *Celestria* and the Provinces adjoining, for himself; as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*; by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for Peace, they were in the end of their Disputations far from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Also *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League between them, as one of their Confederates; but *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deal with another, as to take his Rebel unto Protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Sovereign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the Field again, contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemy* with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captains of *Ptolemy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the Passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drove them; and proceeding onward in his Journey, wan so many places that he greatly increased his Reputation, and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his Followers. As the two Kings drew near together, many Captains of *Ptolemy* forsook his Pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the Courage to meet his Enemy in the Field. The Battle was fought at *Raphia*, where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or *Asiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*); but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemy*, with *Antiochus* his Sister and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; as the like did *Antiochus* on the other side, each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of their Ancestors, as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants; as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Affrica*. Wherefore, by the advantage of these Beasts, he drove the Enemies before him, in that part of the Battle wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolemy* had the better men, by whose valour he brake the Grofs of his Enemy's Batel, and wan the Victory.

Provinces after the death of Alexander, the Government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard, shortly they fell to Eumenes, then to Antigonus, and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleucus, under whose Posterity they continued until the Reign of Seleucus Callinicus, being ruled by Lieutenants of the Syrian Kings. The lustful infolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished, and thought to be slain by the Gauls, did stir up Arsaces, a Noble man of the Country, to seek revenge of Injuries done, and animate him to rebel. So he flew the King's Lieutenant, made himself King of the Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took Seleucus Callinicus Prisoner in battle, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Herby he won Reputation as a lawful King, and by good Government of his Country, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his Successors, like as that of the Ptolemys in Egypt, and that of the Caesars afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled, though these at length, and all belonging unto the Seleucids beyond Euphrates, increased the Parthians Dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet him in plainfield, but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and Passages of Mountains. The resistances they made, availed them not. For Antiochus had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified, as he needed not to turn out of the way from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their Mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either gerabore the Enemies heads, or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature, wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. Arsaces, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own Subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad ways, and deserts, would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Ecbatane in Media, to give over the journey without proceeding much further. This not to falling out, He caused the Wells and Springs in the Wilderness, through which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himself out of the way: suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Country; wherein, without some Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found, that Arsaces was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania; where he won Tambraxe the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other losses, caused Arsaces at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a Battle. The issue thereof was such, as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore Arsaces craved peace, and at length obtained it: Antiochus thinking it not amiss, to make him a Friend, whom he could not make a Subject.

The next expedition of Antiochus, was against Euthydemus King of the Bactrians; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors; but having gotten the Kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himself. With Euthydemus he fought a Battle by the River Arius, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not so greatly to his Honour, as was the Testimony which he gave of his own private Valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned himself more courageously, than did any one man in all his Army. His Horse was slain under him: and he himself received a wound in his Mouth, whereby he lost some of his Teeth. As for Euthydemus; he withdrew himself back into the further parts of his Kingdom; and afterwards protraded the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed between the Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjustly usurped from him; Euthydemus answering, That he had won it from the Children of the Ulupurs: and further, That the Bactrians, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified Antiochus; and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable Conditions. Demetrius, the Son of Euthydemus, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Ambassador in this Treaty of Peace; was not a little available unto a good Conclusion. For Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in Marriage one of his own Daughters: and therewithal permitted Euthydemus to retain the Kingdom; causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himself by Oath to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus leaving the Bactrian quiet, made a journey over Caucasus, and came to the Borders of India: where he renewed with Sophagolenus, King of the Indians, the Society that had been between their Ancestors. The Indians had remained subject unto the Macedonians, for a little while, after Alexander's death. Eumenes in his War against Antigonus, raised part of his Forces out of their Country. But when Antigonus after his Victory turned Westward, and was over-busied in a great Civil War: then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stir up his Countrymen to Rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him as Protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention; into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself, (having an Army of six hundred thousand Men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had been Alexander's. In this Estate he had well confirmed himself, ere Seleucus Nicator could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself, at the coming of Seleucus: but met him in Field, as ready to defend his own; so strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both Peace and Affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian Kingdoms, was continued by some Offices of love between their Children, and now renewed by Antiochus: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon by the Indian King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings.

Neither

Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many Generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the Western Countries. The posterity of Sandrocottus, is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the days of Augustus Caesar: to whom Porus, then reigning in India, sent Embassadors with Presents, and an Epistle written in Greek: wherein, among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry Authors, the mention of some which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of Constantine the Great: being all adventures of the same Race. But Antiochus, who in this Treaty with Sophagolenus, carried himself as the worthier person, receiving Presents: and after marched home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the Poenates, not only in the higher Asia, but all the Poenates of the lower, humbled themselves unto him, and called him The Great: saw an end of his own Greatness within few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the Romans; whose Greatness was the same in deed, that his was only in seeming.

§. III.

The last Reign of Ptolemy Philopator in Egypt: with the tragical end of his Favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolemy Epiphane, the Son of Philopator. His resolution in preparing for divers Wars at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont. He seeks to hold Amity with the Romans, who make friendly show to him; intending nevertheless to have War with him. His doings about the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

His Expedition being finished; Antiochus had leisure to repose himself a while, and study which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years Ptolemy Philopator died: leaving his Son Ptolemy Epiphane, a young Boy, his Successor in the Kingdom; unlikely by him to be well defended, against a Neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This Ptolemy, furnished Philopator, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to have had that surname given him in meek derision; as he that was young, being newly past his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaustiness of all his following life, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battle at Raphia, he gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet, called Agathobolus. At her instigation he murdered his own Wife and Sister; which had adventured herself with him, in that only dangerous Action by him undertaken, and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-Ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this Agathobolus, and her brother Agathobolus, and of Oenantes, a filthy Bawd, that was Mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the Country, till Philopator died: who having reigned Seventeen years, left none other Son than Ptolemy Epiphane, a child of five years old, begotten on Arsinoe, that was his Sister and Wife. After the Kings death, Agathobolus

began to take upon him, as Protector of young Epiphane, and Governor of the Land. He assembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinary Forces in pay, not all born in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolemy the first, and would not be accounted Egyptian; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his Sister Agathobolus, with the young King in her arms, began a solemn Oration. He told them, That the deceased Father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his Sister, but unto the Faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore, that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one Tlepolemus, an ambitious man, who traitorously went about to set the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal Blood. Herewithal he produced before them a Witness, that should justify his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a feigned passion of Sorrow, and counterfeiting of Tears: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so broke up the Assembly: He that had called it, being scarce aware how. Agathobolus therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified; thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner, by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the Mother-in-law of Alexander; and cast her into Prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceived extreme rage, against these three pernicious misgovernors of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which, in way of requital, Tlepolemus was likely to do unto the City. For he was, though a man most unfit for Government, as afterwards he proved; yet no bad Soldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of Victuals, which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people: so for the remedy which Agathobolus used, were the Macedons more hostile, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of Conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Soldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel, to be tormented. But whilst the Whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose: there was brought unto the Minister of Agathobolus, a sad report of Tlepolemus his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving Maragamis, the Soldier, alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveyed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Privileges, as are the Turks Janizars. Being assured therefore, that one of their fellows had thus been

...to his own honour

These Ten Counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintus*, and acquaint him with the purport of *the Senate*; whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto Peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of *Greece*, for the execution of their late Decree; That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a Party strong against him. Neither was the Senate altogether unmindful of the business: wherein still *T. Quintus*, with his Ten *Ambassadors*, should happen to forget any

any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and *Ptolemy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had; we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassy. For coming to *Syria*; and there understanding that *P. Villius* was and *L. Terentius*, having been sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*. He halted thither; whether also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsellors) from *Bargile*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesias* and *Lysias* were also there; the fame, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptory Commissions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Matter. After a few days *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his Errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Ptolemy* those Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that War, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into *Eurepe*; for that other cause of his Journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make War upon the *Romans*. To this the King made answer, That he wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of *Asia*; whereas He prayed them to let him alone; even as He, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in *Italy*, what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Eurepe*: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely, the War against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that Country. He derived it from *Selenus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversy between him and the other Kings, had been still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindered by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he wished them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his Sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholden unto him, and to joyne ere long with *Ptolemy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Swertia* and of *Lamphacra*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lamphacra* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before

competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few days, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such fort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the War by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their Swords; nor yet over modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take no answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolemy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdom; and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and let the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* *Antiochus*; or, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemy*; which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* Voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to beher in *Egypt* with the first. To his Son *Selenus* he committed his Army; and left him to oversee the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea forces He took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*, not long with him, and failed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintus*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort, as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his Voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a Tempest, with a grievous Shipwrack, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Selenia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered secure, as might appear, of the *Roman* War.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at last it was not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him Council, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*; but to desire Society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same Friends and Enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly before the War broke out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks* were solicited; and particularly the *Aetolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the Friendship of the People of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whether this Entreaty tended: the forward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them; upbraiding

upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as Men to them beholding; not only for their Victory over *Philip*; but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs; and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The fame herof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the Enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate; and to chase out of their City this honourable Man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against them in the Civil administration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the Lives, Goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should have them all to be his Enemies; which being once known, He was sure to be soon accused and condemned.

In this their important rule of the City, *Hannibal* was chosen *Prætor*. By virtue of which Office, though he was superior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual Magistrature, as at the years end must be acceptable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quæstors, or Officers of the Treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud Quæstor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*; and Men of his place, were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of his future Greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame *Prætor*, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Purfivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgment before a public assembly of the People. There he not only shewed, what the undutiful stubbornness of this Quæstor had been; but how unsupportable the infolency of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power, made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistratures. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one Man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been passed, before he passed over *Iberus*; it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levy by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting Money in their publick Treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* considering this, began to examine the publick Revenues; and to take a perfect note both how much came into the Treasury, by ways and means whatsoever; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Commonwealth did not exhaust the Treasury: but that wicked Magistratures, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the Monies to their own use, were thereby fain to load the People with needless burdens. Herof he made such plain demonstration, that these Rob-

bers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore with shame, what they had gotten by Knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts; as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the virtue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the Peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely; as being ill fripp of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent Letters to their Friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barbians* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in Arms. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in Peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barbians* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But their own inventions they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild Beast, which would never be tamed: That secret Messages past between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their Letters craftily, every one to the best of his own Friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither public notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false Witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in War they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their comings; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some Controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Melanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a Man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particulars. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly. He went forth of the Town when it began to was dark, accompanied with two who were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own, by the Sea side. There had he a Ship furnished with all things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such Journey. So He had *Africk* tarvel; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the life of *Cæcina*; he found

there in the Haven some Merchants Ships of *Carthage*. They falted him refpectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He faid, He went Embaffador to *Tyre*: and that he intended therein to the Ifland to *Tyre*: and that he intended therein to the Ifland to make a facifice; whereon He invited all the Merchants, and Mafters of the Ships. It was not weather: and therefore He would needs hold his Feaft upon the Shore; where, becaufe there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sales and Yards to be used inftead of Tents. They did fo; and Feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there afleep; and putting to Sea, held on his courfe to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was fure not to be perfued. For the Merchants did neither make hafte to fend any news of him to *Carthage*; as thinking him to be gone Embaffador: neither could they, without fome lofs of time, fuch of them as made moft fpeed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being bufied awhile in fitting their Tackle. At *Carthage*, the mifs of fo great a Perfon was diversly conftrued. Some gueffed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been feen: and then the *Roman* Embaffadors, having none other Errand thither, accufed him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only difcovered the mifchief by them intended againft him, and the malice of their Senate; miffing the while their purpofe, and caufing Men to understand, that He fled not thus without great reafon.

Hannibal, coming to *Tyre* the Mother City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whole great worth and honour the *Tyrans*, by reafon of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have intereft. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King friendly welcomed him, and fent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had caufe to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: fo had the *Romans* no great caufe to be therefore forry: otherwife than as they had much difgraced themselves, by difcovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike eafie unto this great Commander, to make ftout Souldiers of bafe *Afians*; as it had been by his training and difcipline, to make very ferviceable and skillful Men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardly though experienced. Or were it fuppofed, that one Mans worth, efpecially being fo extraordinary, could alter the nature of a Cowardly People; yet was it therewithal confiderable, that the varieties of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the bafenefs of his Flatterers, and a thoufand other fuch vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a defolate and banifhed Man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindring him in thofe actions wherein he had the high Command, and was fcondored by his Warlike Brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further ferved to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lefs careful to avoid the War; then fhould it further ferve, to juftifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it feems indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making War. For *Antiochus*, as is faid before, having newly fent Embaffadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable,

that He had any meaning to take Arms, unlefs by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Antiochians* were greatly fufpected, as a turbulent People, defirous of innovation, and therefore prafticing with this Great King, whom they wifhed to fee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counfellors, That the Senate would grant them whatfoever with reafon they fhould ask. But this promife was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embaffadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaft. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwife than by fpeaking fuch words, as might halt the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very fame; who had no defire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome* was of War with *Antiochus*: but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Antiochians* were wont to upbraid the reft of the *Greeks*, with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed: faying, That thefe their Deliverers had laid heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer, than thofe of the *Macedonians*: likewife, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their Chain, and tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no caufe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplifhing of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty; and the whole Country at Peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it felf. As for *Antiochus*: He made it his daily fuit, that the Peace between him and *Rome*, fuch as it was, might be confirmed, and ftrengthened by a League of more affurance. Nevertheless *T. Quintius* would needs fear, that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to feize upon *Greece*, as foon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained ftil in his own hands *Chalcus*, *Demetrius*, and the *Aceerofus*: by benefit of which Towns, he might the better withftand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embaffadors, that had been fent over to affift him; when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they faid, would queftionlefs fall upon *Greece*: wherein he fhould find not only the *Antiochians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do fomething againft thefe their fufpected Enemies: efpecially againft *Nabis*, who could worft make refiftance; whilst *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his bufinefs. Thefe reports went not only current through the City, among the vulgar: but found fuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, againft which time it was expected that *Antiochus* fhould be ready to take his great enterprife in hand; *P. Cornelius*, *Scipio* the African defired, and obtained, a fecond Confultifhip, with intimation to be General in the War, againft the King and his *Hannibal*. For the prefent, the bufinefs with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*; to deal him with as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarryance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alfo he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be forry; though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entered into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already fhewed, whilst he had War with *Philip*: and had

further

further been contented for the *Romans* fake to be at Peace with the *Acheans*, neither fince that time had he done any thing, whereby he fhould draw upon himfelf this War. He was indeed a defpicable Tyrant, and hated of Conditions had formerly done to them great mifchief. *Titus* therefore had a plaufible Theme, whereon to difcourage before the Embaffages of all the Confederate Cities; which he caufed to meet for that purpofe at *Cornith*. He told them, That in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearfed) that fhould fir them up, and caufe them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intereft, than only the making perfect of their honour, in feting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in fome fort maimed, or incompleat, whilst the noble City of *Argos* was left in fubjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to confider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwife to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves. The *Athenian* Embaffador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleafing as he could devife. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paff; extolled their virtues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of their Propofition: wherein unrequited they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poor Affociates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this He added, That great pity it was to hear, fuch notable vertue and high deferts ill fpoken of by fome, which took upon them, out of their own imaginations to foretel, what harm thefe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulnefs rather would have required an acknowledgment, of the benefits and pleafures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laft claufe: which was directly againft the *Antiochians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Antiochian* rofe up, and told the *Athenians* their own putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in thofe times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty general: from which honour they were now fo far fallen. He faid, That if the *Antiochians* thofe whom they thought moft mighty; and by their bafe affentation, would lead all the reft into fervitude. Then fpeak He againft the *Acheans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonians*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adverfity. Thefe He faid had gotten *Cornith*; and muft now have War be made for their fakes, to the end that they might alfo be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Antiochians*, that had firft made War with *Philip*, and always been friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of fome places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himfelf, but objected unto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: fo far as much as they kept their Garrifons in *Demetrius*, *Chalcus*, and the *Aceerofus*; having been always wont to profefs, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whilst thofe places were not free. Alfo now at laft, what elfe did they feek by this difcourfe of War with *Nabis*, than bufinefs wherewith to find themfelves occupied, that fo they might have fome

feeming caufe of abiding longer in the Country? But they fhould do well, if they meant as they fpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Antiochians* themselves did promife, and would undertake, That they would either caufe him to yield to reafon, and relinquifh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrifon; or elfe compel him by force of Arms, to fubmit himfelf to the good pleafure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Thefe words had been reafonable, if they had proceeded from better Men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought fo much with thefe *Antiochians*; as did their own ravenous defire of oppreffing others, and getting unto themfelves, that worfe would ufe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loft. Neither could they well diflemble this; making it no fmall part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten; wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* fhould enjoy the fpoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in poffeffion of the *Antiochians*. This, and the remembrance of a thoufand mifchiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Affembly, efpecially the *Acheans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take fuch order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Antiochian* Thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their Neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleafure of *Titus*: who faw, that by difcountenancing the *Antiochians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reft. But whether it pleafed him fo well, that *Antiochus* his Embaffadors did prefently after lie hard upon him, to draw the Peace to fome good conclusion; it may be greatly doubted. He caft them off with a flight answer: telling them, That the ten Embaffadors or Counfellors which had been fent unto him from *Rome* to be his affiftants in thefe matters of weight, were now returned home: and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedaemonian* War; it was very foon ended. For *Titus* ufed the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againft *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he fhould have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rodian* Fleet, were invited to the fervice: as alfo *Philip* of *Macedon* lent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in feeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the moft forward in this Expedition were the *Acheans*, who fet out ten thoufand Foot, and a thoufand Horfe. As for the *Antiochians*, rather to hold good fuffition, and found their difpofitions, than in hope to fpeed, their help was required; whereof they excufed themfelves as well as they thought beft. Thus are the *Acheans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Antiochians* from that degree of favour: like as they themfelves hereafter (though not in all hafte) fhall be fluppaned by the fame *Lacedaemonians*, againft whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives* more bold than wife, began a confpiracy againft the *Lacedaemonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their Gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and flain: excepting a very few, that efcafed out of the Town. The fums of this Commotion, caufed the Army to march apiece toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no fir within the Walls.

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the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Tim* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedæmon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readines an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Country, but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted Slaves, Malefactors, and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt: and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an Assembly: and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous Treason: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course, to arrest before hand and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own Person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cries and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to Prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else do than terrify the People; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal Crime to be suspected? and to the same purpose, his cruelty extended it self unto some poor wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to fly to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the Streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens; He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Soldiers of the Town had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loss. *Tim* abode not many days before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to Battle. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens*, laid Siege unto *Gyrtium*, the only or principal Haven-town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by Treason. There were two Governours within the Town, equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, sue the Traitor; after whose death, he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintus* with part of his Army came thither to *Gyrtium*; this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either *Tim* or his Master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and Brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, soldiers Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*: it being (as may

seem) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve *Gyrtium*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they finding that it was lost: then began they to think upon his death the War, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent Embassador to *Tim*: requesting only, that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parley the Tyrant speak very reasonably for himself: proving, that he suffered wrong and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the sum was, That whatsoever they now did, or could, object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred. That neither for his keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alledged, they ought to make War upon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintus* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyranny; and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should be alledged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyn with *Philip*, when he was their Enemy, not only in League, but also in affinity: and That his Fleet had robbed many of their Ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, since in the Articles by *Tim* propounded unto *Nabis* there was no restitution mentioned, other than of Ships by him taken from the *Greeks* his Neighbours, with whom he had long held War: it may seem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the Volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that *Antiochus*, the Praetor of the *Acheans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting left the *Romans*, (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithful dealing) should now relent, and forswear to molest him, who, though a wicked Man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his discourse to an other end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his own estate; and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private Men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to requite *Argos*; and requested them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take Counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, wherewith the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Army to lye in League all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make Peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending;

Titus

Titus propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedæmonians* to have ought to do in the Isle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor War, either in that Island, or elsewhere; nor to build any Town or Cattle upon his own Lands; nor to keep any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred Talents in Silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty Talents yearly, for Eight years next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded Five Hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the War from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to difference a little with the *Roman* Faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this Enterprize, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the Spoil of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the *Acheans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Tim*: so did it minister unto the *Atolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Maligner *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries, or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday: and he therein rooted by their authority, as their Friend and Confederate. *Nabis*, on the other side, thought himself unmercifully dealt withal, by the self-same *Romans*; whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful War, before the love and affinity of the *Lacedæmonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But sally he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and sally was he dealt with by those to whom he did mistake himself. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; save only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Agésilas*, the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child, was driven out by *Lysurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them returned unto their City and Estates; but only leave required for as many of their Wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands: and sustained an assault or two, hoping belike, that the Enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, he delivered the Hostages; and thereupon obtained Peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome*, by the Senate and People. From this time forward, he thought the *Romans* more wicked than himself; and was ready upon the first advantage, to do them all Mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news, that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This excited them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Preferably after this came *T. Quintus* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, wherewith the Citizens had laid hold, without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean Games*; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Council of *Achaia*; whereby the *Acheans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same Extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business, or none, wherewith to sit on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet; *Scipio*, the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The unfeigned meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Atolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way of confuting the *Atolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: whereto he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of Estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel; touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Lastly, he gave up *Aerocrinus* to the *Acheans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison; and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known, what liars the *Atolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* testify their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been sold into their Country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with as happy end: and by leaving the Country before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his virtue and benefits, untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, he had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three days together the

shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the Spoils of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a Spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All sorts of Arms, with Statues, and curious pieces of Braſs or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first days Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the Treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Mass unwrought; some, in divers sorts of Coin; and some, in Vessels of fundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the Workmanship. Among these were Ten Shields, all of Silver, and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the Beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the Hofages: among which, *Demetrius*, the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes*, the Son of *Nabiz*, were principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumph, he procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintus*, and the Ten that had been his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said unto *Titus*, and his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor, and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those, that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usual to demand and make restitution, of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superior unto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and Friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so, they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting, or not putting, his Garrison into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintus* answered, That since they went so distinctly to work, he would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans*, to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; Or, if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing; but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propound-

ed. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampacae*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that fought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, whereon of late he had been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundations, and re-peopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been displaced, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* took upon them, as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those free Towns, which the King would oppress, and hold in subjection: especially since those Towns were of *Greekish* Blood and Language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many Subjects on the hither side of *Ephesus*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning, not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his Subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintus*, and his associates, would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for War, finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the *Romans* had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of *M. Porcius Cato*. Injuries done by *Malantius* to the *Carthaginians*: that sue to the *Romans* for justice in aim.

THE *Isabrians*, *Boians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continual War upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal*, and his brother *Mago*, departed thence, until such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations having lived under *Mago*, for Wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath been already shewed; by this their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stir alone, but that their Companions, ha-

hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallicia Cisalpine*, now called *Lumbarie*; it hath been long since rehearsed, between the first and second *Punic* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely, that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, before the greater employments which they had of sides the *Arms* abroad, their forces appointed unto their War had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*; that always made them to proceed warily, having an Eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying Ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of freight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken nor besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects they served excellently well, to train up the *Roman* Soldiers to hardiness, and military patience; teaching them (besides other Exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their dure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gauls*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borders, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by judgment: and to acknowledge no such virtue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them, and any of their neighbours, use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other*.

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress; and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Country was a good place of Exercise unto the *Romans*; so out of their own Country they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in Figure by some Geographers, unto an Ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus*, the *Indian*, shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Emblem of his large Dominions. For, treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen, that those parts, from which the *Roman* Armies lay furthest, were not up in Rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a

very hardy Nation, and easily stirred up to Arms; but had not much knowledge in the Art of War, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hindrance) and being divided into many small Signories, that had little or communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrows; as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking Arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholerick *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their Wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Soldiers from one part of the Country, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole Country; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sure friends the *Laines*, had little business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and wital too great, for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain sick Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold it in obedience and peace; and such headful Captains, as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Country, though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the Forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts; and, together with rebellion by many Victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Country; which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War; yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a Battle with the *Roman* Proconsul, whom they flew; and had a great Confusion, that filled them with greater hopes. Yea the happy success of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither Two Praetors, and with each of them two Legions. These did somewhat; yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the year following, and sent into that Province; found at his coming little less to do, than the re-conquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: some were faithful to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that

that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chief of them, they rose against him in many parts of the Country, and put him to much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebel. He therefore disarmed them: which they took so heavily, that many of them flew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding, that such disparagement might work dangerous effects; He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss. He prayed them to devise what course might be taken, for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject, He gave express charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw down the Walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carried the War about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Ciliberians*, against other of their Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, he could pay them with the Enemies Money. Finally he brought the War to go good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herin he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a Virtue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed, The Occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skillful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many Books he wrote: whereof the Principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his subsistence; being of mean birth, and the first of his House. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from Bribes, and fastidiousness himself to the ancient laudable Customs of the City. Herin he had merited singular commendations; if the rehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the Virtue of that Noble *Scipio the African*, and some other Worthy Men; that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise he was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions, as if he never were out of his Element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, he was excoriated in defending himself, or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the

People. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his Family; which ended in his great Grandchild *M. Cato the Uticens*: one, that being of like Verue and Fervency, had all his good purposes daft, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobility and greatness as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prators therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into two Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One flew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a Battle: another took fifty Towns; and a third enforced many States of the Country to sue for Peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; yet so, that commonly there were of Men, Towns and People, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slain, taken or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have already pointed: and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, until the *Numantian* War broke out; which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had Peace: but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the Enemies of the *Barchine* Houls promised all Felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Malcanilla* fell to disputing with the Sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syria*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidians* then challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out unto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Malcanilla* himself, now very lately, pursuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Malcanilla* had wherewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadors, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal* one, that should persuade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined, upon some suspicion of his Errand; yesternight arresting him nor his Ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidians* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebel; and therefore good policy to keep them down. As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had always he said, been theirs; that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometimes unto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were known: this

the Citizens of *Carthage* had no very warrantable title, unto any more ground, than that whereon their City stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than Strangers in *Affrica*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into small Thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compals, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, *Malcanilla* requested of the Senate, That they would not adjudge unto such Usurpers, the Country sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured Friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would do nothing rashly; they sent over three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio the African* was one and the chief to decide the controvercie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely that *Malcanilla* with a strong Army should quickly prevail, against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The *Ætolians* labour to provoke *Antiochus*, Philip, and Nabis, to war upon the *Romans*; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besieges Gytheum, and wastes some part of Achæa. The exact skill of Philopomen, in advantage of Ground: whereby he easily vanquishes Nabis. *Antiochus* being denied Peace by the *Romans*, joins with the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* stirre Demetrias; and by killing Nabis their Confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the *Citizens*: who at Philopomen his persuasions, annex themselves to the *Achæans*.

ALL Greece being at Peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole Spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unfeatherable wrong. Wherefore they desired in a Parliament, which they shortly held, by what means they might best right themselves; and give the *Romans* a sorrowful knowledge of the difference, between their Enmity and Friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would

not only persuade *Antiochus* to make War upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused Peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand: and well befecoming them, for they were great darters. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with persuasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other Courtes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet shewed himself of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege to *Gytheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Tim* at his departure had commended the affairs of *Peloponnesus*, were not flow to admonish *Nabis* of his Duty: neither would they have stayed long from repressing his violence by open War; had not some of them thought it wisdom of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were advised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them just cause of complaint, by waisting their own Territory.

Philopomen was then Prator of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying until the *Romans* came; or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gytheum* by Sea; fearing lest the Town, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopomen* was so fast a Seaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gally his Admiral, that had fourscore years ago been counted a gallant Vessel, in the Navy of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonians*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many Leaks, and took in Water so fast, that the was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admiral; all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopomen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation; He said that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the Siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans* if they should invade his Country. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopomen* came unexpected; fired their Camp; and put all save a very few of them to the sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him; that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gytheum*, with any

any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marked therefore almost securely, in a long Troop reaching some five miles: having their Horse and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take: appeared in the front of them with all his Army: encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of *Philopemen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his Friends, to mark the situation of the Country about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, That having with them there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and forced in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountered by a greater Army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon; and in what manner he might best do it? in what for he should order his Men? where bestow his Carriages; and under what Guard? in what fort encamp himself? and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation, he was grown to perfect, that he never met with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers. At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his Rere, he encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His Baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rock; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; where the *Achaean* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopemen* understood this; and laid an Ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Prefently after this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant, as a Fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achaean* had a purpose to get between him and *Lacedaemon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People, to take Arms for the recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some Companies he made to fly behind, and shew themselves upon the Rampart, whereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopemen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Camp; and gave chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The Enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in covert all that day; *Philopemen* conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day; He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto *Lacedaemon*. So *Nabis* his Men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopemen* Camp great store of lights, thought that all had been at rest; and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty

days together after this, did *Philopemen* waste the Country round about; whilst *Nabis* durst not stir forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without Forces.

The Roman Embassadors were then in Greece, and *T. Quintus* among them; labouring to make their Party strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be follietted by the *Aetolians*. Very fair countenance they also made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever he thought, of good Correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receive other favours at their hands; and regain possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for War against *Antiochus* in Greece: whilst their Embassadors that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage between *Ptolemy* and his Daughter, together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giving audience in Person to the Embassadors; caused them to return home to Rome; as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning or (as *Livy* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the Romans: that honoured his Virtue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captains that had lived, *Hannibal* judged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third he challenged unto himself. But *Scipio* who thought his own Title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou have said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? to whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the first place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my self. Now whether this were so or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did forbear a while to use his Council. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recovered his former Grace and Credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to swear at the Alars, when he was a little Boy, That he never should be Friend unto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain fumes: but to know thus much, That as long as he thought upon War with Rome, so long would *Hannibal* do him all good service: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make Peace, then should it behove him to use the Council of some other Man.

The *Aetolians*, and their Friends, were no less busy all this while, in making their Party strong against the Romans: than were the Romans, in muffling up their Friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own

own Forces; and arrogating to themselves the honour of the Victory against *Philip*; that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the Roman Embassadors had left him without hope of Peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He understood the Romans, and himself, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the utmost: as knowing, that all the Burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any; save only from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the Athenian Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto they were contented, to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his Presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the Romans: it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his Friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their Panathenium, or Great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the Enterprize which they took in hand; whereby Greece was like to become a Champaign-field, on which, to the ruin of the Country, the Romans, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Aetolians*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming 'the Stricklers'. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them and urge them to such violent courses, He willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do to send Embassadors to Rome, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the World in an uprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words, That by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such Terms had they been flattered once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who, having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This was only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the Great should be entreated to come over into Greece, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the Romans and *Aetolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it; they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him

know, if he came to their Camp in Italy upon the River of *Tiber*. Gender words would have done better, as the *Aetolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip in waiting for the authority of a general Assembly. The *Apollon* (so were the Privy Council of *Aetolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the young heads could have done. They laid a Plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden: entering, some of them as Friends to conduct home a Principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintus*, had been driven to fly thence, but was, by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled. His *Aetolian* companions that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chief of the Roman faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had banished Man to bring home; but they came to strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it fell against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer: saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, who more injuriously dominated over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By such Rhetoric they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Townsmen replied, that they neither found any abridgement of their Liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the Romans; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dashed. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good Friend, was Lord of the Town: styling himself King; but more truly, by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopemen* had lately given him: since, he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent Messengers, one after other, to the *Aetolians*: requesting them, that as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, that the ravenous *Aetolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his Mercenary Forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedaemon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamennus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Demetrias* the Prætor brought into the Council of the *Apollon*, where they were commanded to be no wiser, than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make War with the *Achaean*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamennus* should command them: which were it never to deperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have

no good welcome home. So *Alexandrus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him, that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætoliens*, He said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a Muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater Company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his Men, that had been long pent up in the City, and train them without the Walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his Men in the field; riding up and down with his *Alexandrus*, and no more than three or four Horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexandrus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætoliens*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work that he had in hand: He then went aside to his thirty Horse-men, and bade them remember the task enjoined them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished Men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Here- which the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexandrus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and thruck him down. The thirty *Ætoliens* never stood to deliberate upon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead Body: where instead of seeking revenge they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexandrus* with his *Ætoliens* halted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens, who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children; whom they mounted upon a Good Horse, and made him their chief. So they fell upon the *Ætoliens* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexandrus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as Bond-slaves. In this doubtful Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopemen* came thither: who calling out chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexandrus* should have done after he had slain the Tyrant; easily persuaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achaens*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætoliens*, and the small but effectual

travel of *Philopemen*; the *Achaens* made a notable purchase: as *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had scarce any reputation when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, persuaded by *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, comes over into *Greece*, he attended. *Sundry passages between him, the Ætoliens, Chalcidians and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors, and the Ætoliens, with the Civil answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achaens. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired Peace, between the Romans and Antiochus; as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King of Aminander; and an idle civility, by which King Philip was lost. Hannibal grows good Counsel in vain. Some Towns won in Thessaly. The King returns to Chalcis; Where he marries a young Wife, and reveals away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsake Antiochus. He with two thousand Ætoliens keeps the Streets of Thermopylae. He is beaten, and flies into Asia: leaving all in *Greece* unto the Victors.*

Antiochus was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampascus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet he was desirous with all speed convenient to shew himself in *Greece*; where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in Arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a Chain, desiring nothing more than to break loose; and that the *Ætoliens*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatest, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bad him lay all other care aside: for that his Countreimen had already taken *Demetrius*; a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit Man to be employed in the Kings forerun, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, that the King should as greatly

greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander if his fortunes were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality: whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed; *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warrior should be always near unto the Kings Person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the Sovereign Command; even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the virtue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination; which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of Ceremony, he went up from the Seaside to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Trôys*. Thence passing over the *Ægean Sea*, He came to *Demetrius*. *Euarchus* the *Magnesian*, the same whom by that pretext they waited on home, when by that pretext they were now the chief Man and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreimen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this; and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnesian* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas he had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred Ships, of which no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars; with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and six Elephants. The *Ætoliens* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would do so; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætoliens* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, He made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation a sign of his good will; in that he staid not to make all things ready; but halted unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætoliens* therein the chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be at way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessities; that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, whereof he

flood in need. So he left them to their consideration: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance, upon the promised assistance of a State that is merely popular. For the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council: the *Ætoliens*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea for hope of such gain that might have deceived them; were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong; but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked Men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætoliens*. He was chosen General of all their forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot; leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these he halted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætoliens*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætoliens* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance for *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several Estate had where to find redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, to join with him in League; as that if either the *Romans* or He should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spoke of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the Greeks: inasmuch as none of them paid any Tribute; was kept under, by any Garrison; or lived otherwise than by their own Laws, and without being tied unto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himself, to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Ætoliens*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætoliens*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such estate as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, when strong enough, to force

them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yield, before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus girt; all the rest of the Island, shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Soldiers, that came over-late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Bœotia*, lying over against the Island; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause; without fear of any danger; as being in such a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Messippus*, one of *Antiochus*'s Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of Peace; took advantage of their carelessness, and used them with all extremity of War. Very few of them escaped: fifty were taken; and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintus* was grieved: yet so as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause, than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wisest returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some referred themselves until he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He must hold them excused for not daring to stir; or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyined with him in true meaning; save the *Eleians*, that always favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Æcheans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Æcheans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope that the envy, which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philip*'s virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both He and the *Æcheans* sent Embassadors to the Council at *Ægium*; that spared not brave words, if the *Æcheans* would have so been taken. The Kings, Embassador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming: reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *E-lonians*, and *Cadusians*; names that were not every day heard of; and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable Men at Sea, the *Sydaniens*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning Money, and all Warlike furniture; it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Asia* had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived; who considering the late War made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Æcheans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst He took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador; and further added, That in the Battle at *Cyncephala*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Soldiers; but that both He and his Army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by virtue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present

at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Æcheans*, That neither the Kings' Embassador, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even such brags as here they made, before the *Æcheans*, who knew them to be liars, had the *Ætolians* also made unto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they been flattered by the King, with such tales as his Embassador told even now: of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a Many others; that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diverse names of rascal People were, he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no fish vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, wherewith he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame Swine, drest after several fashions with variety of Sauces. Seeing therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp; it were good to make judgment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand Men about him: for which little Army he was fain, in a manner, to beg Victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take up Money at usury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies; wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser Men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much persuasion is needless. The *Æcheans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*; but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the vilest objects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greedily to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsaen* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers on the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Country, as two Seas by an *Isthmus* or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greeks*; than the general applause wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer.

Yet were *Lyfimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take Arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Æcheans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Besaliens*, were first against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Besians* willingly received him, as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*; by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander*, the *Albanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Aradian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two Sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his Sifter to the poor Court of *Albanania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedigree; he was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander*, his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by persuasions of himself, or of his Sifter, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own Phrenzy, in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects; or whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading; with which he marched unto *Cyncephala*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*: whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended mischief unto his delight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready, with all his power, to aid them whereinsoever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetics*, *Eubœans*, *Besians*, and *Albanians*, having now all joyined with him; *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade

Italy; or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his own Sentence, with the weightiest Reasons which he could allege; as in a meeting of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting; who had long been cast aside, as a Vessel of no use; but was now required to deliver his Opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even his counsel at any time before been spoken, had he any counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetics*, *Besians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor Efflates, that, wanting force of their own, did adjoin themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alleging the same fear for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behovel, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoil and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper Forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily persuaded to join with them; the benefit likewise to redound unto himself, by their Society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of his hope? For, said he, These *Ætolians* here present; and namely this *Thoas*, being lately Embassador from them into *Asia*, among other Mirours which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, inspired mainly on the same point. He told us, that *Philip* was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the *Romans*: likening that King to some Wild Beast, that was chained, or locks up within some Grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so, let us break his Chain, and pull down the Gate; that he may regain his liberty, and satisfy his angry stomach, upon those that are common Enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation; then shall it becom us to lock unto him, that he may not seek to please his good Masters the *Romans*, by offending us. Your Son *Selencus*, is now at *Lyfimachia*, with part of your Army: if *Philip* will not hearken to your *Macedon*, let *Selencus* be in readiness, to fall upon *Macedon*, and find him work to defend. His sons on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*; and the present War in *Greece*. But more generally for the managing of this great Enterprise, wherein you are now embroiled against the *Romans*; I told you my Opinion at the beginning. Whereby I told you my Opinion at the beginning. Whereby I told you then grown ear; as the *Romans* by this time should have heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was become ours. Italy and Gauls should have been on fire with War; and little to their comfort, if they should have understood, that *Hannibal* was again come into Italy. Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for your Fleet, and Army either (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of Victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouths.) Wherof let the one half be employed against Italy; whilst you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the Affairs of *Greece*, and therewithal make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice: who though perhaps I am not very skillful in all sorts of War; yet how to war with

the Romans, I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this counsel which I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent service for the execution; but what counsel forever you shall please to follow; I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great Spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into Asia, to make all things ready there. In the mean while they were in hand with Thessaly; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But Larissa, that was chief of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the Walls with his whole Army. For their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For M. Babius, a Roman Proprietor did send help thither. Likewise Philip of Macedonia, professed himself Enemy unto Antiochus: where by the fame of the succour coming to Larissa, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For Antiochus perceiving many Fires on the Mountains tops afar off, thought that a great Army of Romans and Macedonians had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself by the time of the year; he brake up his Siege, and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, he shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captains followed his Example; and the Soldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the Field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of Discipline his Army had passed the Winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of Nuptial Revels; by setting them to harder Exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The War against Antiochus fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise he was no way so honourable, as Nasica his Colleague: unto whom was fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. Nasica, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long since, in time of the Punick War, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertain an old stone, which the Devil then taught them to call *the Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Virtue, or good Opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province; or arrogate more unto himself, than his lot should afford him. This impartial distribution of Employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make War against the *Beijans*: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, though so glorious as was that of his Colleague; nothing purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But M. Acilius went over into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and sixteen Elephants. Ptolemy, King of Egypt, withdrawing his late Alliance with King Antiochus: and Philip, King of Macedonia, had lately sent

Embassadors to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his Forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. Ptolemy sent also Gold and Silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his Money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto Philip's Embassadors answer was made, That this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would think themselves beholden to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Acilius the Consul*. M. Acilius likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did drive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantity of Grain; which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And herein M. Acilius far outwent the poor City of Carthage: as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* undertook to let out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-money, which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly Penfions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet; nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hafty and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the Roman and the Asiatic Soldier. Antiochus had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by fair words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their Excuse, when they should again forsake him. But King Philip and *Babius*, having recovered many places; and the Roman Consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad to withdraw himself. *Aminander* fled out of his *Attabania*: which the Macedonian took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the Romans. Philip, the Brother of *Aminander's* Wife, was taken by the Consul; made a Mocking-stock; and sent away Prisoner to Rome. The *Thessalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of Antiochus, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them flaid behind, and took pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochus: who having withdrawn himself to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends: and said, That he had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toil during one half of a Winter, and spent the other half in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Ætolians* mostly verbal; and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yet a very Prophet, that had foreseen all their Forces: as considering their own need no less than his. But the *Ætolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus: who having promised to do great won-

* L. 2. Ch. 6. 3.

ders, was in all this while followed by no greater numbers out of Asia, than so many as would fill up the fame ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyed with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thas* and his fellows had done their best, in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece would appear in this time of danger: He seized upon the Streights of *Thermopylae*: as meaning to defend them against the Romans, until more help should come. Of the Streights of *Thermopylae* there hath been spoken enough before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the Romans, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to pass that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of Greece: unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and Antiochus. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a World of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great Miracles, and effect what he listed himself in Greece: did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest Maffages one after other to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at leastwise now to help, and keep the tops of the Mountains, lest the Romans finding any by-path, should come down upon them. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Consul in like sort, prepared to force the Streights: without flaying to expect King Philip: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him M. *Percin*us Cato, and L. *Valerius* Flaccus, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army: not only by telling them of what safe-conditioned Enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were Victors. This was on the day before the Battle. All that night Cato had a fore-journey (for what happened unto L. *Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skillful Guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing up slippery Rocks, and crooked ways: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a fair way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any Travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way

that Cato followed, though if were the best; yet did it lead him to a Bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there until day light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the Greeks underneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any means to get him some Prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently fell upon the *Ætolians*; overthrew them; slew a great part of them; and chased the rest: that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The Fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the Romans, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them from their Camp, found it in a manner a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp it self; which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by Antiochus his long Pike, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and poured down a shower of Weapons on their heads. But Cato his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the Roman Arms and Ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the Camp, and fled. The Slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way, did hinder the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet this days loss drove Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence, with the first opportunity, got him back into Asia.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertain the Romans, and entreat for pardon: setting open their Gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of Suppliants. Briefly, in few days all was recovered that Antiochus had gained: the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any respite. At his return from Chalcis, he met with King Philip, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him against Antiochus: over whom, since the Victory was already gotten, He did gratefully unto the Romans their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and Philip, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially Philip, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that used to work by Mine, were overwhelmed by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told Philip, that the Spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylae*. Here with Philip must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But Antiochus, that could so ill endure to see Philip in likelihood of thriving by the Romans victory, got not *Lamia* himself; until such time as another Consul, was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire Peace. Yet had they sent unto King Antiochus presently after his flight; entreating him not to

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forfake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with Money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of Money, that might serve to defray the charges of the War: promising, that ere long he would fend them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thous*, another of their Embassadors, he retained with him; who willingly staid, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heracles* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope, of amending their fortune by the help of *Anticlus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain Peace, upon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience; but said, He had other business in hand: only He granted them Ten days of Truce; and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*; they began, as men favouring their own cause, to allege how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Where *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the Malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to intreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the Faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This Phrase of committing unto the Faith; signified, in their use of it, little else, than the acknowledgement of a Fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * yielding to discretion.

Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said He, I command you first of all, That none of ye presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicaarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epheir*, *Ammendar* the *Abthamanian*, and such of his Countrymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilft he was yet speaking, *Phameas*, the Embassador, interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custom of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves unto his Faith; nor unto Slavery. What? (said the Consul) Do ye stand to plead Custom with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a Chain. With that, Chains were brought; and an Iron Collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius*, and some others, intreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself: and said, That neither He, nor yet the *Apoleis*, or ordinary Council of the Nation, were able to fulfil these injunctions;

without approbation of the general Assembly. For which cause He intreated yet further Ten days respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

This Surceance of War, during Ten and other Ten days together, began presently after the taking of *Heracles*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*; that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in Employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this War: He was desired to set upon the *Abthamanians*, and some other petty Nations, their borderers, whilft the Consul was busied with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And He got in that space all *Abthamanian*, *Perthebian*, *Apertanian*, &c. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War; yet they could not endure to hear more talk of peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* about the same time was come back from *Anticlus*, with Money, and hopeful promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heracles*; and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His Money *Nicanor* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassy, was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For He commanded his Servants to intreat *Nicanor* friendly: and he himself being then at Supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up; giving him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance, first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Anticlus*: but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any trial: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signify unto his Countrymen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesy which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convey to guard him to *Hypata*. He lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicanor* was always after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: so as in the War of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*; and therefore was laid away to *Rome*; where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the War against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make Head against him at *Naupactus*: whether he therefore di-

rectly marched, to try what they could or durst. The Siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had pre-conceived it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Anticlus* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So he staid there well-near all the following time of his Consulship; whilft the *Macedonian* King, and the *Ætolians*, made far better use of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Anticlus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong City of *Demetrias*; and with an hasty course of Victory, subdued the *Abthamanians* and others. The *Æthians* called to account the *Elens* and *Messenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it in taking part with *Anticlus*. The *Elens* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The *Messenians*, being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help, when the *Ætolian* Pursuer waisted their Country, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. Time was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandment, their Gates should be opened; but that unto the *Æthians* it was not their meaning to yield. A Message from *Titus* to the *Æthian* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Army, and finish the War: as also the peremptory Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Æthians*; and become part of their Common-wealth. Such was now the Majesty of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did favour the *Æthians*; yet could not like it well, that either they, or any other, should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Isle of *Zacynthus*, which had once been *Philip's*, and was afterward given by him to *Ammendar*, who sent a Governour thither. But when *Ammendar* in this present War, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*: then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Island to the *Æthians*; whom he found ready Champions. *Titus* liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies, as a reward of the Victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the *Æthians* referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, That their Common-wealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Poloponnesus* was the shell; and that holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having felled things thus in *Poloponnesus*, He went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio*, the Consul, had lain Two Months; that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compassion which He had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philip's* driving fo fast: He perswaded the Consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitting themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians* have made such earnest suit, as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been fure to carry it, in any short

space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to *Rome*, no intreaty could help them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor War with any, further than as the *Romans* should give approbation. They had not so much Money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withal, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what Points, and how far forth, they should yield unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as Enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilft the *Ætolians* were pursuing their hopes of Peace, the Consul had little to do in Greece; and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable *Æthians*. He would have had them to restore the banished *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Elens* into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the *Æthians* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they desired the restitution of the banished *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer Grace. As for the *Elens*, they were loth to be beholden to the *Romans*; and thereby to disparage the *Æthians*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted; and saw that they should have their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral, *C. Livius*, much about the same time, fought a Battle at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Anticlus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty Sail of *Rhodiens* came after the battle, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of Sail: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger, as soon as he betook himself to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first years War, between King *Anticlus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by fear; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained Pardon. On the contrary side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-Enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now send to gratulate this their Victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored unto him *Demetrias*, his younger Son; whom some few years they had kept as an Hostage. Also King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard He desired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to send an Army, as soon as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, whereinsoever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the Son-in-law of King *Anticlus*: but he was the Friend of Fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The same did *Anticlus* now begin to

to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had been in another World: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of Greece into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into Greece; and that there was no doubt, but the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a batrel for his Kingdom.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius, the African, his Elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants leave to the *Ætolians*, that so he might at leisure pass into *Asia*. Much troublesome business by Sea; and divers fights. An invasion upon *Eumenes* his Kingdom; with the Siege of *Pergamus*, raised by an Army of the *Achaïans*. L. Scipio, the Consul, comes into *Asia*: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desires Peace, and is denied it. The Battle of *Magnesia*: wherein *Antiochus* being conquerd, yields to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the Peace. In what sort the Romans used their Victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph over *Antiochus*, is furnished The Asiaticque, at his Brother was fitted The African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the Brother of P. Scipio, was chosen Consul for Rome, with C. *Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate; and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable Employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. Cornelius would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his Brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an unblamable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; P. Scipio, the African, said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his Brother to the War against *Antiochus*, He himself would follow his Brother in that War, as his Lieutenant. These Words were heard with such approbation, that the controversy was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had been victorious against the same great Worthy. But indeed a worse man might have served well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his Willdom was much approved, but his liberty and high Spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilst he lived in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Army in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had been served by such brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly Furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well-pleasing himself with that goodly Spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*? Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the

Romans the most covetous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost upon the backs of Cowardly *Asiaticques*, was no better than a Spoil to animate good Soldiers. How little this answer pleased the King; it is easy to guess. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the Man, caused him to lose the use of his Service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haste away from *Rome* as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Soldiers newly prest to the War, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had served under P. *Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of Thirty *Quinqueres* Gallies, and Twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto L. *Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admiral the same year for that Voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa*, a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied Peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which headlessly, as in a time of confusion, they had left ungarded the last year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden, was carried at the second assault. Thence went He to *Amphissa*; which he had almost gotten; when L. *Scipio*, his Successor, came with thirteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Cattle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with P. *Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*; increasing him to stand their Friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of Peace. He gave them gentle words: and would them to persuade the *Ætolians*, that they should faithfully, and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many *Messings* passing to and fro; though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chased from *Rome*. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from War: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained half a years Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another half years leisure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than P. *Scipio*; who thought all time lost, which withheld the War from passing over into *Asia*.

The business of *Ætolia* being thus laid aside: and the old Consul, *Glabrio*, sent home into *Italy*: the *Scipio's* marched into *Thessaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, unto the *Hellepont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*, who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would be unfaithful, though he were not so courageous; yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of Victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disagreeably forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: where-in, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some trial; by causing a Gentleman to ride

hide Post unto him, and observe his doings, as he should take him on the sudden. The King was merry at a Feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he lovingly bad welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of Victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made Bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With these good news *Gracchus* returned back in haste unto the *Scipio's*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in a readiness, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, even to the *Hellepont*; where they staid a good while, until their Navy was in readiness to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*; true to the King, and desirous of revenge upon his Countrymen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea; thought to do somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work; and sent word, as in great secrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the Sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew so careless, expecting still, when he should receive a Watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that he himself was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for fear of being discovered, kept one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Haven. *Paussanatus* the *Rhodian* Admiral, seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his Men on the two Head-lands, or points of the Haven; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies, in another part of the Island: which falling upon the back of *Paussanatus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his Men aboard. This could not be without great confusion; so as the Enemies took him out of all order; and sunk or boarded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset upon two poles, at the Beak-head: and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemy: who having not be thought himself what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate Gallies; for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Nor long after this, the *Romans* had some loss by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, He was driven back again by the like foul Weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, for forth Twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* also, with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented batrel to *Polyxenidas*, before the Haven of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were intreated by the *Rhodians*, or persuaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while

they were hindred by storms at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes, with his Fleet, was compelled to forsake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waited all the grounds about *Elea* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Seleucus*, to besiege the Royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Army spoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having, with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the *Achaïans*, old Soldiers all, and trained up under *Philopemen*, whose Scholar, in the Art of War, *Diophanes*, whose Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding the Walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanor of the Enemy; began to disdain, that such men as they should hold him besieged. For *Seleucus* his Army, which was encamped at the Hill-foot, facing thar none durst fall forth upon them, grew so careless; as otherwise, than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*; and told him, that he would go forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the Match was nothing equal. But the *Achaïans* would needs have his will: and if suing forth, encamped not far from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness; and laughed to see with what handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his Men to follow him, even as fast as they well might: and he himself, with the Hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden upon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the Enemies had their Horses ready saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as he drave them all out of their Camp; and chased them as far as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of them, and no loss of his own. Here at all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the Walls of the Town, Men and Women, to behold this Spectacle) were very joyful; and highly magnified the virtue of these *Achaïans*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their Gates, to help the *Achaïans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a Mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had staid many hours, looking who should begin; *Seleucus*, in fair order, as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging, that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the Enemy was in sight: but as soon as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all haste; and soon overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in Rear; so as he brake them, and with all his Forces, purified them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the *Achaïans*, and the boldness of his own men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the Siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of those *Asiaticques*, *Philopemen* had cause to tell the *Romans*; That he envied their Victory. For when

Antiochus lay feasting at *Chalcis*, after his Marriage, and his Soldiers beheld themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great fecundity: a good man as they were tripping in their Victualing-houses; which *Philopomen* said that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achaens*, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself, with a few of his Horse, and light Armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his Son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elea*: whither he heard that *Emilius*, the *Roman* Admiral, was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of Peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Emilius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treaty brake off. Then followed the Overthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the Siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns, of scarce any worth or note, were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hamibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courteer of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a Retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions, which were but as Praefaces unto the War; the last and greatest was a Victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas*, the Kings Admiral. The Battle was fought by *Myrmecus*, a Promontory in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his Armada should cover all the Shoars of *Greece*. The *Romans* had Eight and Fifty Gallies: the *Rhodians*, Two and Twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light timbered, and thin plankt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which, five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samus*. For with fire in their Prows they ran upon the Enemy: who declining them in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoisted Sail: and having a fair Wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet Forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof Thirteen were taken: all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans*, and their fellows, lost only two or three Ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if he hope had been remaining, to defend those places that he held in *Europe*: He presently withdrew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the besiegers (if the Siege had been continued obstinately) to terms of great extremity. He also gave over the Siege of

Colophon: and laying aside all thought, gave only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Antiochus*, the *Capadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellepont*; but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readiness, to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that He landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Country had been his already. The first news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Ambassador that came to sue for Peace. This the Ambassador declared in his Masters name. That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining Peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now persuade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all Disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampachus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampachus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with War? If it was their desire, that any other Towns upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise bear half the Charges, wherewith they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insistent upon confidence of their fortune; He expected their answer. These offers which to the Ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the charges of the War, since it began through his only fault: and that he should not only depart out of those few Towns which he held in *Asia* and *Ionis*; but quite out of *Asia* the left, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Ambassador therefore saw, that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of Gold, together with the free restitution of his Son; who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken Prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his Son, than upon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick business: He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom: there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no less, than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battle; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him three-

threescore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed With Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one halting to fight. But howsoever he was affected; He made to little show of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elea*, He sent thither unto him his Son without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withal not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of Wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courteous before the Battle, as would afterwards have been little worth: than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recovery of his Son: so as the joy thereof was thought, to have been much available unto his Health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He laid only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable present, *I am now able to make your King more other amends, than by advising him not to fight, until he shall hear that I am in the Camp*. What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his Counsel: and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygians* or *Hylus*, unto *Adanessia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and a thousand of within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some loss driven back over the River. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would pass the Water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps* did guard repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came the half way forward, and presented Battle; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their Friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their Honour by returning far back, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Soldier was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Crie, that this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many Beasts to be slaughtered, than Men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loath to displease his Men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy; resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the Field again, and or-

dered their Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latin*: in each of which were five thousand and four hundred Men. The *Latins*, as usually, were in the points; the *Romans* in the main Battel. All of them, according to their wonted Form, were divided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now besides these, there were of three thousand Auxiliaries; partly *Achaens*; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal front beyond the *Latins* in the right Wing. Umoft of all (save some five hundred *Cretans*, and of the *Trallians* were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left Wing was fenced by the Bank of the River: yet four Troops of Horse were placed there; though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: so much as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men: as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more courageous Beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian* like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible Shew. On the right hand there were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thousand Barb'd Horse; and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse called the *Agema*, that were all *Mediterranean*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoining to these were fifteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand was the Kings own Regiment: called the *Argyropides* or *Silver-shielded*, by a name borrowed from their Furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name that had served under Great *Alexander*: then twelve hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Cretans*, and *Elymaens*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers* were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks* and Barb'd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Antiochus*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations, and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the *Kings Troop*, being *Syrian*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the

the *Dromedaries*, whereon the *Arabians* with long Rapiers that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymians*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right Wing: *Selenus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first order was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrify the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the Field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm, which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: where they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of Auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left Wing of his own Batall: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite unto him weakly flanked with Horse; gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Amilius*, that had the Guard of the Roman Camp, lifted forth with all his power to help his Fellows: and, what by persécution, what by threats, made them renew the Fight. Succour also came from the right Wing, where the Romans were already Victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; he not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tardiance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this Batall fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardis*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Selenus* was gone thither before him. He left the custody of *Sardis*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Soldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting Summons, yielded up themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the Romans, whilst they were on the way. Neither were many days spent ere *Antiochus* his Embassador was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother; who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side of *Taurus*. For their charges in that War they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the Peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve years next ensuing by even Por-

tions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages which they required, very earnestly they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others who had stirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might so easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Velleus*. The *Ætolians* desiring Peace, but could not obtain it; because they would except neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, that one of the Consuls should make War upon the *Ætolians*, the other upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly these came news, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in Batall, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands; yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the *Rhodiens* and some other: yea by King *Eumenes* in Person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the Peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disposition: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deserts: and comparing himself with *Maianissa*, hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him than they had been to the *Numidians*, since they had found him a King indeed; whereas *Maianissa* was only such in Title; and since both he and his Father had always been their Friends, even in the worst of the Roman Fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their censure; and they desiring by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the Greek Towns, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodiens* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of Greece it self had been subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his War: which was not alleged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their Friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away to much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

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Such end had the War against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, but of any ten that Rome had beheld unto that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given to *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the Title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victory had no less deserved; though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The *Ætolians* and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. *Manlius* hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by *Sibyl*. Of *Sibyls Prophecies*; by the Books of *Hermes*; and that Inscription, *Simoni Dico Sango*. The Ingratitude of Rome to the two *Scipio's*. Of the beginning of Faction among the Roman Nobility.

M. Arc. Fulvius and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to Greece and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it self to the Roman Majesty; it was now to be brought unto more lowly Terms than any other of the Greeks. The best way was, that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadors were utterly denied Peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreat the *Rhodiens* and *Antiochus* to become intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions; that they could not well devise, upon helping themselves, even by re-purchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in Exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Asiaticians* (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accustomed to serve a Mountain Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of Command, used by the Captains of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their service toward his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the Multitude, four the chief Towns in the Country, to his use. The fame of this good success at first with Letters running from place to place, where by men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action: made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them

held the Town of *Theium* a few days; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behind him, and so came to *Antiochus*, a little *Asiatican* Castle that fill was his, as being on the Frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argibæa*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldness to descend upon *Argibæa*: for that they might perceive the *Asiaticians*, all along the Hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busied. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe Retreat; especially when *Aminander* came in fight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back from *Argibæa*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own Borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure. The *Asiaticians* and *Ætolians* way-layed them, and pursued them so closely, that their Retreat was in manner of a plain Flight, with great loss of Men and Arms; few of those escaping that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians*, having found the business of *Asiaticania* too case, made attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphibolians* and *Apertanians*. These had belonged to their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolian* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonians*, and so did still purpose to continue. These took Arms at first: but soon layd them away; seeing their Neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* Quarrel, and seeing their own King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these Victories the joy was the less; for that news came of *Antiochus* his last Overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consul his hasting with an Army into Greece. *Aminander* sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despite, that he had recovered his own from *Philip*, with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the Romans were much offended to hear of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp Correctors, nor earnest Reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the business, about which he came, and layd siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief Seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal Ground. To help the *Ambraciens*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were at the same time, vexed by the *Egyptians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conquest, by *Perseus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphibolians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore earnestly sought Peace with the Romans, as they thought made head against the rest. In the mean while, the *Athenians* and *Rhodiens* Embassadors came; who brought the Consul to grant them Peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified.

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by any violence of the assailants, or danger that might tend to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend half his time about one City, and to be driven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and had them seek Peace with faithful intent; considering with how great a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdom their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Antiochus*, offering his Service as a mediator, to put himself into *Ambracia*, and try what good his persuasions might do with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grievous to the weaker, but not un-sufferable. The same Embassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodesians* accompanied those of the *Ætolians* to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made very grievous complaint about the loss of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the Peace, which those good Mediators of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicit. The *Ætolians* were bound to uphold the Majesty of the People of Rome, and to observe divers Articles, which made them less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any People of Greece; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalonia* was taken from them by the *Romans*; who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Acheans*, by stiffly pressing their own right) that if they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilst they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claim, there was set down an Order for perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of the controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of Macedonia and Greece.

Cn. *Manlius*, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the confirmation. He visited those Countries on the higher side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Wars, without regard of the great alteration happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an Errand. He was even laden with booty, when, having fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long dominated over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forefathers' acts, than any present virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themselves far the worse Men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Helys*, in an Inland Country, where those Enemies were not like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield:

then was no Counsel thought to good, as to forsake their Houses and Country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Maryana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helped, by such fortification as promised greatest assistance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had staid there a while, Winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting Weapons, as if the Stones would have served well enough to that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of Stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their Stones before hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, other than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and Weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of Ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had no other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the Men escaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and Goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of these Nations overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: as having fairer way at their backs.

These Wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsul his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave Peace to those whom he had vanquished, as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as He thought expedient. He also did finish the league of Peace with *Antiochus*; whereto He swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellespont*, laden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted, from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in Money alone, or Cattel, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* Souldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous Household-stuff, and Slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians for Banquets; and, in a word, with the seeds of that luxury, which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* virtue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellspont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his Journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or per-

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haps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry; seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, that afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdom, if the People of Rome had not made War in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore unto him all the Greek Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Cilicia* and *Lycia* to the *Romans*, in Europe, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility, to go to Rome and beg favours in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodesians* had lately done. He had entertained longly the two *Scipios*, whom he thought the most honourable Men in Rome: and was grown into near acquaintance with him by Letters, whereby he came himself acquainted with the Wars in Spain and Africa. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a finer way. For the *Scipios* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself; yet himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joined with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him led on, to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages: and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous Wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting, and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradict-

on: especially to *Manlius*; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the Peace with *Antiochus*; *Lit. l. 39*, they said, That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over *Taurus*, and adventuring upon the calamity threatened by *Sibyls* oracles, unto those that should pass the first *Silvius*. What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyl* Prophecy threatened the *Roman*, that should pass over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Army beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any loss, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*; that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Ægyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *scattered at random in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; *Tit. l. 2*, I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers, have been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibyls* predictions I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think, few Men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the Books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgment of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Cajaubus* upon the *Annals* of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those Prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Christ* is plainly was foretold, but even the Books of *Hermes*, *Tit. l. 2*, which have born such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosever devised them) by the undiscerned zeal of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with foreign proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from *English*, no mean Authors. Of the honour which was *English*, done to *Simon Magus* in Rome; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an Inscription *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought, that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am per-

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swaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisms*, taken amiss in place of *Simoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many ages before been consecrated *Simoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sango*, in whose Chappel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman Letters, or by some spoil that Time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to pass, that the words should be misread, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sango*; thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, which entertain without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, the fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Author. But it can not be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the riches, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those Monies, which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private Men, in the second *Panick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even as long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called, one after other, into judgment, by two Tribunes of the People; Men, only by this accusation, known to Posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy Men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great train of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great Battle with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Panick War* by a signal victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitol, and there give thanks to *Jupiter* and the rest of the Gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the Commonwealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if ever since the seveneenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the People, even the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*: leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own Slaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgment, until for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a fur-

ther day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial: he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankful *Romans*; that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Literum*; quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopomen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Literum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio* the *Africanus*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching Money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; That the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prators, to inquire, and judicially determine, thereof. In favour of this Decree an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed Author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a Man of great, but not perfect, virtue: temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconformable, in seeking to encrease his own wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself, and the whole City, whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the Nobility: especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at fish as were of his own rank, Men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrius*, his Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylae*, was his Competitor for the Consolship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some Vessels of Gold and Silver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's* grew partly (besides his general spite at the Nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some check, that was given unto himself, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (Judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgment thinking unworthy of the virtue that was far above him, *Cato* killed *Rome* with untrue reports against his General; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the Author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilst it was nourished by their Enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his Brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of Money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non payment,

his body should have been layed up in Prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the civil War of the *Tongues*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, since the *Panick War*. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whose virtue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into too great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude; in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-matched by their adversaries, at this kind of Weapon, began to make opposition, first with Clubs and Stones, afterward with Swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the Streets, unto Battle in the open Field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare virtue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two Sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome* together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They con-

ferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonwealth receive no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen Enemy to the State, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But at the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular Man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captain of arms, was to be condemned, who by force of Arms returned into the City, and murdered all the principal Senators: whereupon began the civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a Man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like Sovereign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never a ny Consul had finally cause to rejoice, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of Stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Sovereign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voices in the House, did compel *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by Arms: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* confirming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became Subjects unto the arbitrary Government of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto complete greatness, nor believed of her self as if she had, whilst a King late Crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this confirmation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian War.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the War with *Antiochus* was finished. The Romans quarrel with *Philip*. They deal insolently with the *Acheans*. The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at *Rome*; by his Son *Demetrius*; of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

After the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonwealth of the *Acheans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very

truth (the publick declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Privileges belonging to a Monarch, or unto Sovereign power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and War, To beat Monies; and To reserve (as the French call it) the de-

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most report, or the last Appeal, the Romans had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as even petty injury offered to each other by the forty named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came or otherwise by the Senators themselves within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Commonwealth, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining; yet so, as neither their Laws were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magistrats free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of Greece did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skillful in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Macedonia*, and to his House, until Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion fettered in Africa: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding People in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and showed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with Victuals, and other things needful, to transport them over the *Helle-spont* into Asia, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the Romans themselves.

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania*: in which Province * *Hist.* It is said, That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found, in the age of our Grandfathers, some, like, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and

stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in Europe) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolemy Ceraneus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gangetes*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gangetes* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their liberty: and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischief commonly done by these King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies, by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own Estate: yet inasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætoliens*, of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer, That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians*: who, as soon as he thence withdrew his Men, did seize upon the Town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were Places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the dispute about *Lysimachia*: and in the present question, the Romans were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country therabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former War; and since they, by their victory had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Cœrœne*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every Controversy. Nevertheless, he sent Embassadors to Rome, there to maintain his right unto these Towns, wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the War against *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruins *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at least

wife to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equal to him than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Macedonians* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he took counsel of his own hand; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Macedonians* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of War. This was done, but so ill taken by the Roman Embassadors, who had better notice, than could have been feared of these Proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Macedonians*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such an outrage, that they had cut one another's Throats. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to inquire, among the *Macedonians* themselves: as well knowing, that they who survived were either his own Friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more severe and more thoroughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himself of the Crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to Rome, there to be examined as the Senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his Spirits, and said that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his Friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no Tales; he took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, That the Doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæsar Borgia*, to employ men in mischievous Actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief; was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us Examples of this goodly Policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Lesson to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth here in England, can bear good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust Law that himself had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought upon him the War which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate: giving him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints; and willed to deliver his own grievances, in such wise that if ought were amiss, yet might it appear that he had been wrongfully urged to take such courses. The Sum of his Embassy was, to pacify the Romans, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himself was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in Rome: and therefore seem-

ed the more likely to prevail somewhat; were it only in regard that would be born unto his Person.

Whilst this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readiness to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the Roman Arms: the same Embassadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their Progress through the rest of Greece; and took notice of the controversies, which they found between some Estates in the Country. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Ætoliens*. It was objected unto the *Ætoliens*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as also further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Praetor of the *Ætoliens*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they laid the blame upon others: the *Ætoliens* having only called those unto judgment, that were supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these Plaintiffs having slain them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, having persuaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper Virtue, did inhibit unto them all kinds of Fortifications; as the Retreats and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he showed, how the same Tyrants that had built these Walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawless Will. As for the *Ætoliens*, they communicated their own Laws, which they held to be the best, or else would have changed them and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*: whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of Policy. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embassadors, That he and his Countrymen held it strange, being Friends and faithful Allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer to the account of their actions, as Vassals and slaves unto the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at liberty; why might not the *Ætoliens* as well require to be satisfied about that which the Romans had done at *Capua*, as the Romans did budge themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the Romans would stand upon their greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratify it: then must the *Ætoliens* have recourse unto those Agreements, that were confirmed by Oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the Romans, but much more the Immortal Gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking State upon him, he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, That if the *Ætoliens* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mil-

* *Hist.* It is said, That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found, in the age of our Grandfathers, some, like, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and

chief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the *Acheans*; which provoked to hear the Lordly Words of *Appius*. Yet Fear prevailed above Indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all Judgments of death or Banishment, that had been laid by the *Acheans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedaemon*; as likewise they made it a matter of dishonour, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedaemon*, should be suffered to continue a Member of the *Achean* Commonwealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had been, an Estate by itself. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Council of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Acheans*, than the Power which they bare over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the *Mediterranean* Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good Council and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private Passions, and neighbouring Hatred, which had evermore bought Revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the Honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful Servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his Subjection had made his implacable Enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whenever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of Objectors, whereof his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read such brief Notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those, the Senate were contented to gather Satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the defence. Such Fride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealousy of his too forward Son. To let him forward in these Passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one Commandment; some another; and some requiring him to fulfil those things, which had been imposed upon him by their Fore-goes. Neither were

there wanting that observed his countenance; and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius*, was conversant; rather perhaps out of implicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father; but that the Diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself; who suspected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy; it will not be amiss, to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of Philopemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Military Profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some Examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Acheans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them, in any Controversie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messinians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achean* Commonwealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again an Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City: who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be engaged in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achean* League. And hereupon they began to do some Acts of Hostility: whereby it was probable that Blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their Commotion and Proceedings; *Philopemen*, then Prator of the *Acheans*, loved such Forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many Principal Gentlemen of the *Acheans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Creta*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Demetrius*, Captain of the *Messinians*; whom he charged and forced to run. But whilst his Horsemen were too earnest in following the Chase; there arrived by chance, a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new Courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again; and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopemen* Horsemen to turn back. *Philopemen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his Courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety,

safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his Conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his Horsemen to pass along by him in a narrow Lane, he offered combat against the *Messinians*; whom his Reputation, and the knowledge of his great Worth, did terrify from approaching over-near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to the Ground by a fall of his Horse, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their Fortune to be so good, although their Eyes were Witnesses. The first Messenger that brought this News to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right Wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the Spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his Virtue, and of the singular Benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good Will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Demetrius* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace or injury done to him unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong Vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an Engine laid him a heavy Stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his Enemies had concluded his present Death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him, with a Cup of Poyson, which *Philopemen* took in his Hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well: and so with a cheerful countenance, drank his last Draught. He was seventy years old, and weakened with long sickness, whereby the Poyson wrought the sooner, and easily took away his Life. The *Acheans*, when they missed him in their Flight, were marvelously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own Lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case: They got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: So as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withal, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then *Demetrius*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the Murder, were compelled to wait in Bonds upon the *Aches* of *Philopemen*, that were carried home in solemn Pomp to *Megalopoli*; where they were all of them slain at his Funeral, as Sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Marcius* a *Roman* Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadors were seldom absent. He would have intermeddled in this business of *Messene*, had

not *Lycortas* made short work, and kept him nothing to do. About the same time was *T. Quintus Flaminius*, sent Embassador to *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the War against *Eumenes*, as to intreat him, that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spiteful Enemy in all the World unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did hereby descended: or rather (as *Livy* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a Troop of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this, to suspect the Faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret fallies under ground, to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his Enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and merciless hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous Enterprizes, his Honour, nor his Age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poyson into his hand, which he always preferred for a sure Antidote against the sharpest Diseases of adverse Fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that fear, which hath so many years possess them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This Victory of Flaminius over me, which am disgraced, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered among the rest of his heretical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerated and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers; as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them Battel at their own doors, they gave him knowledge of the Treason intended against him by poyson: Whereat these of a latter Race have employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore been one of their Counsels, to practise with Prusias, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal Gods to revenge his infidelity, drank off the poyson, and died.*

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopemen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*: these being, all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so fitly crosed by a cowardly and envious Faction at home; as his proper virtue, wanting public power to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Commonwealth.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the Envy of our Equals, and jealousy of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonwealths. That there is no Protection more open oficious, than that of Men of War, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the Envy and Jealousy of Men; the Spoils, Rapes.

and tedious Journey unto them, that carried with them their Wives and Children : *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to pass. And thus he fought means to strengthen himself, with help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto him ; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil Nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect : so as the *Bastarnæ* came not before such time as he was dead ; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his Men to War, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wild People that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected to war him.

But these his Counsels and Proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own House. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meetest for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it self within words : he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived : which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow : but imputed all to traitorous malice ; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to die : among whom were some eminent Men ; and few or none of them deservedly. This encreased the hatred of the People, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general ; when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the Children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have desired, gave Men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own Children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make all nourish dissension between the Brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardsness of *Demetrius* : like as we find it in their History. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousie in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unlighty contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jeered at in ordinary discourse and Table-talk, *Demetrius* was faine to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit parastat of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with

his elder Son *Perseus* : who fearing so much left his Brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly, unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old ; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspicions, that were much encreased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch ; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Army was to pass. This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons : after him came his own band, and they of his guard ; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Army was divided into two parts : which, under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using Poles, and the like, in stead of their Pikes and accustomed Weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the Victory : whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over-earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a tokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoiled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad preface : but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort, who perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him ; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the Brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what he did and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indifferently, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his Men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of Wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his Brother, and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his Brothers Men : yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them also to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good eapial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus* : who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his House. *Demetrius* wondered to see himself excluded, and fared very angrily with his Brother. But *Perseus*, bidding him be gone as an Enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder Brother

Brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alleged, and in effect the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans* ; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him ; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his Brother against him : as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himself : whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in fending *Demetrius* to *Rome* ; and that he should yet further do well to fend him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honorable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this Council was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should war upon his Brother to *Rome* ; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, and had such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them : bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in Wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent Brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bare him ; He said that it grew, if not from his own virtue, at leastwise from their Opinion thereof : so as by any impious practice, He were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to Fathers, Children, and Brethren ; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or Error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward, he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus* : using so little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, *Publicus* and *Apelles* ; Men whom he thought no way interferred in the quarrels between the Brethren ; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they law the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose Seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The Contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince ; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder Brother ; which yet should never take effect, for that *Titus* himself would not be Author, or abettor, of any impious device. This manner

of excuse did forcibly persuade the King, to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this Opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pided the Estate of the unhappy Prince ; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he thortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome* ; where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his Father and Brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas* : who playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while revealing the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* refused to put his Son to Death, without further experience of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privately, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and held it as proof sufficient at least, of the Kings despite against them, if not of his meaning to renew the War. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accused Minister of his Kings unadvised Sentence, first gave poison to *Demetrius* ; which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Rusticks, to finish the Tragedy : who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the Race of *Antigonis* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own Blood. The Houses of *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their Heels, by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of Sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the Lines of *Ptolemy* and of *Seleucus* : which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously dis tempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart Family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised itself to marvelous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery : whereof a principal cause was, the Brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their Piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples ; but is said to have propounded the last of them, to his own Children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason to do so : not more in regard of the benefit which his Enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonis* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But He was himself of an unmerciful nature ; and therefore unmeet to be a good perfwader unto kindly affection. The murder by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his Blood-thirsty appetite he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers, and subjects of his own ; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded Him with a draught of his own Poison. After the death of his Son, He too late began to examine the Crimes that had been objected ; and to weigh them in a more equal balance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took, in being

Znigamus, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished; by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was forefigured unto *Pericles*, by *Celidæus* the Physician, who also foretold him, how he should be killed, and where abouts he should be killed. He was afterwards brought to the Court. So *Pericles* came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the Kingdom: which in fine he no less imprudently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

6. IV.

How the Baffaraze fill upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perſeus in the beginning of his Reign. Secret Wars of the Romans: and how they ſuffered, Malinſia, cruelly to oppreſs the Carthaginians. They quarrel with Perſeus. They allow not their Confederates to make War without their leave obtained. The Treafon of Calliſtates; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome than in former times. Further quarrels to Perſeus. He ſeeks friendſhip of the Achaeans, and is wiſelyoff by Calliſtates. The Romans diſcover their intent of Warring upon him.

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bassarani* into *Thrace*: where order had been taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnity of the Country. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was known than that *Philip* did live, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: it then was all dashed and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford to good Markets un- to these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bassarani* would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*: grew careless of thriving in the present with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows: and the *Bassarani* had the upper-hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their Voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careless using of some victories, they drew loss upon themselves: and finally took that occasion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Pericles* he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his Reign, to embroyle himself in a War so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the feeding of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for War or Peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion: he quickly took away the life of *Antigenes*. To win love of his People; he sate personally to hear their causes in judgment (though herein

herein he was fo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of Justice to be no better than fained; as also he gratified him with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him far forth. Above all he had care to avoid all necessity of War with *Rome*; and therefore made it his first work, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the League; which he obtained, and was by the Senate flattered King and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his Neighbours; but was rather herein to excessively bountiful, that it may seem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became so griping and tedious. His fear was indeed the marring and tedious. His fear was indeed the marring and tedious. His fear was indeed the marring and tedious.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, before, in Wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; the People often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Lfrica* subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Myrrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever since the Victory) a heavy hand; and suffered *Malaniffa* to take from them what he liked. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome* were afraid, though in defence of their own, not to take Arms: from which they were bound by an Article of Peace, except they were with leave of the *Romans*. *Malaniffa* therefore had great advantage over them: and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leave things as they found them.

So had He once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia* : and so did he use them again and again ; with pretence of titles where he had any ; otherwise, without it. *Galenus* the Father of *Majaniſſa* had won fome Land from the *Carthaginians* ; which afterward *Syſpas* was taken from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the *Alors* owners, for love of his Wife *Sophoniſſa*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Majaniſſa* take from them by force ; and by the *Romans*, to whose judgment the caſe was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Empire, to use all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury when *Majaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above twenty Towns and Caſtles without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman Senate*. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League : That they ſhould not make War out of their own Lands ; nor with any Conſederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Majaniſſa*, invading their Country, however his plea was pleaded to call it his : yet ſince he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defensive Arms againſt him, but truſted themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated that either they might have fairer juſtice ; or be permitted to defend their own by ſtrong hand ; or, at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favouriteneſs, that the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to detourne

mine, how far forth *Masaniſſa* should be allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them Peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground weeping in hope to move compassion. Here may we behold, the fruits of their envy to that valiant House of the *Barbaciens*: of their irrelolution, in prosecuting a War so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfpenny-worthing, in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole Estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they Servants, even to the Servants of those Men, whose Fathers they have often chafed, slain, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the Streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Affrick* and *Greece*. Now have they among of that *Roman* Peace, which *Hanno* lo often and so earnestly desired. And yet they want Peace with *Masaniſſa*, once their Enemy, and now their Master: for these their Torments, out of whose cruel hands, they beseech their Masters to take the office of correcting them. In such cases it is, to adore the *Romans*, whom they have nothing in such prosperity as might have been their ruin. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who lost the Batle at *Canna*; than *Hannibal*: that was it was used by the *Carthaginians*: that was freely bestowed, every Man of them all his private riches, upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to let out an Army into Spain, at what time the Enemy lay under their own Walls. These were no *Carthaginian* virtues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration, yet their tears may seem to have been misfrustrated, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniſſa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by Arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little aims. *Gulius*, the Son of *Masaniſſa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He was demanded, called before the Senate: where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and he had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, that his Father not coming thoroughly aware of any Embassadors sent him from *Carthage*, had therefore not given them instructions, how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Council divers nights, in the Temple of *Venus*; upon which he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that these common Enemies of the *Romans*

and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Maſaniſſa* his fake, they had done, and would do whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those Lands, which by the Covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian War* was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whose hands they expected no little help.

So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africa* round about him and *Carthage* therewithal should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perſeus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors: that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Balkan* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pryed narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundry of his Neighbours, than with those wrongs, which they did (that he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it, making War upon their friends: Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his Subjects, upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a People without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed so far, unless either they had been extremely provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Perſeus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this presumption of the King, even as if he had invaded some Country of their Italian confederates, and not corrected his own Rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereto had he humbled once his Neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Maſaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the League between them were such, as made it unlawful, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take Arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents; even such as had entered into League with them

upon equal terms: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whenever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwise bold to be their own carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenians* by War, *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprimanded, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless, upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little; and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the privilege of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were fitch untoward Scholars, that they needed, and not long after felt very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman Senate*, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careless infelicity, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, that the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with Victuals or Arms. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedaemonians* or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of *Philopemen*: at what time it was believed, that the Commonwealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress; were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycurtus*, Praetor of the *Acheans*, had utterly subdued the *Messenians*, far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Acheans*, but many entered into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an illfavoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City) That they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their own turns; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume unto themselves a Sovereign power, in directing all matters of War, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make War, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against men strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unless peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* arts howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all Men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither Subjects of their

Polib. lib. 2. c. 55.

their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument whereto to practice their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, until the War of *Mithridates*: being Men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratuulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers of the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdoms, that with over nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands, from confuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonians*, as the most unpliant, and wherewith many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to break.

Neither *Perſeus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perſeus* by reason of his near Neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his Subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopemen* had long since foretold: of the miserable subjection, wherinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatest, which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soon be at an end; when honesty and love of the Common-wealth, became the fairer way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not ignorant: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many); as were Men unregarded among their own People, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point whereto they refused to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the same business; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embassy.

By their making choice of such a Man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest Men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal publick. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that he chose much

rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alledging what was meetest in justification of his People: he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the settling of their authority, among his froward Countreymen; if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custom, to stand upon points of confederacy, and Laws: as if these were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it that the *Acheans* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceased not to affirm, That no Columns or Monuments erected, nor no solemn Oath of the whole Nation, to ratify the observance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, That the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, the sound of liberty used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never to be had, were sure by their so doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increase apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the *Fathers* could so neglect the advancement of those, that fought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*: who many times, yea, and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon Men otherwise of little account or desert; only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obnoxious, and by cherishing their friends, to make their party strong; resolved to follow this good counsel, in every point, yea to depress all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only

dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their Mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedaemon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*; they advised all Men, to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several Common-wealths. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful Man: having brought his Country into the way of ruin, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself, of his consequence yielded in the Senate. Only he reported his Embassy, that all Men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By the such arts he obtained to be made Praetor of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Asia to bid them look to themselves: who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own Right and Security? Toward this justification of the War, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto; their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his Errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of Answers to the Words, which they knew before hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the wariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors: who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to Rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great Pomp, conveyed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Lacidie*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully required, so the *Romans* despectfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already ready vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the People of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange News which gave new Life to the Rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alienate quite from their own Protection any People or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. For Proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against King *Antiochus*. Hence *Eumenes*, *Melissus*, the *Asians*, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their Subjects, had cause to find themselves grieved if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like Decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by letting them and the *Lycians* together by the Ears. The *Fathers* could therefore lose no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassy they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of Anger. For whereas at other times, all care had been taken, to pacify them with gentle Words and Excuses: now heard they plainer Language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any Deed or Word of his, that might favour of Hostility; but that, in his Travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by Arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King,

with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet were there good reason why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better, by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the Eyes of all Greece being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* Servitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general Expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of Spirit, unanswerable to a work of such Importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good Countenance on a Game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to Fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this Bravery (as better it may be termed than Courage) proceeded from the Kings own Heart; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a Practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer cause of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delfi* in his way, and there do Sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his Blood, relieved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a Sacrifice, to rid his own Hands of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the Murder: who placing themselves behind a broken Mud Wall on the side of a very narrow Path leading up from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great Stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work; such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveyed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the Fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his Brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took or would have taken to Wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonice* the Daughter of King *Antiochus*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbered among the rare Examples of Brotherly Love, That when the King returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his Duty, as in former times, received none other Check, than That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings Death. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these Matters; but bequeathed at his Death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his Brother; though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especial favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness, to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such Concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld: as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his Grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he understood, that his Ministers had both accomplished his Will, and had saved all his discovery. But as he was deceived in the main Point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived: so

was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment: which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of *Delfi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this Business; and the being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embassador then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of Greece, one *Ramminus* a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret; had perfectly taught out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port for Ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had *Ramminus* a fair House; wherein he gave entertainment, being a Wealthy Man, to Embassadors, and other honourable Personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly Letters; as one whose many Courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly with more Familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secrets. The sum of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a Payson of rare Quality, sure in Operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for fear lest the Virtue of this Medicine should be tried upon himself. But being once at liberty; he discovered all. *Ramminus* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings Denial ought to be as good as such a Fellows Affirmation, the Accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withal professing, That such Objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulness of making War upon him; but rather unto a Subject pleading for his Life in Judgment. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger Proof (which might have been easier) than any that we find by them produced: yet the bafe and cowardly Temper of *Perseus* was very futeable to these Practices. Neither did the Senate greatly intend to dispute the matter with him: These his Treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private Offences, it gave him no privilege: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not unlawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not send men, to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns; might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senators by Fire or Famine, than by violence of the Sword: was it lawful for him to do it by Payson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seems, at this time, to have been so confident, in the general favour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it; or at least he thought by shew of Courage, to make his Enemies the more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till

being weary they departed without Audience. Then called he them back; and bad them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the Isle of *Samos*trage, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the Evidence, brought against him by *Ramminus* and *Praxo*. For if those Accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well beloved, and well friend. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a Rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and Underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer Spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League, made between them and his Father, and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to defend to more equal Conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the Form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set down by *Polybins*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a Clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden, to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this Peace; whereby every one of the Neighbours round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into League with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings Hands, that he could no more make War abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain Covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this Point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear defensive Arms, without their Permission: then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself grieved. For since they had allowed his Father, without controul, to make War in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their Licence: why should they now interpret the Bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such Allegations he maintained the right of his Cause, in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League, as unjust; he misnifted occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their Message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his Heart could serve him to undertake the War; he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse Peace than the former.

§. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greeks, to join with them in the War against Perseus. How the Greeks stood off in that War. The timorousness of Perseus. Marius a Roman Ambassador desires him with hope of Peace. His Forces. He takes the Field; and wins part of Thessaly. The Forces of Licinius the Roman Consul: and what difficulties the Romans had in this War. Of Tempe in Thessaly: and what Advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear. Perseus braves the Romans; fights with them; knows not how to u'e his Victory; (ues for Peace; and is denied it by the Vanquished. Perseus having the worse in a Skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the War against Perseus. They vex the Greeks their Friends; for whose ease the Senate makes Provision; having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a concurrence of good Presences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected; though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strength was such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help, towards examining the disposition of the Greeks, and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good Will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the Greeks, or other Eastern People should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the diffidence between their several Estates; howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless Embassadors were sent to deal with them all, and to crave their help against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against Philip and Antiochus, in Wars pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors used as gentle words, for fashions sake; as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now grown well acquainted with such Roman courtship: and understood, that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this Business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans; * the Achæans and Rhodians were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to see the side, whosoever they gladly would have seen the ruins. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to Perseus; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not Opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Coun-

try, wished better to Perseus than to the Romans. And of this number, Polybius the chief of Historians was one; who though he * judged the Victory of Perseus, like to prove hurtful unto Greece; yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that by the Greeks might recover perfect liberty; for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinary Fear, and not only Reverence of the Imperial City, made the Achæans, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their Fear, may be justly imputed unto the timorous Demeanour of Perseus himself. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few Companies brought over Sea, to make a Countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the Enemy's lair, and sue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrify him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power, by giving him any tolerable Conditions of Peace, to take Revenge at leisure upon those that had afflicted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his Army; taking by force or composition, some few Towns; and soliciting all to join with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all means of Pacification: and to that end made humble suit unto the Roman Embassadors. Q. Marius, the chief of those Embassadors, and a Man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the Romans; made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gave out such comfortable words, that the King intreated and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did Marius very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those Crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though Perseus made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially Marius, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had Marius his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For Perseus had all things then in readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman Army could have been in Greece. But by the interposition of this Truce, he no way increased his Forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the Enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with some Victory: publishing a Copy of the Disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men to understand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best persuaded; not only to let them know how much he was Superior in Cause; but to treat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators to compound the Differences between him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his Cause, he should be denied Peace. These were poor Helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than mere Vanity: his own safety being the utmost of his Ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the

Chap. VI.

the Greeks; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of necessity, that was partly their own: had it not been his office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, Men grew daily more and more averse from him, and were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling Wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partisans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Bœotians also, who had entred of late into a strict society with the Macedonian: renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as Vassals. Neither was Marius contented to accept their submission under a general form; but caused their several Towns to make covenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-wealths, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the City of Thebes. This work, of separating the Bœotians from Thebes their head; was more than Agellus could effect, or Epaminondas would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedæmonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of help from abroad, was the Vertue of Epaminondas, and a few brave Citizens; than was the Society with King Perseus, against a number not so great as followed the Lacedæmonians.

Marius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the City; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the Senate, with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the Embassadors which Perseus had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse nor entreaty, would serve their turn; the Senate being resolved before hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they who came last on the same Errand, did their Message without the Walls, in the Temple of Bellona (the usual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custom, enter the City) and had only the short warning of eleven days, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poor courtesy serve alone to hide the craft of Marius, as if he had meant none other than good earnest-but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from Perseus the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius, the Roman Consul, was at Apollonia, in a manner as soon, as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their King at Pella. Which though it were enough to have roused Perseus, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he content to deliberate a while. Whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good will with some part of his Kingdom, or that he might enjoy the rest, than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed: which also was the wisest; and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what

should have been done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezvous at Citium, a Town in Macedonia. All being in readiness, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beasts, to I know not what Minerva, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His Army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse: whereof about twelve thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part Thracians; the rest his own Macedonians. These he animated with lively Speeches; laying before them the glory of their Ancestors, the intolency of the Romans, the goodness of his cause, the greatness of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedonia there came likewise Messengers, offering to help him with Money and Victuals, according to their several abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own Provisions would abundantly suffice; willing them only to furnish him with Carcs, for his Equipages and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he issued forth into Thessaly: knowing that the Romans were to pass through that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of Thessaly opened their Gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was Asyle; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly then proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious Language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a folly; which the Townsmen rashly made, and being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the Gate. All cruelty of War was practised here, to the greater terror of the obstinate. So Pella and Comus (Towns of much importance, especially Comus, which stood in the freights of Ossa, leading into Tempe) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to Syenium, a Town seated on the foot of mount Ossa; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes, and Attalus his Brother, came to him in Thessaly, with four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aid as the several Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; Mithridates first thither his Son Mithridates, with a thousand Foot, as many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. Ariarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinity with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young Son, there to be brought up; yet he did little or nothing in this War; perhaps because Eumenes himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. Prusias was content to be a looker on: as being allied to Perseus, and yet fearing the Romans. Antiochus, and Ptolemy (though Ptolemy was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egypt; yet each of them promised help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonians:

* Polybius of their help to the Romans; * the Achæans and Rhodians were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to see the side, whosoever they gladly would have seen the ruins. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to Perseus; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not Opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Coun-

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yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucius*, the *Roman* Admirals Brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucius* took away, after a very kind fort; making them to believe, That for none other end than to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Genius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Genius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this War; by offering, rather then giving, his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessaly*: so tired with a painful Journey, through the mountainous Country of *Atbamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been in *Thessaly*, attending his descent into the Plains, that *Perseus* must needs have taken a great Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where he then was, and keep his Trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Thessaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope of expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to Mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full at large, to signify the name was often used at large, to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley, of itself was not great: but adding to it those huge Mountains, *Offa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poësie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry Journey, thorow the Country of the *Dafarvians*, as in the former War with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Streights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the sword; yea to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Streights of *Aour*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*. Surely without extrem difficulty, must the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or else have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once deviled, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present War. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King must have left on his

back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Atolians*, upon whom the *Atbamians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall find anon) even as they met with *Perseus*. The *Beotians*, how politic forever *Marius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himself after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for Peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well willers, yea and bought down with Money (as he might have done) some of his Enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken Head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious Patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearful Country running from their Enemies, till some River stay their flight; are there compelled by meer desperation to do such acts, as done, while the Barrel lasted, would have won the Victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that War, whereof he should have sought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to bet his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such misery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessaly*, it is hard to shew particularly; for that the History of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the Sum.

The Consul having no desire to fight, until such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perfwaded the Consul to protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the Field; by waisting the Land of the *Phereans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity, he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in *Horle* would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was fiden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his *Horle*, and with them some light Armed Foot, to entertain skirmish. The Captain, and some other of these were slain; but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazard Barrel. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering Barrel: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much encreased; and much more, his reputation: to the grief of those, who being so far come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell upon them by their

enduring

enduring these bravadoes. The Town of *Sycium*, upon which *Perseus* then lay, was twelve Miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the Morning; but he was fain to bring Water along with him in Carts, that his Men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven Miles nearer to the Enemy, whom he visited the next day by the Sun rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with tumult: informing as though he brought with him only his *Horle* and light Armour, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of *Horle*, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armour, to trie their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with his Legions in readines. The honour of this Morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner entire, (though the *Thessalians* made a good Retreat) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere Night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to Counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear lest he should assault their Camp; and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unseen far: he re moderate his Victory: by which means it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of Peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater; and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for Peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the Victory, what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him: At this time the joy of his Victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* *Horle* two hundred, and taken of them Prisoners the like number. Of their Foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty *Horle* and forty Foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear: it being much doubted that the Enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by Night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loss past, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the Night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Atolians* were sorely blamed for this loss: as if rather a Trayterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Men of especial mark, had been observed, to be the first which turned their backs: an observation Heretofore as cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn, by examples of either kind, that if they would

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than indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former days error: which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that Night: his light Armour alone being sufficient to have routed them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to let what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consul, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour found. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopsus*, a place in the mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perfwaded to use the occasion which he seemed to have, of obtaining Peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yield unto the same conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*, if the War might to take end. It were needless, here again to show the folly of this counsell. Towards the accomplishment of this desired Peace, there was in the Consul no greater power, than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People, to approve the conditions, and ratifie the League. And of such a Truce granted by *Marius*, he had lately found no small discomfort round. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of Peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdom and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the Peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with Money, the King withdrew himself back to *Sycium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Majagenes* the Son of *Majansilla*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harve: about which business they ranged over all the Fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the foragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a Guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of *Horle*, or (for the report is divers) in a great Barrel, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*,

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[and] after a few days to fall back into Macedonia; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was: whereby what loss he felt will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, save only Tempe, weakly guarded: and consequently an easy prey to the Romans.

After the Kings departure, Licinius went straight unto Comus; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the work too hard, he returned back upon the Peribœians and others; from whom he won some Towns, and among the rest, Larissa. There were sundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same name of Larissa: so that this which the Consul took, may seem, not to have belonged unto the Thessalians; unless, perhaps, after his Victory, Perseus did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of Thessaly.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the Histories of them are greatly defective. One may think it strange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a Roman Embassador could terrify, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a Roman Army, then on foot in Greece, and a Navy on their Coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to Rome, than other petty Towns, which by that same distraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the Roman Admiral: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like sort, if by excessive oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither did the Consul undiligent in the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is said in general: That in the War which he made, he "cruelly and covetously demeaned himself."

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hofilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hofilius* shewed more of his industry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of Rome, than in prosecuting the War against the *Macedonians*. For concerning the Roman War upon his Kingdom, after that the Consul had fought passage in vain over certain Mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, "free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Lybia*."

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* Polyb. Lib. 2.
gen. 70.
by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Army of four thousand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uscana*, a border Town of *Lybia*, by Treason, came thither in such careless order, that the inhabitants which had made show of treason, with purpose only to train him into danger, sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with a fourth part of his Company. Yet this Town of *Uscana* shortly after became Roman: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithal: *Cotys*, a Thracian King, securing him on the one side of Macedonia; and *Cephalus* an *Epircæ* revolted from the Romans, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painful Journey into *Ætolia*: where he was promised to be

admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest City in that Region. Of this hope, though he was disappointed by those of the Roman faction; yet in his return home, he took in *Aspericia*; and shortly heard good news, That *Ap. Claudius* was again thoroughly beaten by *Cleotas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* War under *Hofilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into Mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadors travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of *Athens*, *Lycor*, *Philetas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his Son *Polybius*, who soon after was General of the *Achaean* Horse; but more notable by that excellent History which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honorably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been; That these were not hearty friends unto the Romans; but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætoliens*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Council that approved the motion: as also among the *Aceruanians*, there were that entreated to have Roman Garrisons in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. The good of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good *Patriots*; making it no less then a matter of Treason, to be a *Gretian* in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these Pick-thanks of their base flattery; raising them openly in such fort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as Men that could believe none ill; though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all Men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present War, unless it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought it were such, as the whole Country was *lybia*. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad; for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that standing on privilege hereof, refused to fulfil every Commandment, were numbered among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this War proved little better, if not worse, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to set down this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great Sum of Money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loved not to have their Subjects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in place, had warning to amend.

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Among the great number of Embassadors that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their Services: it is noteworthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the lesser Asia, there was preferred unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred Horsemen Targets, and a Crown of Gold, to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Town Rome, and appointed Anniversary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that Goddys. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and the like vain Men, that would be thought Gods; or at the shameless flattery of such as bestow upon Man, and not the most virtuous of Men, divine honours: when he sees a Town of Houses, wherein powerful Men dwell, worshipped as a Goddessa, and receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the Title of Deity, at the gift of such a rascal City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

Q. Martius the Roman Consul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardice of *Perseus* in abandoning Tempe. The Town of Diium quitted by *Martius*; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. *Martius* a cunning and a bad Man. *Polybius* sent Embassador to *Martius* from the Achæans. *Polybius* his counsel wisdom beneficial to the Achæans. King *Eumenes* grows exasperated to the Romans. *Perseus* negotiates with *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. His false dealing with *Genetius* King of *Illyria*; whom he draws into the Roman War. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be Arbitrators between him and the Romans. *Perseus* loses a mighty succour of the Bactaræ, by his wretched parsimony.

AFTER two years of the *Macedonian* War, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the War began, which had been thought likely to reform all those Countries, and bring them to what pass the Romans desired, as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in Peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of Greece, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the War might prove, and thereupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* and *Hofilius* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into Macedonia; and defaced the glorious enterprise of conquest, by many losses received. The Roman Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many Towns, even of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the Roman side; and the Army much lessened, not only by casualties of War, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himself (for they laid the blame on one upon the other) in licensing the Soldiers to depart. *Quintius* *Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded unto *Hofilius*, was to amend all this:

which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do: though he brought with him a strong supply of Men. He began hody to set the War on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the Streights that were furly Guarded, but taking pains to climb the Mountains, which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his Journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him; and at length, if all failed, to make a safe Retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite Foot, to discover the ways. Two day was this Company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles; after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a false piece of ground; and sent back word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to halten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three days together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loss on either side.

This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a Mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards: yet a flame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only course remaining; and indeed the best. Part of his Men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilst he, with the rest, fetched a compass about, and fought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extreme difficulty: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such Journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand to make paths where none were, yea where Nature might seem to have intended, that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the Mountains, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his Men were compelled, as not daring to trust their Feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with Rocks, that stood one over another, so upright, and cumbersome to get down; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their Governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the Horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous Journey; there was nothing more desired by the Soldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of Bridges, like unto falling Draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joynted to the edge of the Cliff; the other sustained by two long Posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two Posts, or Poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two Rattens, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one Bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with Planks and Turf; that they might seem continent with the Ground;

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to make the Beasts adventurous, to go upon them. If there were a Plain of any good extent from the foot of a Rock, to the next downhill; then might the Bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the Poles upholding the Frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sink down upon the next Bridge: whence he was conveyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still, to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others by their Buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the Romans used to be in their Journeys, of things needful in all occasions: as also was inestimable pains they took in this defence, about the conveyance of themselves and all their Carriages down the Mountains. The next day they rested: having for *Peplius* and his Company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days Journeys were like unto the first: save that custom, and the nearness to their ways end without meeting Enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans coming towards him: since they fought with his Men upon the passage, three days together; he lying to night, that he might well near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither stirred to help his own Men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsel, fate learkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Comus*; which the Romans were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it: the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his Enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge Mountain *Olympus*, about a Mile from the Sea: of which Mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a Lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all this, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten Men might easily keep: where the Spurs of the Mountains, reaching far into the Valley, drew near to the very Banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep River which ran thence by it. Wherefore nothing had been more easy, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome Journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the Roman Army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel: but must needs have either perished for want of Victuals, or been enforced to return the same way that it came, if the King had made good the freight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and Carriages, against those Rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering, how the Enemy, from above their heads, would have beaten upon them: being now aware of the Path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their Journey into *Ma-*

cedon, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despised to win. But the Cowardize of *Perseus*, did commend the counsel by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*; than he fared like one out of his wits; flying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all without Barrel. Herewithal he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haste; and straightways abandoned the Town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a fratic commandment to *Theffalonia*, that the Arsenal there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his Treasures there should be cast into the Sea: as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drown the Treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soon after, his Master grew sorry for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the Water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set on fire the Kings Arsenal, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether, *Nicias*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easy pardon; it is referred in the King to interpret. The reward of their service was this. *Perseus* growing affamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction, caused them both to be slain. All those poor Men, which had fetched his Treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were paid their wages after the same sort; that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so Royally have behaved himself, that no Man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had stopped the Consul on the Top of the Mountain) and *Epiphanes*, from defence of the passages, whereof they were by him appointed, he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed unto the Enemy, the Gates and Bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to rejoice, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading therein: to since the Roman Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of Victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a days Journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled, by mere lack of food for his Men, to return back towards *Theffaly*. His Fleet came to him in this time of needfulness, well appointed to have holpen him in the War; but having left behind, at *Mygdonia*, the Ships of burthen, which carried the Provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thofe ways only might Corn be brought into the Army.

To meet the sooner with this Corn, which was desperately expected; he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish Journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable, that his Carriage, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the Mountains: for otherwise it had been madness to put himself on such an Enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was; Men thought him a Coward, or at least a bad Man of War; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the Action.

By understanding the Folly or Cowardise of *Martius*; the King recollected himself; underflood his own Error; fought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the Town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the River *Enipeus*, meaning there to stop the Enemies Proceeding all that Summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of Peace: but to have given him such a Noble Victory, as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the War upon fair Conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his Office. Only the Town of *Heraclaea*, standing on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climbing upon Mens Heads, somewhat after the manner of our Tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope, was nothing like so great: his chief care being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Theffalonia*, *Callandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All these were assailed: but in vain. The Fields about *Theffalonia* were wasted; and some Companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the worse. As for the Town it self, there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the Engines, which shot from the Walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral retiring far from thence, ran a long by *Amia*, and *Amigonea* (landing near to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt), until he came unto *Pallene*, in the Territory of *Callandrea*. There King *Emmenes* joyined with him, bringing twenty Ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this accession of strength the Admiral was bold to trie his Fortune at *Callandrea*: (which was bad. There was a new Ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the Town: which while the Romans were filling up, question was made, what became of the Earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the Bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town Wall filled up with that Earth, and covered with one single row of Brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by fapping the Walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an Alarm to the other side of the Town, there-

by to shadow his attempt. The Breach was soon made. But whilst the Romans were shooting for joy, and ordering themselves for the Assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and falling forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the Companies that were between the Ditch and the Wall; of whom they flew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Emmenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entering the Town by Sea) caused the Siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*; wherein *Emmenes*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such Forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had layed siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from Spoil; or at least (as they did) to make the Enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Emmenes* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melba*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly over their Heads, caused the Besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such Fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so far was their Ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) lost unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them; or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this War. For the broken remaining *Rhodiens*, by *Agrippius*, the Embassador, who came to him at *Heraclaea* about their business of less importance, that they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodiens* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like whilst that, somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeited. And so were the *Rhodiens* moved to think of him; and not only for that the extraordinary courtesy, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embassador, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their businesses at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the Honour of some Victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the Roman Horse. Thus much we find intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the Fight be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome*, to view the Estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting Meat; the Admiral wanting Men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both Money and Cloaths: and *Ap. Claudius* the Pretor, who lay on the Frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence,

thence, or a new Army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Myrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater loss, than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Towns which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Marius* in very deed did his Actions, behaved himself like a man of War : yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or fiesker kind of wisdom, he dealt as a Craftsman, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his Sufficiency, nor commended his Honesty : since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit : and nevertheless, by our country's glory, or such delight as ambitious men are wont to take, in creating insupportable troubles, he directly made opposite to the good of his Country. At length he was as *Pericles*, by the success of his doings against *Hoplitas*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theffaly*; *Arcbo*, *Lycotas*, and other good Patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it expedient for their Nation to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Arcbo* proposed a Decree withal to pass. That the *Acheans* should send thither what Power into *Theffaly* they pleased, to assist the *Romans* in all danger.

So the Army was leaved; and *Polybius*, with others, fence Embassadors unto *Marius*, to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busied in looking passage through *Tepe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army; and, against the Consul's leisure, till they came to *Hecuba*, where finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein forever it should be commanded. *Marius* took this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his Companions, to signify thus much: tarrying himself behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Marius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required of the *Achaean*s, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in Field, he might do notable service, by distracting the Forces of *Perseus*. But the Labyrinthine Head of *Marius* could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aid: and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wile take order that the Men might not be sent, nor the *Achaean*s be put to such needless charges. Away went *Polybius*; musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Achaean*s, that the Consul was so earnest in this business; or rather for envy, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Council, touching this matter: then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his Party. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul; if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Marius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his Friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted Men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unless by special order

from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the *Conful*; by whom it was fure to be made fruftrate. Herely the *Acheans* were favers of more than an hundred and twenty *Talents*: though *Polybius* himfelf ran into danger of *Appius* his difpleafure; and for fuch honeft dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprifonment.

Whether it were by the like Policy of *Marius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his Affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late to stand in fear, left the Fire which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own Lodging; or whether the regard of Money were able to overway all other Passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Marius*: but coming to have joyed with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former *Consuls*, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain Horle of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true; and that his Brother *Attalus* carrying behind with the *Consul*, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received, that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meer desire of gain. And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on, in the course, wherinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befel; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an Embassy. The Tenour of his Advertisements, both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was, That there could be no perfect Love, between a King and a Free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed, with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Here-with he willed *Eumenes* to confider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his War with the *Aegyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their Will and Pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the *Romans*, to surcease from their War upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common Enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way; and therefore was little troubled with such Remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had hereafter to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer; he began to offer bargain of Peace for Money. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, that if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his Hand from this War, then would he remain a Neutral therein: and that for greater quantity of Money (how much I find not) he would al-

so bring the *Romans*: to condescend unto *Peace*: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give Hostages. *Perfus* liked well to receive the Hostages: as he would not to lay out the *Money*: especially before hand, as was required. He would fain have *Peace* with *Rome*, and not with *Eumeses* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the *Money* in the Temple at *Samsabrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumeses*, as soon as the *Peace* was fully concluded and ratified. The like of *Samsabrace* was *Perfus*'s his own: and therefore *Eumes* thought the *Money* no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his Wages in *preſt*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumeses* grew suspected of the *Romans*: as a Traitor.

man's, as a flaytor.

Alter the same manner deale *Perfus* with *King Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; but deale plainly, and faid, That without Money, he could not fir. Hereunto *Perfus* loved not to hearken; thinking that his Treasures would serve at the laft call, to deliver him from all his Fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to Prodigality; fo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talens, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and Pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perfus*; to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by fuch accels of ftrength to their Parry. Prefently upon the bargain made, Embaffadors were fent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perfus* and *Gentius*: who defired the *Rhodiens*, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perfus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the War to an end. The *Rhodiens* thinking that *Martius* the Conful was no lef defirous of Peace than the *Macedonians*, arrogantly promifed, That they by their Authority, would make Peace; withing the Kings to throw themfelves conformable. But the *Roman Senate*, hearing proud Words, to the fame effect, from the *Rhodian* Embaffadors; gave an answer, as difdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could devise; fo as this vain Glory of the *Rhodiens* was thoroughly chafed; and more thoroughly fhould have been, if their fubmiffion had not been as humble, as their Folly was proud. Such ufe of *Gentius* his Friendfhip, made *Perfus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now *Iain* he would have hafted this young and rafh *Illyrian* to enter with all fpeed into the War: but then muft the Money be haftned away. *Pantauchus*, the *Macedonian* Embaffador, who remained with *Perfus* his friend, him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilft the *Romans* were unprovided for. But finding what it was that made *Perfus* to flay: he fent word to *Perfus*. Whereupon two Talens were fent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young *King*, as earnestly, as that which followed. More followed indeed; and ftaled up with the Seal of the *Illyrian* King; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not by *Illyrians*. Before this Money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embaffadors, and caft them into Prifon. Which *Perfus* no fooner heard, than he recalled his Treafure-bearers, and fent them with their load to *Pella*: for that now the *Illyrian* was of neceffity to make War with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto, or not.

There came about the same time, through *lyria*, to the aid of *Perſeus*, under one *Clomachus* a *Pe-
try* King, ten thousand Horſe and ten thousand
Foot, of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath
it) the *Bæſſæne*. Theſe had before hand made
their bargain, and were to receive preſent pay at
the firſt. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perſeus*
ſent one to them; deſiring their Captains to
come viſit him, whom he promiſed to gratifie
with goodly Rewards; hoping that the Multitude
would take good words for payment. But the firſt
Queſtion that their General asked, was, Whether
the King had ſent Money to give the Souldiers
their Pay in hand, according to his bargain?
Hereto the Meſſenger ſaid, not what to answer.
Why then ſaid *Clomachus* tell thy Maſter, that
the *Gauls* will not ſtir one foot further, until
they have Gold, as was agreed, and Hoſtages.
Perſeus herupon took counſel: if to utter his
own opinion, before men to wiſe that they would
not contradit him, were to take counſel. He
made an invective againſt the incivility and avarice
of the *Bæſſæne*: who came with ſuch num-
bers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to
his Kingdom. Five thouſand Horſe of them, he ſaid,
would be as many as he ſhould need to uſe; and
not to many, that he ſhould need to fear them.
It had been well done, if any of his Counſel-
lors would have told him, that there wanted not
employment for the whole Army of them, ſince
without any danger to the Kingdom, they might
be let out by the way of *Perrheſia*, into *Theſſaly*:
where waſting the Countrey, and filling them-
ſelves with Spoil, they ſhould make the *Romans* glad
to forſake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all man-
ner of want; therein doing the King notable
ſervice, whether they won any Victory, or not.
This, and a great deal more might have been ad-
ledged, if any Man had dared to give advice
freely. In concluſion *Antigenus*, the Meſſen-
ger whom he ſent before, was ſent again, to
let them know the Kings mind. He did his
Errand: upon which followed a great Murmur
of thoſe many thouſands that had been drawn fo
far to no purpoſe. But *Clomachus* asked him
now again, whether he had brought the Mo-
ney along with him, to pay thoſe five thouſand,
whom the King would entertain. Hereto, when
it was perceived, that *Antigenus* could make no
better answer than ſhutting excuſes; the *Bæſſæne*
returned preſently towards *Danubius*, waſting the
Neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet fuſſering this
crafty Meſſenger to eſcape unhurt: which was
more than he could have well expected.

This dealt *Perſeus*, like a careful Treafurer,
and one that would preſerve his Money for the
Romans, without diminiſhing the fun. But of this
painful Office he was very ſoon diſcharged by
L. *Amelius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in
fifteen days after his leaving forth from *Italy*, brought
the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which
GOD had appointed over it a King fo fooliſh and
fo cowardly.

§. VIII.

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Of L. Æmilius Paulus the Consul. His Journey. He forbids Perseus to disengage. He will not hazard Battle with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. Æmilius his Superstition. The Battle of Pydna. Perseus his flight. He forsakes his Kingdom: which hastily yields to Æmilius. Perseus at Samothrace. He yields himself to the Roman Admiral; and is sent Prisoner to Æmilius.

BY the War of Macedonia, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet it seemed the indignity so moved them, that either they decreed that Province to L. Æmilius Paulus, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a Man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embassadors, thither sent to view the Estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the Roman Forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being thoroughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong Supply, not only unto the Consul, but unto the Navy, and likewise to the Army that lay between Illyria and Epirus; from which Ap. Claudius was removed, and L. Ancius sent thither in his place. Æmilius, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the Custom, spake with much Gravity and Authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this War, either to accompany him into Macedonia, and there assist him with their Advice; or else to govern their Tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hear-say, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the Multitude. The like Speech of his Father L. Æmilius, who died valiantly in the Battle of Cannæ, might well be living in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wife and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, Æmilius was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his Journey; with an especial hope of Men, that he should finish the War: though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to Brundisium; whence, when the Wind came fair, he set Sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of Corcyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, having done Sacrifice to Apollo, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp; and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finished the War.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at Diem; having feared no labour of Men and Women to fortify the Banks of Enipeus, where it was fordable in dry weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force them; and consequently as little possibility to enter that way into Macedonia. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much disturbing them to make attempt upon Diem, was

lack of fresh Water. For there were ten miles between Diem and Tempe; all the way lying between the Sea Shore and the Foot of Olympus, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But Æmilius found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the Shore where he found sweet Springs; as commonly there is no Shore that wants them, though they rise not above the Ground. Want of this Knowledge was enough to hinder Marius from taking up his Lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of Heraclea, on the River of Peneus; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the Roman Camp had such means to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way; which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over Olympus, leading into Perræbia: hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. Marius either had not been informed hereof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the Adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work, as had been their march over Ossa into Tempe. But Paulus was a Man of greater Industry, Courage, and Ability, to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman Camp; teaching the Souldiers, among other good Lessons, to be obedient and ready in Execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the Doings and Purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge unto Scipio Æmilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own Sons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a Son of Scipio the African; the other by one of the Fabii. Scipio took with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings Guard, upon the Mountain, consisted in manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad Nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, Scipio and Fabius took a wrong way towards the Fleet; where Victuals were provided for their Journey: it being notified, that they were to run along the Coast of Macedonia by Sea, and waste the Country. All the while that they were passing the Mountains (which was about three days) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon Perseus where he lay; rather to divert the Kings Attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over Enipeus. The Chancel of Enipeus, which received in Winter time, a great fall of Waters from the Mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the Ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore Æmilius employed none save his Voltures; of whom the Kings light Armour had advantage at far distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which Perseus had raised on his own Bank, did also beat upon the Romans; and gave them an

derstand

derstand, that their Labour was in vain. Yet Æmilius persifted as he had begun; and recovered his Affair, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to reach the Macedonian, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as Æmilius was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such Bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But Perseus only looked unto that which was before his Eyes: until his men that came running fearfully down the mountain, brought war into the Camp. That the Romans were following at their Backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge, or rather, without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy Retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custody of the Passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force; Scipio and Fabius had very good luck in their Journey. It may well be, that they slept until the Romans came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their Arrows and Slings could do little Service, were beaten at handy strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarch out of Polybius, and an Epistle of Scipio, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedonia: which had been effected by Marius in the year fore-going; but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in extrem doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice, to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years Example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse Council prevailed; as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of Battle: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the same that Æmilius, or any Invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto Pydna, that served well for the Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light Armour. There he abode the coming of the Enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the Romans had fight of the Kings Army; which, with greater fear than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was so notably well fortified, they desired nothing more, than to give Battle immediately; doubting lest otherwise the King should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But Æmilius told him that he spake like a young Man; and therefore would him to have patience. The Romans were tired with their Journey; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare Ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand, and shewing himself unto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of Battle; gave charge to have the Camp made out and entrenched behind the Army; whereunto at good leisure, he fell back without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the Romans and by the Macedonians,

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that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own General too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King he excused himself by the backwardness of the Enemy; who advanced no further, but kept upon ground serving ill for the Phalanx: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That Evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretook unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same Night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beat Pans of Brass and Basons, as we do in following a swarm of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this Prognostication of Sulpicius converted their Superstition into admiration of his deep Skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noise as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their Fæthion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a Prodigious; brokering their loss; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, whether such Eclipses do signify, or cause, any alteration in Civil Affairs, and Marces that have small dependance on natural Concomers: for the Argument is too large. More worthy of observation is it, how Superstition captivates the Wisdom of the Wise, where the help of true Religion is wanting. Æmilius, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of Human Understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his Duty, to this Moon, and congratulating with Sacrifice her delivery, as soon as the moon out bright again: for which, he is commended even by Plutarch a Sage Philosopher, as a Godly and Religious Man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not assist him in this foolish Devotion; yet is it like, that he being a Senator, and one of the Council for War, was partaker the next Morning in a Sacrifice done to Hercules; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere Hercules could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vows to be tokens of good luck in the Entrails of the Beasts. At length in the Belly of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of Victory to Æmilius; but with condition, that he should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in Alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new Goddess, lately canonized at Alabanda; or upon Romulus, Founder of their City, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of older date were more Authentical) upon Mars the Father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of Military Affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of War.

Now concerning the Battle; Æmilius was thoroughly perswaded, that the King meant to have bide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed

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 moved a *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leisure served to retire whether he lifted, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Confil thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the Morning Sun was full in the *Romans* Faces: which would be much to their hindrance all the Forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his Men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire. A Horse brake loose at Watring; which two or three of the *Roman* Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the Knees. The Kings Men lay on the further Bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this Horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countreimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it pass a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the Event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his Men in order of Battel, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Arms, wherewith they served, did require. The Ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few Hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better Souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Confil encouraged their Men with lively words; which the present condition could boundlessly afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his Men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do Sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure Battel, since he had betrothed himself of such a Stratagem, whereby to save his own Person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the Sacrifice of a Coward: whose unreasonable devotion could be no better than hypocritie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the Battel, he found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the fight. The acts of this day, such as we find recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could do no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished; That the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born, many of them slain, and the Squadrons following them to discourage herewith, as they retired apace towards an Hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the *Romans*; and which the Confil beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his power of Horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the Victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the Battel, was the fame which doubtless the Confil expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty, or almost impossibility, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the *Romans* small Battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it;

it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the sword) that some Files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admitted the Confil, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targetiers; according to direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the Front of the Enemies great Battel become unequal, and the Ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the Battel of *Cynosephale*: yea, this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of Ground as had been at *Cynosephale*.

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Perseus when he saw his Battel begin to rout, turned his Bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his Horse escaped, in a manner, untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor Foot; they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that Battel, only some fourscore, or sixscore Men at the most. Some of the Foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his Company in a Wood: where they fell to railing at the Horsemen, calling them Cowards, Traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the Company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that days misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*; he found his Pages and household Servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great Men that had escaped from the Battel, there was none appearing in the Court. In this Melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unreasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare some greater mischief; he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. These followed him likewise about five hundred *Cretians*; more for love of his Money, than of him. To these he gave of his Plate, as much as was worth about fifty Talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making them as if he would have redeemed it; but never paying the Money. The third day after the Battel he came to *Amphipolis*; where he exhorted the Townsmen to fidelity, with Tears; and his own speech being hindered by Tears, appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care, to look well to

to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in Garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the Gates after them. And now to be rid of the King; they plainly had *Evander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himself and the Treasure which he had there, in certain Vessels that he found in the River *Strymon*; passed over to the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by privilege of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few days after his Victory. *Pydna* which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the Souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the Battel into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippus* who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantarchus*, who had been sent Embassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves and the Town of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the Battel. With the like Message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two days: the loss of the head bereaving the whole Body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out a day longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Country: but opened their Gates upon such terms, that the lack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Country, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a little while he shall have more.

It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Confil, confirming the report. He sent these Letters by Persons of such mean condition: that his safe was pitied, for that he wanted the Service of better Men. The scope of his writing was, to desire favour: which though he begged in terms ill becoming a King; yet since the Inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Confil Paulus*; the Confil, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make answer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless in this conference, he was marvelous earnest, that he might be allowed to retain the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for Money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and be called King. Yea it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the War he was decorated by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for such a paltry Island; and for that he offered to lay up the Money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and without more ado, to yield to the discretion and mercy of the People of *Rome*. This is so far against his mind, that the conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral, with his Fleet: who affays, as well by terrible threats, as by fair Language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himself. When all this would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy privilege of Sanctuary, by attempting the Murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgment, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same Crime. But what will this avail, when the Minister of the Fact being brought into Judgment, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perseus* therefore will with *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand, who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment: so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good Plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* seems to like well: and either kills himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get *Pylos* wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this Man, who had stuck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his Wife and Children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell *Perseus* tales, and say, That the King hath lost the privilege of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm so much, who shall dare to gain say them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity; he purposed to make an escape, and fly, with his Treasures, unto *Corys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Orandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one Ship; who easily was persuaded to wait the King thence. With all secrecy the Kings Money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himself, with his Wife and Children (if rather it were not true, * *Plutarch*, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder Son, in *vit. 25* who was only by adoption his Son, being his *mol.* * Brother by nature) with much ado got out at a Window by a Rope, and over a Mud Wall. At *25. 1. lib.* his coming to the Sea side, he found no *Orandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the Money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the Shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his Lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, left he should be taken; he hid himself in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him; ran up and down

* *Lib. lib.*

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down making enquiry: all *Olivius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samostrace*, should have their Lives and Liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that life, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally. That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*: Hereupon they all came in. Like-wile *Ima*, a *Theffalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his Children, delivered them up to *Olivius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the Gods of *Samostrace*, that he had no better protected him; rendered himself, and made the *Roman Victory* complete. If he had not trusted in those Gods of *Samostrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein: he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight: he became a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He has been presently sent away to *Amphilus*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Amphilus* used to him the Language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made War upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost alacrity; for that such was the Mercy of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consul's Table, and respectfully entertained, he was committed Prisoner to *Q. Atilius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian War*, after four years continuance: and such end therewithal had the Kingdom of *Macedon*: the Glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

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About the same time, and with like celerity, *Anticus* the Roman Prator, who succeeded unto *Asp. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the Illyrian. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Issus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the Money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anticus* arrested him on the way; fought with him; overcame him; and drove him into *Scodra*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anticus* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the Walls, making countenance to give an assault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by

whom, at first, he desired Truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into Prison; where they were still alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a River, within half a Mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his Brother *Caracantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scodra*. He sent Messengers craving access unto the Prator: before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his Wife, Children, Brother, and Friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty days: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anticus* how all had passed.

§. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their Victory over Perseus.

NOW began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmanfully toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their Errand again; that they performed with bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes*, to make an Overture of Peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this War was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassy to *Rome*, not for love to *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonians*: whose Partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in Mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City; beseeching all Men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent Prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that flew themselves for fear, whose Goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a Man by nature valiant, had not uttered a mild Sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it,

* Cato in thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of Philip and Antiochus, helped well the Rhodians: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the Society of the Romans: a favour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it as equal friends.

With the like, or greater feverity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. *Amphilus* himself made progress through the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* Faction, and with help of the *Roman* Soldiers. Others fled, or were banished and their Goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul; the redress was such, as required not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the Liberty of their Country, he feasted like a King, with excessive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easy matter, since no Man durst be backward in sending Provisions, nor set on them the due Price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for settling the Estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was usual in such cases; and some, to visit the Affairs of Greece. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Amphilus* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefrom from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been paid unto the Kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest; the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent Captive into Italy, with their Wives and Children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated; and new given by *Amphilus*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not Subjects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserve no better name than mere Tyranny, yea and shameless Perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of Confederation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such Men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unfeverable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made free enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no Subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for using them as Traitors, or at least as Enemies. But since only two Men were Beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyranny. With the *Achaean* these Embassadors were to deal more formally: not so much because that Commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaean* could be suppositively charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callistratus*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the *Romans*; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all Men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served fitly to rank the *Achaean* with the rest. And hereto *Callistratus*, was very urgent; fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his Fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achaean*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callistratus* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with Money and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so; he desired that all such Men might be condemned, whom, after Sentence given, he would name unto them. After Sentence given (cried out the whole Assembly) what Justice were this; name them first; and let them answer; which if they could not well do, we will soon condemn them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prators, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this Crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate Man, and confident in his innocence; then should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any Man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear, and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the Captivity of Greece; wherein so many of the Honestest and Worthiest Men were carried from home, for none other cause than their love unto their Country: to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that Virtue and regard of the publick Liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into Prison, as Men already condemned by the *Achaean*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since Honestly had been thus punished as a Vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the Senate, that these Men were neither condemned by the *Achaean*, nor yet held to be offenders. But instead of better answer it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these Men should return into the *Achaia*. Neither could any sollicitation of the *Achaean*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that Wife and Vertuous Man *Polysius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in Prison; or having made offer to escape, whether upon the way be-

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 sent they came to Rome, or whether out of Jyl, after that they were committed thereto, suffered Death as Malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epiroti*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet whilst, to gratify the Soldiers, gave order, That the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to Sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Antiochus* with malicious subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the Liberty bestowed upon them by the People of *Rome*; he sent unto the *Epiroti* for Ten of the Principal Men out of every City. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every of their Towns, what Companies of Men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the Money. But he gave secret instruction to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed they should fall to sack, every one the Town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were threecore and ten Cities, all Condemned with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Soldiers: and besides other acts of Hostility in a time of Peace, a Hundred and fifty thousand of that Nation made Slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epiroti* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this People, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this War, done good Service to the *Romans*: I hold this act to be wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the less marvelous, that God was pleased to make *Aemilius* Childless, even in the Glory of his Triumph, how great soever otherwise his Vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their Victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embassy sent from them to *Antiochus*: whereof before we speak, we must speak somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himself, and of his Affairs about which these Ambassadors came.

§. XI.

The War of Antiochus upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.

Antiochus the Great, after his Peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his Reign and Life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemy* *Ephippas*: while he attempted to Rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Josius*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Selenus* Philopator, *Antiochus* *Ephippas*, *Demetrius* Soter; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in Marriage to *Ptolemy* *Ephippas*, King of *Egypt*. *Selenus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his Sons, Reigned in *Syria* twenty years, according to *Enchiridion*, *Appian*, and *Cassius Dio*; though *Josius* give him but seven. A detestable Prince, who as he was florid by nature, so great loss which his Father *Antiochus* had received,

took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his Birth, *Daniel* gave this judgement, *Et stabit Domus tua in loco ejus villisimam et indignam decore regio.* And in 21. his place (speaking of *Antiochus* the Father of this Man) shall start up a vile Person, unworthy the honour of a King. Under this *Selenus*, whole things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the Godliness of *Onias* the Priest, it came to pass, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple; and of *Heliadus* sent by the King to seize them; and of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the Prayers of *Onias*; or of the Kings death, and of his Successor *Antiochus* *Ephippas*. It is therefore from the Reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning: which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story, nor of the acts of his Successors, till the time of *Antiochus* *Ephippas*, the Brother and Successor of this *Selenus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon* *Maccabaeus* (who died in the Hundred threecore and feventeenth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Prologue, yet he endeth with the Hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* Reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Reus*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jafon*, the Brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Selenus*, prevailed with *Antiochus* *Ephippas*, his Successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Josius* and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Artaeus* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Greeks*, as to their Brothers and Kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, joined the Brother and Successor of *Reus*, remembering in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the People of *Sparta* by *Naminius* and *Antipater* his Embassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Artaeus* had sent to *Onias* the High Priest, whereto *Josius* adds, that the name of the *Lacedaemonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were Sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her Claws.

Now to this *Selenus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus* *Ephippas*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his Brother; which also he usurped from his Brothers Son.

Ptolemy *Philometor*, his Nephew by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about feventeen years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolemy *Ephippas*, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had Reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty years, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilst he was a Child. But they found such other business, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave, with his Daughter

Daughter in Marriage, unto this *Ptolemy*, the Provinces of *Calydny*, *Phoenicia*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his Victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those Parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolemy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two Sons; this *Ptolemy* *Philometor*, and *Ptolemy* *Physcon*, with a Daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was Wife to the elder of her Brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the Marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemy *Philometor*, so called (that is, the lover of his Mother) by a bitter Nick-name, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his Subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom: his younger Brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong Party, got Possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Mempsis*, craving Succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the Protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mithridates* Embassador unto *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him the instructions to persuade the Governor of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver up that Kingdom into his Hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all Argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongst the Coast of *Syria*, to *Jeppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*, whereby

2. Mac. 4. *Jafon* the Priest (a Chaplain fit for such a Part) he was with all Pomp and Solemnity, received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Selenus*, the Brother and Predecessor of *Ephippas*, that impious Traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius*, the Governor of *Calydny* and *Phoenicia*, was dismissed of his wicked Purpose: by Miracle from appointed of his wicked Purpose: by Miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the Prayer of *Onias*; yet sufficed not this Example to terrify others from the like ungodly Practices. Presently upon the death of *Selenus*, this *Jafon*, the Brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his Brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threecore Talents of Silver, with other Rents and Sums of Money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jafon*, and his being over-reached by another, in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achaemen*, when as their malicious Callicrates, who had been too hard for all Worthy and Vertuous Men, was beaten at his own Weapon, by one of his own Condition. It went thus.

One Fire than other burns more furiously.
 One Hawk than other Wolves does bite more freely.
 One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly.
 So one more malicious of Men before,
 Callicrates, false Knave as Knave may be,
 Met with Menalcidas more false than he.

And even thus fell it out with *Jafon*: who within three years after, was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Menelaus* the Brother of *Simon*, that

for three hundred Talents more, obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jafon* thereupon being forced to flee from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phoenicia*, to augment the numbers of his Men of War; and to prepare a Fleet for his Expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty Army of Land-Forces, He went about to reign over *Egypt*, that he might have the Dominion of two Realms, and enter *Egypt* with a mighty Company, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy, and moved War against *Ptolemas* King of *Egypt*, but *Ptolemas* was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He was many strong Cities, and took away the Spoils of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*. He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* got a Victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them to great Riches. For he gave a notable Overthrow to the Captain of *Ptolemy*, between *Pelusium* and the Hill *Cafius*; and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, he turned again and went up towards *Israel* and *Jerusalem*, with a mighty People, and entered proudly in to the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the Light, and all the Instruments thereof, and the Table of the Show-bread, and the pouring Vessels and the Bowls, and the Golden Basins, and the Vails, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparel. He took also the Silver and the Gold, and the Precious Jewels, and the Secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* business. As what time he first laid claim to *Calydny*; justifying his Title by * the same Allegations * which his Father had made; and stiffly asserting, that this Province had not been confiscated over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto *Ptolemy*, that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achaemen*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was; that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder Brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the War be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force; he thought it better to let the two Brothers continue themselves with intestine War, than by the terror of his Arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak estate; the younger, almost ruined by his Invasion: the elder hated and forsaken by his People.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at goodleasure his other business at *Jerusalem* or elsewhere. So after the Sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*; and then made a Journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Therians* and other in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry,

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 ty, to a Concubine of the Kings called *Antiochia*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great Authority about him. In the mean while *Meneleus* the Brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jafon* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred Talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his Brother *Lysimachus*. He sent certain Vessels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a pair to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred Talents promised; the same being now by *Softrius* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jafon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with Zeal, and detesting the Sacrilege of *Meneleus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge he withdrew himself into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a Suburb to *Antioch*. In compais it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, Banqueting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner abused to Lust, and other such Voluptuousness. Where it was well done of *Onias*, to commit himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim privilege from the holiness of a Ground consecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for my own opinion; that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this Book as *Apocryphal*; than to judge this fearful theft which *Onias* (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the Book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old Man: For *Meneleus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to stay *Onias*. So when he came to *Onias*, he counselled him craftily, giving him his right Hand with an Oath, and persuading him to come out of the Sanctuary: he flew him incontinently, without any regard to Righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus*, after his return out of *Cilicia*, He took away *Andronicus* his Garment of Purple, and sent his Cloaths, and commanded him to be led through-
 Mac. lib. 2. c. 27. 4.

Mac. 2. 4. c. 33.
 out the City, and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against *Onias*, he was slain as a Murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent Mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemy*, a Traytor to *Ptolemy* Philometor, he condemned innocent Men to death; who justly complained against *Meneleus*, and his Brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outrageous Will, and not by any regard of Justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*; yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*, and they should have been heard as innocents. By reason of such his unsteadiness, this King was commonly termed *Egomane*; that is, Mad, in stead of *Epiphane*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.
 Verf. 47.

Mac. 2. 4. c. 33.
 After this, *Antiochus* made a preparation for a second Voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there seen throughout all the City of Jerusalem, forty days long, Horsemen running in the Air with Robes of Gold, and as Bands of Spear-men, and as Troops of Horsemen set in Array, encountering and coursing one against another. Of these Prodigious Signs, or rather fore-warnings of GOD, all Histories have delivered us,

some more, some less. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by *Vespasian* a Star in the form of a Sword appeared in the Heavens, directly over the City; after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphane*, though far greater. In the *Comidian* Wars, *Pliny* tells us that Armies were seen flying in the Air from the Morning till the Evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the Eleventh, a Fountain poured out blood in stead of Water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like Prodigious Signs, *Vigiera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All Men know that in the Emperor *Nero*, the Offspring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable Sign gave warning.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an *Sacred* Eagle fell into her Arms a white Hen, holding a Laurel Branch in her Mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Laurel Branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultry, and from the little Branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Laurel: so that afterwards in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carry in their Hands a Branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the Triumphs ended, to set it again in the same Ground: which Branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foretell the death of those Persons who carried them in Triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the Broods of the white Hen died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the Heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his Hand, were stricken down with Lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange Signs to be unworthy to be regarded; it appears by their calling upon GOD, and praying, that these Tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first Voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two Brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his Brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the Power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that Royal City, rather by persuasion than by Arms. *Phylcom* had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former Siege: the *Alexandrians* though they loved not *Phylometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of Victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the Friends of the younger Brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation.

These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Phylometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelufium*: retaining that City which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Phylcom*, and with those that were about him; as by the vehement Mediation of *Cleopatra* their Sister, the two Brethren made an end of all Quarrels.

When

When the News of this Accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the Establishment of the King *Phylometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger Brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadors; yet he now prepared to make sharp War upon them both. And to that end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Army into *Calefryria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhincocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemy*. Their Errand was partly to yield Thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Phylometor* in his Kingdom; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signify what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an Enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition, than that *Ptolemy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelufium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entered *Niler*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis* and all about it received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by ease Journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. For if they found, or were concerned to find, little reason for them to be enminded therein. For it was a Civil War: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful Owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing jointly in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open War against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans* but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable Benefits, should arm in defence of their Kingdom. Rome had been sustaining with Food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*: when Italy lying waste, had neither Corn nor Money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the *Egyptians*, had *Aratus* laid the Foundation of that greatness, whereto the *Acheans* attained. And by the like help, had *Rhodes* been defended against *Demetrius* *Polioretetes*. Neither were these Friendly Turns, which that Bountiful House of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry People abroad, ill followed or seconded, by other as bad in requital: but with continuance of future Beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two Brothers sent abroad confidently for aid: especially to the *Rhodian* and *Achean*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phylcom* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a year since: but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lycurtus* the brave Warriour might

be sent to them as General of all the *Auchians*, and his Son *Polypius* General of the Horse. Hereunto the *Acheans* readily consented: and would immediately have made performance; if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous Art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the *Romans*; or much rather envying those Noble Captains, whose Service Kings desired; withstood the common Voice; which was, That their Nation should not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business, as might make them the less able to yield unto the *Romans* what helpsoever should be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this Sentence, he with those of his Faction obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big Words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polypius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Consul had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, might well be spared, to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to perform any Service to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could, without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theatre where the Assembly was held, a Messenger with Letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* Senate, and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in Peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make Peace; but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should do any good in the same kind. Yet *Polypius* and his Friends durst not gain say the *Roman* Council; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassadors sent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadors of *Phylcom* and *Cleopatra*; which having stayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The Embassadors delivered their Message in the Name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Phylometor*, no less than his Brother and Sister.

In this Embassy of *Ptolemy*, now requesting help from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his Fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his Troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eolus* and *Phylcom* (upon whom the blame was afterwards cast) laid) which had the Government of him, thought his Affairs in such good Estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus*, for *Calefryria*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a Competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that this Embassador was by

By a Friend perfwaded, to forget that Point of his Errand. From thefe high Thoughts, he fell on the fudden, by the Rebellion of his Brother and Subjects, to live under protection of the fame Antiochus. And now at fuch time as by a tonement with his Brother and Subjects, he might have feemed to ftand in no need of fuch protection; he hath remaining none other help wherewith to fave both his Kingdom and Life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed againft him. This miserable condition of him, his Brother and Sifter, threw it felf even in the Habit of thofe Embaffadors. They were poorly clad; the Hair of their Heads and Beards over-grown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their Hands Branches of Olive. They thus entered into the Senate, and there fell grovelling and prostrate upon the Floor. Their Garments were not fo mean and mournful nor their Looks and Countenances fo fad and dejected, but that their Speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Country flood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, befecching them to have compaffion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had always remained Friendly and Faithful to the Romans. They faid that the People of Rome had fo much heretofore favoured this Antiochus, particular, and were of fuch Account and Authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleaded, but to fend their Embaffadors, and let Antiochus know, that the Senate was offended with his Undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he prefently raife his Siege from before Alexandria, and withdraw his Army out of Egypt into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time or fhould any delay; then fhould Ptolemy and Cleopatra be fhortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to Rome, with shameful difhonour to the Senate and People thereof, in that, in the extrem Dangers of all their Fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with Compaffion, fent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimus, and A. Hoftilius, as Embaffadors, to determine and end the War between thofe Kings. In Commiffion they had left to find King Ptolemy, and then Antiochus, and to let them both underftand, that unlefs they forcefced and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a Friend to the Senate and People of Rome, whom they found obftinate or ufing delay. So thefe Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embaffadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three Days after.

Whilst Popilius and his Fellows were on their way toward Egypt, Antiochus had tranfported his Army over Lucine, fome forty Miles from Alexandria. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the Roman Embaffadors met him. After Greeting and Salutations at their firft Encounter, Antiochus offered his Right Hand to Popilius; but Popilius filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read thofe Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing elfe. Antiochus did fo; and having a little while confidered of the bufinefs, he told Popilius, That he would advife with his Friends, and then give the Embaffadors their Answer. But Popilius, according to his ordinary blunt manner of Speech, which he had by Nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his Hand, willing him to make him fuch an Answer as he might report to

the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King anfwered at this fo rude and violent a Commandment, after he had ftayed and paused a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatfoever the Senate hath ordain. Then Popilius gave unto the King his Hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the Romans.

Thus Antiochus departed out of Egypt without any good Will of his Colly Expedition; even in fuch a manner as * Daniel had prophesied long Dan. cap. 11. ver. 25, before; yea, fulfilling every particular Circumftance, both of returning, and of doing mifchief to Jerufalem after his return; like as if thefe things had rather been hiftorifed than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embaffadors, they ftayed a while, and fertled the Kingdom of Egypt, leaving it unto the elder Brother, and appointing the younger to reign over Cyrene. This done they departed towards Cyprus; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the Egyptian, having firft fent away Antiochus's Floor, which had already given an overthrow to the Egyptian Ships.

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their Demeanour towards Eumenes, Prutias, Maliniffa, and Corys. The end of Perfeus and his Children. The Infolubility of Kingly Eftates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the Work.

BY this peremptory demeanour of Popilius, in doing his Meflage, and by the ready obedience of King Antiochus to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the Romans were grown, through their Conquest of Macedonia. The fame Popilius had been well contented, a year before this, to lay afide thoroughnefs of his natural Condition, and to give good Language to the Achaeans and Aetolians, when he went Embaffador to thofe People of Greece, that were of far lefs power than the King Antiochus. Likewise, Antiochus had with good Words, and no more than good Words, difmiffed other Embaffadors which came from Rome, in fuch fort, as they complained not much lefs of any menacing Terms, though he performed nothing of their Request. But now the Cafe was altered. So found other Kings as well as Antiochus.

Eumenes fent to Rome his Brother Attalus to gratulate the Victory over Perfeus, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate againft the Gallo-Greeks, which molefted him. Very welcome was Attalus, and lovingly entertained by moft of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himfelf; for it fhould furely be given him. Thefe hopeful promifes tickled Attalus with fuch Ambition, that he either approved, or feemed to approve the motion. But his honeft nature was foon reclaimed by the faithful Counfel of Stratus a Physician; whom Eumenes had fent to Rome of purpofe to keep his Brother upright. So when he came into the Senate, he delivered the Errand about which he had been fent; recounted his own fervices done to the Romans in the late War, * wherewithal he forgot not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could; and finally requested, That the Towns of Aetia and Maronea might be beftowed upon himfelf. * By his omitting to fue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of Audience for that bufinefs alone. Where-

Wherefore, to make him underftand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his defire; but in the Prefents which they gave to him (as was their cuftom to Embaffadors that came with an acceptable Meflage) they ufed fingular Magnificence. Nevertheless, Attalus took no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did fo highly difpleafe the Senate, that whilst he was yet in Italy, they gave order for the liberty of Aetia and Maronea: thereby making unfeffual their promife; which otherwife they could not, without flame, revoke. And as for the Gallo-Greeks, which were about to invade the Kingdom of Pergamus; they fent Embaffadors to them, with fuch inftructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpofe. The difpleafure of the Senate being fo manifefit; Eumenes thought it worthy of his labour to make another Voyage to Rome. He might well blame the folly of his fecond Voyage thither, for this neceffity of the third: fince, by his malice to Perfeus, he had layed open unto thefe ambitious Potentates the way to his own Doors. No fooner was he come into Italy, than the Senate was ready to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to ufe him as an Enemy, that came to vifit them in lore: neither could they, in fo doing, have avoided the note of fingular infidelity: and to entertain him as a Friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King fhould be fuffered to come to Rome; and by Vertue thereof fent him home, without expence of much further Complement.

Prusias King of Bithynia had been at Rome fome what before; where he was welcomed after a better fafhion. He had learned to behave himfelf as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or defire. For entering into the Senate, he layed down, and kiffed the Threshold, calling the Fellows, and kiffed the Saviours: as alfo he ufed to wear a Cap, after the manner of Slaves newly Manumiffed, profefling himfelf an enfranchifed Bondman of the People of Rome. He was indeed naturally a Slave, and one that by fuch abject Flattery kept himfelf fafe; though doing otherwife greater mifchief than any wherewith Perfeus had been charged. His Errand was, beftides matter of Complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son Nicomedes, whom he brought with him to Rome, there to receive Education. Further petition he made, to have fome Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, becaufe the Grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardfhip of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate, which, vaunting of the pleafure lately done to Egypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him to confent, what effential protection thereby to confent, what effential protection to the Romans gave unto the Children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, Maliniffa held his Credit with the Romans good. His Quarrels were endless with the Carthaginians: which made the Friendfhip of the Romans to him the more affured. In all Controversies they gave judgment on his fide; and whereas he had invaded the Country of Emorgia, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the Romans (though at firft they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreffion) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the

Numidian, for having hindered him of his due fo long. Now indeed had Rome good caufe to delight upon the ruine of Carthage: after which, the Race of Maliniffa himfelf was fhortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He fent to Rome one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over Perfeus; and offered to come thither himfelf, there to fatisfice for joy unto Jupiter in the Capitol. His good Will was lovingly accepted; His Son rewarded; and he entreated to ftay at home.

Corys the Thracian fent Embaffadors, to excufe himfelf touching the Aid by him given to Perfeus, for that the Macedonian had him bound by Hoftages; and to entreat, That his Son which was taken with the Children of Perfeus, might be fet at liberty for convenient Ranfom. His Excufe was not taken; fince he had voluntarily obliged himfelf to Perfeus, by giving Hoftages without neceffity: Yet was his Son given back to him Ranfom-free; with an addition, that he fhould himfelf better toward the Romans in time following. His Kingdom lay between Macedonia and fome barbarous Nations; in which refpect, it was good to hold him in fair Terms.

As for thofe unhappy Kings, Perfeus and Gentius they were led through Rome, with their Children and Friends, in the Triumphs of Aemilius and Anicius. Perfeus had often made fuit to Aemilius, that he might not be put to fuch difgrace: but he ftill received one fcornful answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; wherby was meant, that he might kill himfelf. And furely, had he not hoped for greater Mercy than he found, he would rather have fought his death in Macedonia, than have been beholding to the Courtfees of his inlofer Enemies for a wretched life. The iffue of the Roman Clemency, wherof Aemilius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his Fellow King, had been led in Chains through the Streets, before the Cnaries of their Triumphant Victors, they were committed to Prifon, wherein they remained without hope of releafe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the Capitol, there to do Sacrifice, he fhould command the Captives to be had away to Prifon, and there put to death: fo as the Honour of the Vanquifher, and Mifery of thofe that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This laft Sentence of Death was remitted unto Perfeus: yea fo, that he had little joy of his Life; but either famifhed himfelf, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by thofe that had him in Cufody; and fo died for want of Sleep. Of his Sons, two died; it is uncertain how. The youngest called Alexander (only in name like unto his Father, unto the Fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or at his beft Prefbyter, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In fuch Poverty ended the Royal Houfe of Macedonia: and it ended on the fudden; though fome eight-fcore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whofe Ambition this whole Earth feemed too narrow.

If Perfeus had known it before, that his own Son, fhould one day be compelled to earn his Living by Handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnefs of Sovereignty, have commended thofe poor Men to be flain, which had recovered his Treafures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of Diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and

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and would have considered, that the greatest Oppressors, and the most untrodde Wretches are all subject unto One High Power, governing all alike with absolute Command. But such is our unhappiness; instead of that Blessed Counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*; a Sentence teaching all Moderation, and pointing out the way to Felicity; we entertain that arrogant Thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly:

— — — *Et qui volum occidere quenquam.*
Posse volent — — —

Juvenal.
Sat. 10.

*Even they that have no murderous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.*

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controul: which is a dangerous Temptation unto the performance. GOD, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Sovereign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own Person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his Progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their Brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole House, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes, which could not humble themselves to such Flattery; and the common practise of the Turkish Emperors, to murder all their Brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofs hereof. Hereto may be added, that the Heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traitorously and barbarously King *Edward* the second, was, by reason of a Marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir Apparent to the Crown of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the Race of his Mortal Enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such Examples of the infatigability whereto all Mortal Affairs are subject; as they reach moderation, and admonish the transitory Gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked Precedents, the Evil that may fall on their own Posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy is that Countrey, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That

* *GOD is the first and lastest Schoolmaster, that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without contrivance to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.*

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintus Flaminius*: though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own Person, that was led along therein, as part of his own Spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the State had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this Noble Triumph likely to have been hindered by the Soldiers; who grudget at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and

Soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe Exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much Honour of his Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased GOD to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one died five days before the Triumph; the other, three Days after it. This loss he bore wisely; and told the People, That he hoped to see the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private Calamity, instead of the publick.

About the same time, *Ottavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Antonia* the Prator, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* Prisoner: made their several Triumphs. The Glory of which Magnificent Spectacles; together with the consequence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their Duties in Person; were enough to lay unto *Rome*, *Summe superbiem*; Take upon thee the Majesty, that thy Deserts have purchased.

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the height. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the Field; having rooted up or cut down, all that kept it from the Eyes and Admiration of the World. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the Beauty it had; the forms of Ambition shall beat her great Boagles and Braveries one against another; her Limbs shall fall off; her Limbs wither, and a Rabble of Barbarous Nations enter the Field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and Conquering Nations, have been the Subject of those Ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withal of so many Tragical Poets as in the Persons of powerful Princes, and other Mighty Men have complained against Injustice, Time, Destiny; and most of all against the Variable Success of Worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these Undertakings, the greatest Lords of the World have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and soweth in the Wind; than by the affection of bearing Rule, which draweth after it so much Vexation, and so many Cares. And that this is true, the good Advice of *Cato* to *Pylorus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the Living, so is it to the Dead of no use at all; because separate from Knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extream ill Bargain of buying this lasting Discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stoin out of the World without noise; than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their Actions in the World, by Rapine, Oppression and Cruelty, by giving in Spoil the Innocent and Labouring Soul to the Idle and Insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their Ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of Sorrows.

Since

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire, (omitting that of the *Germans* which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the East, but that of the *Turk*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his Wings far over his Nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moor* out of *Granada*, have made many Attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the Treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdoms which they possess in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so instead of so many Millions as have been spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a Defensive War, and in Diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand Pound, continued but for two years or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in Peace, but all their swelling and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural Channels and old Banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and Sincere Profession thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the Succession and continuance of this boundless Ambition in Mortal Men, we may add to that which hath been already said; That the Kings and Princes of the World have always laid before them, the Actions, but not the Ends, of those great Ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the Glory of the one, but they never mind the Misery of the other, till they find the Experience in themselves. They neglect the Advice of GOD, while they enjoy Life, or hope it; but they follow the Counsel of Death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into Man all the Wildom of the World, without speaking a Word; which GOD with all the Words of his Law, Promises or Threats, doth not in-

fuse. Death, which hareth and destroyeth Man, is believed; GOD, which hath made him and loves him is always deferred. I have confidered (saith *Solomon*) all the Works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of Spirit: but who believes it, till Death tells it us. It was Death, which opening the Conscience of *Charles* the Fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to restore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the First of *France*, to command that Justice should be done upon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone, that can suddenly make Man to know himself. He tells the Proud and Insolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed Happiness. He takes the account of the Rich, and proves him a Beggar; a naked Begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the Gravel that fills his Mouth. He holds a Glass before the Eyes of the most Beautiful, and makes them see therein, their Deformity and Rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

O Eloquent, Just and Mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the World hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the World and despised: thou hast drawn together all the far stretched Gretnes, all the Pride, Cruelty, and Ambition of Man, and covered it all over with these two narrow Words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls it self, The First Part of the General History of the World, implying a Second, and Third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other Discouragements, persuading my Silence; it hath pleased GOD to take that Glorious Prince out of the World, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss, hath taught me to say with *Jeh*, *Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea*, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.

FINIS.

To the READER.

THE Use of Chronological Tables is needful to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like Annals, yearly set down all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serve as an Index to the present Part of this Work; pointing unto the several Matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far disjoyned in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither do I think; that any can be. For howsoever the years of the first Patriarchs may seem to have been well-near compleat, yet in the Reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we find many Fractious, and the last year, or years, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry Nations: causing * the Summer Months, in process of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extream confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing Computations, as have already gotten Authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such Error as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to find herein. It may serve to free the Book, and likewise the Reader (if but of mean judgment) from any notorious Anachronicism; which ought to suffice. The Book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only for some Errors of the Press, in the numbering of years, but for some hasty mis-reckonings of mine own; which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

* See Lib. 2.
Chap. 3. §. 6.

The Titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two Titles, or more, are over the Head, as ^{Rome} ^{Nabonassar} there do the Numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For Example: The Walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319 year from the building of Rome, and in the 314 from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, That Jehoshaphat began his Reign in the 3774 of the Julian Era, in the 3092 of the World, and in the 99 year of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forbore to insert those years, which I find not signed with some remarkable Accident: as with the Birth or Death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reign; some change of Government; some Battel fought; or the like. So, of the 13 years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the 4 of Jehoshaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17, wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehoshaphat his Father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with 12 Lines of idle Cyphers; numbering forth 2, 3, 4, 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and 17 of Jehoshaphat. In setting down the Kings, there is noted over the Head of every one, what Place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, in rank, of those that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the Name is the first year of his Reign; at the end, or foot of the Name, (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath are those years of his; which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the year of any remarkable Accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings Name, there is it to be understood; that the same year belonged, not only to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more, of his
K k k k k fore-govers:

fore-goers: as the first Year of Jehoram King of Israel was the same with the second of his Brother Ahazia, and the 22 of his Father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one place; as in the 3077 Year of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri: it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same Year; which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the Years of the Egyptian Kings are set down the Years of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the Day of the Month upon which Nabonassar's Year began: which, how it varied from other Years, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the *Æra*, or account of Years, from Iphicus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place is, in the Book itself: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads is set down first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the Year of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his Reign in Persia, in the 55 Olympiad, and the first Year thereof.

Now, for that the Years of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one Month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times : the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several Columns ; oppoſing part of the one Year to part of the other : not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one ſtrait Line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I ſpared, as more troubleſome than uſeful ; ſince the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and ſince the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to obſerve, that howſoever the *Æra* of the Olympiads be 24 Years elder than that of Rome, and 29, than that of Nabonassar, yet the Reign of ſome King may have begun at ſuch a time of the Year as did not ſuit with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eaſily find my meaning : the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example may explain all. *Queen Elizabeth* began her Reign the 17 of November, in the Year of our Lord 1558 : She was crowned ; held a Parliament ; brake it up ; threw down Images ; and reformed many things in Religion ; all in her firſt Year : yet not all in that Year 1558, but the greater part in the Year following ; whether we begin with the firſt of January, or with the 25 of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table ; but ſo, as the difference is never of a whole Year.

The Julian Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the Years of the World, was devised by that honourable and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian Years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980 Years; which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the Years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present Year; or if no Fraction remain, it shews the last Year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the 4498 of this Period, when was fought the great Battel of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sun 18, and consequently the Dominical Letter F, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian Period 4498, by 19 for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sun. This Julian Period, after the present account, always exceeds the Years of the World by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a Year, than any other Æra (as From the beginning of the World, from the Flood, from Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position.

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in Works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

YEARS OF THE JULIAN PERIOD, WORLD,
PATRIARCHS, &c.

[illegible]

Kkkkk 2

	Juban. The World.	Enos.	Caines	Maha- laleel.	Jared.	Me- tushela- lah.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.					
Enos died	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84						
Canaan died.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179						
Mahalaleel died this year	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234						
Jared died	2104 1422					735	584	366						
Flood threatened, Gen. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481						
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600					
Lamech died	2333 1651					964	777	599	93					
Methuselah did this Year a little before the Flood. Noah entered into the Ark, c. 7. S. 8. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98					
The Flood ceased. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99					
	Juban. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Ar- phaxad 438										
	2341 1659	603	101											
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. Se- lah. 433									
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. He- ber. 464								
	2440 1758 101	722	200	100	65	35		1. Pe- ter. King of As- syria.						
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Rev. rod. 114						
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sa- rang. 230	King of E- GYPT.			
Vide Lih. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	63	29	1. Cham 161			
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Na- bor. 148		
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. To- rah. 205	
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	1 Beluz 65	83	55	53	24	

	Isaac, Hebr. Flint	Noah.	Sem.	Arpha- xad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Ren.	Aff- ria.	Sarg.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	Abram.
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1. 1. Began 169, 52.
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ni- nus, 52	148	120	118	89	32
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2. 1. En- ropi, 45
The last year of Peleg's life.	2658 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	20	177	149	147	118	9
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19
The 16. Dynasty in Egypt. Vide L. 2. 12, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000	190	2	1. 1											

	<i>Julian, World, Fronje.</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Salah.</i>	<i>Heber.</i>	<i>Abra- ham.</i>	<i>Affria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicion.</i>	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. <i>Arinu</i> 30	91	22	
<i>Isaac born when Abraham was 100 years old complete, 101 current.</i>	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. <i>Isaac</i> 180
<i>The last year of Salah.</i>	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		416	121	7 1. <i>Arili- us, 40.</i>	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. <i>Egy- ptus, 34.</i>	22
<i>Sarah the Wife of Abraham died this year.</i>	2827 2145 61	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
<i>Isaac took Rebekkah to wife when he was 4 years old complete.</i>	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
<i>The last year of Sem.</i>	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. <i>Thurima</i> clous, 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. <i>Jacob</i> 147	8 1. <i>Bale- us, 30.</i>	161	6	1. <i>Ina- chus, 50.</i>
<i>Abraham died this year.</i>	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
<i>Heber died this year.</i>	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
<i>The 17 Dynastie, called of the Sup- berds, beginning this year lasted 103 years.</i>	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1. <i>Arnu- withus 38.</i>	191	36	31
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201	8 1. <i>Len- cippus 3.</i>	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211	11	2 1. <i>Phoro- neus, 60.</i>
<i>The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See Lib. I. Chap. 1. 2.</i>	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. <i>Arctum</i> Fronje, 35	229	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252	52	42
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254	9 1. <i>Meda</i> 64, plur, 47	44
<i>See L. 2. Chap. 2. §. 6.</i>	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	384 1. <i>Phro- neus, 8</i> after him reced 7, 72	9	52
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. <i>Bale- us, 52.</i>	3	11	54

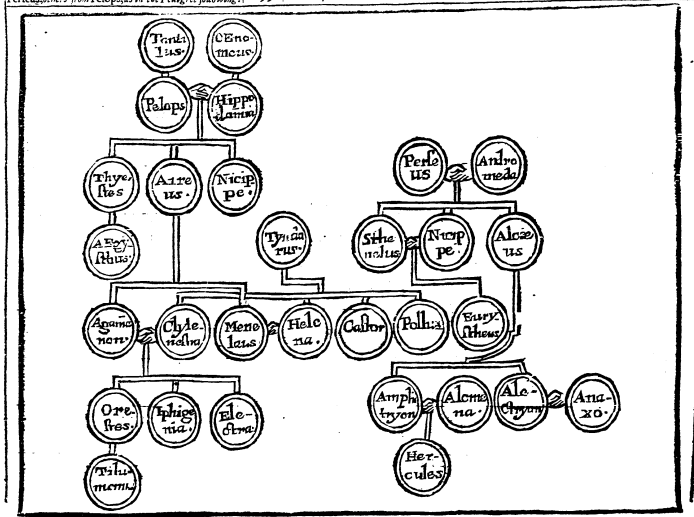
	Julian World, Promis.		Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		169	109	6	5 1. Orus. 79. 115	16	50	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8	3 81	18	1. Apis. 35	20
The last Year of Isaac.	2970 2188 205		180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2198 215			130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348 Years.	2984 2302 219			134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226			141	38	33 8	1. Per- am. 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231			146	43	38 13	6 1. Argus 70	4 55	
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232			147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Julian World, Promis.	Joseph.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argives.			
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Alades, 32.	48 23	16	11			
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plem- nans, 48	42			
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamirus, 30.	80 55	2	43			
The last Year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56			
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	1. Piraxu or Crispus, 54			
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancalens, 30	110 85	32	3			
	3074 2392 309		7	1. Sefstus the Great, 33 91	38	9			
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	1. Orto- polis, 63	20			
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus or, I- phereus, 20.	25 115	14	33			
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1. Sefstus the Great, 34 124	23	42			
	3116 2434 351	1. Mofis. 120	19	10 133	32	51			

	Julian, World, Promise.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argives.	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilas, or Mamelus. 30.	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	1. Phor- kas. 35.	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	1. Orus 2. Or En- firis. 38. 138	37	2. Athe- mians.	
	3148 2466 363	33	17 1. Sparcus. 40.	28 165	13 1. Mara- thius. 30.	22	
	3151 2469 366	36	4	31 168.	4	32. 1. Ce- cropt. 50.	
Moses visits his Brethren the Israelites at Egypt, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 369	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Tri- pas. 46.	5
	3159 2477 374	44	12	9 1. Thormis, or Aco- cheris. 22. 12. 175.	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris, or A- choris. 9. 188.	24	17	21
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195.	14 1. Mara- thius. 20.	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. Cheres. 16. 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. Alcatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moses his Wonders in Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	3196 2514 431	81	9	12 1. Acherris. 8. 213	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, and Conflagra- tion of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 433	83	11	3 215	15 1. Echir- rens. 55.	44	48
	3201 2519 436	86	14	6 218	4	1. Croto 1. Cra- pus. 21. nam. 10.	2
	3204 2522 439	89	17	13 1. Cheres. 15. 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 446	96	24	8 228	14	11	1. Amphi- tryp. 12.
	3219 2537 454	104	32	14 2. Armeni, or Danaus. 5. 236.	22	19	9
	3222 2540 457	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sike- nelus. 11.	12

	Julian, World, Exo- dus.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argos.	Atheni.	
	3223 2541 458	108	36	5 240	26	2	1. Erithi- mian. 50.	
	3224 2542 459	109	37	15 1. Ramesset. 68. 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 463	113	19 1. Amyntas. 45	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 464	114	2	6 245	32	8	7	1. Darda- nians. 64
	3233 2551 468	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Darda- nians. 50.	11	5
The 1st Year of Moses.	3235 2553 470	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	3236 2554 471	121	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3237 2555 472	122	10	14 254	40	5	15	9
	3238 2556 473	123	11	15 255	41	6	16	10
	3239 2557 474	124	12	16 256	42	7	17	11
	3240 2558 475	125	13	17 257	43	8	18	12
	3241 2559 476	126	14	18 258	44	9	19	13
	3242 2560 477	127	15	19 259	45	10	20	14
	3243 2561 478	128	16	20 260	46	11	21	15
	3244 2562 479	129	17	21 261	47	12	22	16
	3245 2563 480	130	18	22 262	48	13	23	17
	3246 2564 481	131	19	23 263	49	14	24	18
	3247 2565 482	132	20	24 264	50	15	25	19
	3248 2566 483	133	21	25 265	51	16	26	20
	3249 2567 484	134	22	26 266	52	17	27	21
	3250 2568 485	135	23	27 267	53	18	28	22
	3251 2569 486	136	24	28 268	54	19	29	23
	3252 2570 487	137	25	29 269	55	20	30	24
	3253 2571 488	138	26	30 270	56	21	31	25
	3254 2572 489	139	27	31 271	57	22	32	26
	3255 2573 490	140	28	32 272	58	23	33	27
	3256 2574 491	141	29	33 273	59	24	34	28
	3257 2575 492	142	30	34 274	60	25	35	29
	3258 2576 493	143	31	35 275	61	26	36	30
	3259 2577 494	144	32	36 276	62	27	37	31
	3260 2578 495	145	33	37 277	63	28	38	32
	3261 2579 496	146	34	38 278	64	29	39	33
	3262 2580 497	147	35	39 279	65	30	40	34
	3263 2581 498	148	36	40 280	66	31	41	35
	3264 2582 499	149	37	41 281	67	32	42	36
	3265 2583 500	150	38	42 282	68	33	43	37
	3266 2584 501	151	39	43 283	69	34	44	38
	3267 2585 502	152	40	44 284	70	35	45	39
	3268 2586 503	153	41	45 285	71	36	46	40
	3269 2587 504	154	42	46 286	72	37	47	41
	3270 2588 505	155	43	47 287	73	38	48	42
	3271 2589 506	156	44	48 288	74	39	49	43
	3272 2590 507	157	45	49 289	75	40	50	44
	3273 2591 508	158	46	50 290	76	41	51	45
	3274 2592 509	159	47	51 291	77	42	52	46
	3275 2593 510	160	48	52 292	78	43	53	47
	3276 2594 511	161	49	53 293	79	44	54	48
	3277 2595 512	162	50	54 294	80	45	55	49
	3278 2596 513	163	51	55 295	81	46	56	50
	3279 2597 514	164	52	56 296	82	47	57	51
	3280 2598 515	165	53	57 297	83	48	58	52
	3281 2599 516	166	54	58 298	84	49	59	53
	3282 2600 517	167	55	59 299	85	50	60	54
	3283 2601 518	168	56	60 300	86	51	61	55
	3284 2602 519	169	57	61 301	87	52	62	56
	3285 2603 520	170	58	62 302	88	53	63	57
	3286 2604 521	171	59	63 303	89	54	64	58
	3287 2605 522	172	60	64 304	90	55	65	59
	3288 2606 523	173	61	65 305	91	56	66	60
	3289 2607 524	174	62	66 306	92	57	67	61
	3290 2608 525	175	63	67 307	93	58	68	62
	3291 2609 526	176	64	68 308	94	59	69	63
	3292 2610 527	177	65	69 309	95	60	70	64
	3293 2611 528	178	66	70 310	96	61	71	65
	3294 2612 529	179	67	71 311	97	62	72	66
	3295 2613 530	180	68	72 312	98	63	73	67
	3296 2614 531	181	69	73 313	99	64	74	68
	3297 2615 532	182	70	74 314	100	65	75	69
	3298 2616 533	183	71	75 315	101	66	76	70
	3299 2617 534	184	72	76 316	102	67	77	71
	3300 2618 535	185	73	77 317	103	68	78	72
	3301 2619 536	186	74	78 318	104	69	79	73
	3302 2620 537	187	75	79 319	105	70	80	74
	3303 2621 538	188	76	80 320	106	71	81	75
	3304 2622 539	189	77	81 321	107	72	82	76
	3305 2623 540	190	78	82 322	108	73	83	77
	3306 2624 541	191	79	83 323	109	74	84	78
	3307 2625 542	192	80	84 324	110	75	85	79
	3308 2626 543	193	81	85 325	111	76	86	80
	3309 2627 544	194	82	86 326	112	77	87	81
	3310 2628 545	195	83	87 327	113	78	88	82
	3311 2629 546	196	84	88 328	114	79	89	83
	3312 2630 547	197	85	89 329	115	80	90	84
	3313 2631 548	198	86	90 330	116	81	91	85
	3314 2632 549	199	87	91 331	117	82	92	86
	3315 2633 550	200	88	92 332	118	83	93	87
	3316 2634 551	201	89	93 333	119	84	94	88
	3317 2635 552	202	90	94 334	120	85	95	89
	3318 2636 553	203	91	95 335	121	86	96	90
	3319 2637 554	204	92	96 336	122	87	97	91
	3320 2638 555	205	93	97 337	123	88	98	92
	3321 2639 556	206	94	98 338	124	89	99	93
	3322 2640 557	207	95	99 339	125	90	100	94
	3323 2641 558	208	96	100 340	126	91	101	95
	3324 2642 559	209	97	101 341	127	92	102	96
	3325 2643 560	210	98	102 342	128	93	103	97
	3326 2644 561	211	99	103 343	129	94	104	98
	3327 2645 562	212	100	104 344	130	95	105	99
	3328 2646 563	213	101	105 345	131	96	106	100

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Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347								
	2665	54	20	16	30	1. Prætu	35	9	
	152			16		17			
	3358								
	2676	65	31	27	1. Sicyon	12	46	20	
	163			27	45				
	3360								
	2678	67	23	29		3	14	48	22
	165	1. Sofares.	20	29					
	3363								
	2681	70	4	32	6	17	7	1. Ceroops	25
	168			32				the 2. 40	
Pelops in Pila, who gave name to Peloponnesus	3364								
	2682	71	5	33	7	1. Acri.	2	26	
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Ion and Xuthus the Sons of Hellen. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.	3374								
	2692								
	179								
	3380								
	2698	7	24	49	23	17	18	42	
	185	1. Lampetes.	30	49					
				18					
	3387	14	8	1. Ramfes.	66.	30	24	25	49
	2705			5					
	192								
After the Death of Acrifus, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and reannexed by those of Mycenæ, wherof some Kings descended from Pelops, others from Pelops, as in the Pedigree following.	3394								
	2712								
	199	21	15	8	37	31	32	56	



	Pelion, World Ex- odus.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicily.	Myce- nae.	Antio- chia.	Jeru- salem.
	3399 2717 104	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. Ilu- 55
	3402 2720 107	29	23	16 71	45	1. Euri- stheni, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 108	30	24	17 72	20 1. Poly- buri, 40	2	8 1. Pandion the 2, 25	5
	3410 2728 115	37	25 1. Patimas, 45.	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 119	5 1. Gede- on, 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Phaenon chased out of his Kingdom, which is re- corded by his Son Aegus, in few Years after. The omission of this Interregnum, and reckoning the Years in the forty eighth of Aegus, and reckoning the Years from by themselves, breed considerable difference in the times of the Athenians following: as of Meneleus, Crops, and the rest.	3427 2745 222	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Aeg- us, 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Ioa- chus, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	34	61 116	5	1. Anen- as & The- stes, 65	16	49
	3453 2771 158	40	44	19 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Asimi- lich, 4	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Leome- don, 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. S. Armas, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tho- la, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 279	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. Pair, 22	7	28 149	38	31	10 1. The- tem, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Pho- bus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. Pri- mus, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	1. Anemene, 26 162	23 1. Agra- fus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides, 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tamasus, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian. World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latimer.
<i>The 21 Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130 years.</i>	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
<i>The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy 180 years. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.</i>	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26
	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latimer.
	3713 3031 38	184	1. Rehoboam.	1. Jeroboam, 22 17	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	Chemo- mis, 50. 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 1. Terep- sus, 41.	38	
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. Syl. A. 175, 26.
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	1. Pirithides, 30.	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam, 3.	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Afa, 41.	21	8	16 20	13	11
	3754 3052 59	205	2 1. Nadab, 2.	22	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3 1. Baasha, 24.	3	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Syl. Ce- pyr, 28
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	1. Ophraeus, 20.	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
<i>Of these Israelitish Kings. See L. 2. Ch. 19. §. 5.</i>	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 2. Zimri, 8 1. Tiboni, 7 2. Meri, 12.	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	5 1. Phor- bus, 51.	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10.	13	1. Che- opr, 56. 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 1. Ahab, 22.	8 15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehoramphat, 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latimer.
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	26 1. Ophra- tus, 50.	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Ce- pyr, 13.
<i>Of Jehoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See L. 2. C. 20. §. 1. & 2.</i>	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram	21 9 1. Abasia, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Ce- pyr, 8.
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 10 1. Terep- sus, 12.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	1. Ateas- des, 50.	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram again, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
<i>Jehothaphat dies, and Jehoram reigns alone.</i>	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. A. 175, 41.
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Abasia,	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Aba- lias, 7.	11 1. Jehu, 28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. Jotham,	7	34	42 106	17	12
<i>Carthage built. L. 2. C. 22. §. 6.</i>	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	43	56 120	1. Dige- netes, 28	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1. Cephe- rus, 50 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 1. Cephro- dorus, 42	3 123	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Jehoahaz, 17.	6	8 128	9	34
<i>The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynas- ties following, I omit.</i>	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 120	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. A. 175, 13.
<i>Joas reigned with his Father. Lik. 2. C. 22. §. 7.</i>	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas,	20	22	23	7
<i>Joas reigns alone.</i>	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Joas, 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amaziah, 2.	2	23	25	26	10

	Julian, World, Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Aegypt.	Athens.	Latin et.
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	1. Phere- dus, 19	13
	3858 3176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13
	3862 3180 187	333	15	14	37	39	12	5
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38	45	18	11
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	1. Aphi- phron 20	12
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Myce- rinus, 6	5	16
	Julian, World, Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Aegypt.	Athens.	Latiner. Media.
L. 2. C. 23. §. 11.	3877 3196 202	348	1. Inter- regnum 11 years.	16	10	4	8	19
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Boc- chorus, 44	11	22
L. 2. C. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Ser- darapa- lus slain	8	18	29
L. 2. C. 33. §. 1. & 4	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Quasi decuria, 52	27		9	19	30
	3890 3286 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. The- spis, 27	32
L. 2. C. 23. §. 4	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1	1. Bolybia or Thal. 48.	13	3
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	8
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23 years.	12	24	14	9
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	28	23
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Alysia or after him Amphi. 6.	8	7
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23	34	2	9	8

	Julian, World, Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Aegypt.	Athens.	Latin.	Media.
	3925 3244 251	397	30	16	35	3	10	9	11
This Year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398	40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401	43	4	39	14	13	15	
	3937 3255 262	408	50	18	46	8	12	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. Ch. 23. §. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	21
	3939 3257 264	410	2	2	52	19	48	10	22
L. 2. Ch. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	53	2	49	11	23
	Julian, World, Temple	Iphitus, Olympiads.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Aegypt.	Athens.	Latin.	Media.
	3946 3264 271	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	3
	3955 3273 280	18	5	16	17	16	26	19	38
	3959 3277 284	22	6	2	1. Inter- regnum 7 years.	20	30	23	42
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	2	21	31	43	15
	Julian, World, Temple	Rome, Nabon.	Iphitus, Olympiads.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Aegypt.	Athens.	Rom. 255.
Rome built. Lib. 2. Chap. 24. §. 5.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1
Carops the first governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annual.	3966 3284 291	5	29	8	12	20	27	37	5
The Aera of Nabonassar. L. 2. Ch. 25. §. 1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	2	13	2	28	38	6
Ezekia began in the very end of this Year. L. 2. Ch. 25. §. 1.	3968 3286 293	7	31	3	14	3	2	39	7
This Year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8	32	4	15	4	3	40	8
The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L. 2. C. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20 Years.	3971 3289 296	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10
Samarina besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11	35	9	4	7	6	43	11

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L. 2. C. 26. §. 7.	3974	13	37	10	6	9	8	45	13	29
	3975	8	37	1						
	3976	15		10	8		10 ⁴	47	15	31
	3977	10					1 Senach- rib, 7			
L. 2. C. 25. §. 2.	3980	19	43	11	Kings of the Chal- daens.		5	1. Seta- thon, 32	19	35
	3981	14	3	12						
	3982	21		12			7	3	21	37
	3983	16	45	1	14					
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This Year or in the end of the Year foregoing. Eclipse of ☾	3984	22		12		1 Merodach or Mardo- campadus.	5 ¹	4	22	38
	3985	2	46		15		1. Seta- thon, 10			
	3986	25		13						
	3987	49		18	4	4	7		25	4
Two Epheltes of the Moon, in the second Year of Mardocampadus.	3990	32	56	14		1 Merodach, 40	11	14	32	8
	3991	27	4	25						
	3992									
	3993									
L. 2. C. 27. §. 2.	4013	52	76	19	16	21	1 Inter- regnum, 2	14	15	17
	4014	47		4						
	4015	3	78	20	18	23	1. 12 Princes	15	16	17
	4016	49		2						
The beginning of the second Messianian War, which lasted about 18 Years. L. 2. Ch. 27. §. 4.	4019	68	92	23	32	37	15 ¹ 1. Seta- thon, 45	30	31	33
	4020	63		4						
	4021	72	96	24	36	2	1. Sen Ach- menes, 21	5	34	35
	4022	67		4						
L. 2. Ch. 28. §. 3.	4025	74	98	25	38	3	7	36	37	2
	4026	69		2					1. Ar- day, 49	
	4027	82	106	27	46	11	15	3	45	9
	4028	77		2				1. Seta- thon, 22		
L. 2. Ch. 29. §. 1.	4031	91	115	29	55	20	24	10	1	6
	4032	86		3					1. Phra- ortes, 24	18
	4033	92	116	29	15	21	25	11	2	19
	4034	87		4						

	Julian. World. Tem- ple. Nabon.	Rome.	Jphis.	Olym- piads.	Juda.	Chaldea	Aegypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
<i>The Expedition of the Scythians.</i> L. 2. C. 28. §. 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2 1	3 Nabu- lassar 35	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Jofias 31	2	27	13	4	21
L. 2. C. 28. §. 2.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19 20	1. Neco 17	31	22	39	
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 t. Nabu- dassar 27	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1. Cyax- ares 40	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sady- atters 12
L. 2. Ch. 28. §. 1. & 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	31 17 haba- nucub- bani	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one Year with his Father; which is to be regarded in Astronomical observation; concerning his time. Bib. 2. C. 28. §. 6. & C. 25. §. 1.	4086 3404 411 4089 3407 414	125 120 128 123	149 152	38 38 4	18 1. Jedia- kim, 11	33	14	12	11	3
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	16 1. Psam- metich 12	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	10 1. Jechonias manilla 30 Zedekia 11 years	8	7	22	21	4 t. Jechon- ias 37
Zedekiah his journey to Babylon. L. 2. C. 28. §. 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	11	10	8 1. Tira- niasus half year	24	4	
	4102 3420 427	141 140	165	42 1	7	14	1 Aprile or Feb- ruary 10	4	27	7
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with whose 18 for the more part, and partly with whose 19 this Year concurs.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12
Jerusalem destroyed.	4111	150	174	44	5	23	10 1. Pharo- Hof- ra 15 years of Egypt 6 years of Egypt 6 years of Egypt	13	36	16
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L. 3. C. 1. §. 2. & 9.	4116 3429	155 145	179	45 3	10	28	18	1	8 1. Afer- ages 35	21
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	18	1	8 1. Afer- ages 35	21
Nabuchodonosor lives wild; and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years. L. 3. C. 1. §. 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 Exilme- rodach, 2	15	27	10	30
	4127 3443	146 166	190	48 2	21	39 t. Nabu- dassar 31	17	29	12	32
	4145	161		2						

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From the Foundation of the City of Rome, in the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit. Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; or from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265	304	82	17			Cymon's Voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
	3883	299	328	4				11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	20			A League for 30 years between A- thens and Sparta.	92
	3586	302	3					14
	4272	311	335	24			Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of Consuls, Dio- nyf. Livie places them in the 110 Year of Rome.	96
	3590	306	3					18
	4273	312	336	25			The Conquest of Sa- mos by the Atheni- ans under Pericles.	97
	3591	307	4					19
	4278	317	341	30			The Athenians and the Corcyraeans against the Corinthians.	102
	3596	312	1					24
	4280	319	343	32				104
The Walls of Jerusalem filled. Nehemias re- solves to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314	3					26
	4283	322	346	35			The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107
L. 3. C. 8. §. 1.	3601	317	2					29
L. 3. C. 9. §. 1. L. 3. C. 8. §. 4.	4289	328	352				The Victory of the Athenians at Py- lus.	113
	3607	323	4					35
	4290	329	353					114
L. 3. C. 9. §. 1.	3608	324	1					36
	4292	331	355				A vain and trouble- some Peace between Athens & Sparta.	116
L. 3. C. 8. §. 5. & 6.	3610	326	3					38
L. 3. C. 9. §. 1. & C. 8. §. 8.	4301	340	364				The Athenian Forces in Sicily utterly destroyed.	125
	3619	335	4					47
C. 8. §. 9.	4302	341	365					126
	3620	336	1					48
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300,000. L. 5. C. 1. §. 4. & 5.	4304	343	367				The Athenians be- gin to recover Strength.	128
	3622	338	3					50
L. 3. C. 8. §. 10.	4306	345	369					130
	3624	340	1					52
	4307	346	370				The Battle at Ar- ginusa.	131
	3625	341	2					53
	4308	347	371				Dionysius the elder usurps Tyranny in Syracuse.	132
	3626	342	3					54
L. 3. C. 8. §. 12.	4309	348	372				The Battle at Ae- gos Potamos, &c.	133
	3627	343	4					55
	4311	350	374				The Siege of Veii, which lasted 10 years.	135
	3629	345	2					57
L. 3. C. 10. §. 1.	4313	352	376				Socrates put to death The thirty Tyrants put down in Athens.	137
	3631	347	4					59

	Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit. Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Years From Cyrus Daniel.
	4318	357	381	96	6		Agefilus warreth in Asia.	142
L. 3. C. 11. §. 4.	3636	352	1	10				64
	4320	359	383	96	8		The Victory of Co- ron at Gnidus, &c.	144
L. 3. C. 11. §. 7.	3638	354	3	12				66
	4321	360	384	96	9		Veii taken by Camillus.	145
	3639	355	4	13			Xenophon and Plato flourish.	67
	4325	364	388	97				149
	3643	359	4	17				71
L. 4. C. 7. §. 1. L. 3. C. 11. §. 9.	4326	365	389	98	18		The honorable ed- ify of Camillus over the Falisci.	150
	3644	360	1	18			Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	72
	4327	376	390	98				151
	3645	361	2	19				73
	4332	371	395	99	6		M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	156
	3650	366	3	24			The Lacedaemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by Treason.	78
L. 3. C. 11. §. 11.	4336	375	399	100	10		The Thebans recover their Citadels, and make peace with the Lacedaemonians.	160
	3654	370	3	28				82
	4340	379	403	101	14			164
	3658	374	3	32				86
	4343	382	406	102	17		The famous Battle of Leuctra.	167
L. 3. C. 12. §. 1.	3661	377	2	35				89
	4345	384	408	102				169
L. 3. C. 12. §. 4.	3663	379	4	37			The hasty growth of the Theban Empire.	91
	4351	390	414	104				175
	3669	385	2	40				97
	4352	391	415	104			The great Battle of Mantinæ. Epa- minondas dies.	176
L. 3. C. 12. §. 8.	3670	386	3	41				98
	4354	393	417	105				178
	3672	388	1	42			1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years, and part of the 25.	100
L. 4. C. 1. §. 4.	4319	398	422	106	3		6 The Phocian War begins.	183
	3677	393	2	43				105
	4364	403	427	107				188
	3682	398	3	44				110
	4368	407	431	108				192
L. 4. C. 1. §. 6.	3686	402	3	45			15 The end of the Phocian War.	114
	4369	408	432	108				193
L. 5. C. 1. §. 4.	3687	403	4	46			16 Timoleon his Voyage into Sicily.	115
	4370	409	433	109			17 Philip walleth Illy- ria, and drives the The- ssalians to follow him.	194
	3688	404	1	47				116
	4375	414	438	110				199
	3693	409	2	48				121

After this, the years
from Cyrus and Daniel,
are too few, by One.

	Julian, Rome, and World, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews, Daniel.	
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3 1. Antiochus, 16		8	L. Falerius.
	3271	487		4					198	T. Offacilius.
	4454	493	517	130	19	26		Dulius his Victory at Sea.	9	C. Duilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	3272	488		1				Regulus passes into Africa.	199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29			12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3275	491		4					202	Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30		Marcus Ciceronis Praetor of the Achaean.	13	L. Aemilius.
	3276	492		1				Regulus taken Prisoner.	203	Q. Caelius.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35		Aratus repulses Sycon & returns to the Achaean.	18	L. Caelius.
	3281	497		2					208	C. Furius.
	4464	503	527	133					19	C. Attilius.
	3282	498		3				Regulus his death.	209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	37		Shipwreck & capture of the Romans at Sea.	210	P. Claudius, Pulcher, & L. Junius.
	3283	499		4					22	L. Caelius.
	4467	506	530	133					212	M. Fabius.
	3285	501		2					24	M. Fabius.
Annular the Carthaginian in Sicily. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469	508	532	133	34	3			214	C. Attilius.
	4472	511		134				Luctatius his great Victory at Egatis.	217	A. Posthumius.
	3290	506		3					218	A. Manlius.
The War of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512	536	134				Aratus wins Peace granted to Carthage.	221	Falco.
	3291	507		4					9	Lepidus.
	4474	513	537	135					227	Marcellus.
	3292	508		1					10	M. Aemilius.
The War with the Metcenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135				The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	228	M. Junius.
	3294	510		3					12	L. Posthumius.
	4482	521	545	137				A Roman Embassy sent to Queen Teuta.	230	C. Falerius.
	3800	516		1					16	L. Aemilius.
	4483	522	546	137					234	C. Attilius.
	3801	517		2					19	C. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137				Touta Queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans.	237	M. Marcellus.
	3803	519		4					20	P. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138					21	L. Veturius.
	3807	523		4					23	L. Scipio.
Flaminian was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531	555	139				Marcellus his Victory over the Gauls about Milan.	237	M. Marcellus.
	3810	526		3					20	P. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139					21	L. Veturius.
	3811	527		4					23	L. Scipio.
	4494	533	557	140					23	L. Scipio.
	3812	528		1					239	C. Lutatius.

	Julian, Rome, and World, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews, Daniel.	Consul.
	4495	534	558	140					22	L. Aemilius.
Hannibal takes Saguntum.	3813	529		2					240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punic War.	4497	535	559	140					240	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	530		3					240	T. Sempronius.
	4497	536	560	140					240	C. Flaminius.
	3815	531		4					242	Cn. Servilius.
	4498	537	561	141					25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532		5					243	L. Aem. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141					243	L. Posthumius.
	3817	533		6					244	Sempr. Grac.
	4502	541	565	142					247	Ap. Claudius.
	3820	536		9					247	Q. Fabius.
	4503	542	566	142					248	Cn. Fabius.
	3821	537		10					248	P. Sulpicius.
	4507	546	570	143					6	C. Claud. Nero.
	3825	541		14					252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143					7	Q. Caelius.
	3826	542		15					253	L. Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144					255	P. Sempronius.
	3828	544		17					10	Servilius, and Servilius.
	4511	550	574	144					256	Servilius.
	3829	545		18					11	T. Claudius.
	4512	551	575	144					257	M. Servilius.
	3830	546		19					12	Lentulus.
	4513	552	576	144					258	Perus.
	3831	547		20					258	T. Q. Flaminius.
	4516	555	579	145					261	Sex. Aelius.
	3834	550		3					16	Cicero.
	4517	557	580	145					262	Q. Minutius.
	3835	551		4					17	L. Falerius.
	4518	557	581	146					263	Marcellus.
	3836	552		1					18	M. Cato.
	4519	558	582	146					264	L. Falerius.
	3837	553		2					21	L. Quinctius.
	4522	561	585	147					267	Cn. Domitius.
	3840	556		1					22	Acilius Glabrio.
	4523	562	586	147					268	Nasica.
	3841	557		2					23	L. Scipio.
	4524	563	587	147					269	C. Lelius.
	3842	558		3						

	Judea World.	Rome Nab.	Phili- stine.	Olym- piad.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & King- dom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consul.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 9.	4527	566	148		34	18	36		Scipio driven to banish himself from Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561	590	2			124			272	Flamininus.
	4528	563	148		35	19	6			27	Sp. Posthumius
	3846	562	591	3			125			273	Q. Martius.
L. 5. c. 6. §. 2.	4531	570	149		38	22	4		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philogenes die. Tully placeth Scipio's death two years earlier.	30	Marcellus.
	3849	565	594	2			128			276	Q. Fabius.
L. 5. c. 6. §. 3.	4532	571	149			23	5			31	Paulus.
	2850	566	595	3						277	Cn. Bibulus.
C. 6. §. 4.	4533	572	149		40	24	6		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philogenes die. Tully placeth Scipio's death two years earlier.	32	Cethegus.
	3851	567	596	4			130			278	M. Bibulus.
	4534	573	150		41		7			33	A. Posthumius.
	3852	568	597	1			131			279	Piso.
	4535	574	150		42		8			34	Piso.
	3853	569	598	2		2	132			280	Manlius.
An Eclipse of the 7 of Philometor 373 years and ac- cords from the begin- ning of Nabon, which agrees with this ac- count. It was (by Julian years) the last of April, about one of the Clock in the Morning.	4540	579	151		6	7	7			39	Sp. Posthum.
	3853	574	603	3			137			288	Scævola.
	4541	580	151		7	8	138		See L. 5. c. 6. §. 11.	39	L. Posthum.
	3859	575	604	4			138			293	M. Popilius.
	4543	582	152		9	10	4		cap. 6. §. 6.	288	P. Licinius.
	3861	577	606	2			140				C. Cassius.
	4545	584	152		11		6			290	Martius.
	3863	579	608	4			141				Sevillus.
A total Eclipse of the Moon, during the quartains of Perseus; in the year of Nabonassar here noted.	4546	585	153		12		7		C. 6. §. 8, 9, & 11.	291	L. Am. Paul.
	3864	580	609	1			143			291	C. Licinius.
	4547	586	153		13		8			C. 6. §. 10, & 12.	Patrus.
	3865	581	610		14		144			10, & 12.	Junius.
	4549	588	153			16	10			1, Judas Maccab.	Terquans.
	3867	581	612	4			146			Judas Maccab.	Othavins.

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